THE I.W.W.

WHAT IT IS
AND
WHAT IT IS NOT



Published by the
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
555 West Lake Street
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

PRICE FIFTEEN CENTS

Printed in U. S. A.

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THE I. W. W. — What It Is And What It Is Not

CHAPTER 1.

Misconceptions

Almost every person has heard or read of the organization called the Industrial Workers of the World, commonly known as "The I. W. W." Most of these people have heard or read what the I. W. W. is not, and consequently have misconceptions regarding this organization, its policy, functions and aims. Being unacquainted with this labor union, they judge it by its reputation. Now, the character of the I. W. W. and its reputation are two entirely different things. Its character is what its membership makes it, while its reputation is what its enemies have represented it to be.

Lying Capitalist Propaganda

Its enemies are the capitalist class, and capitalist henchmen of every kind and stripe. They know that if the workers understood the I. W. W. they would flock to its standard and enroll themselves into its membership by hundreds of thousands. Therefore, every power which the capitalists control is directed to slandering the organization, misrepresenting its principles, lying about its methods, and villifying it and its membership. Press, pulpit and platform thunder their vicious falsehoods against the I. W. W. Pseudo-patriotism has been invoked to the point of frenzy by campaigns where facts were utterly ignored, or were distorted for the sinister purpose of maligning an organization which has a clearer conception and is animated by higher purposes than any union that has ever presented itself to the working people.

With an assumed regard for human welfare, the capitalists, with their lickspittles and apologists have insidiously cultivated the belief that the I. W. W. is an organization driving recklessly forward to the violent destruction of human society. The capitalists calculatingly and cold-bloodedly took, and still take advantage of the disposition among the working people to adopt read-made opinions in preference to forming their own opinions. Press, pulpit, platform and screen have been used to present the I. W. W. in such light as would oppose

its reception with all the bitterness that prejudice could array against it.

Those who have been led to object to the I. W. W., only object to what they believe it to be. But the I. W. W. is different, something entirely different.

The "Foreign" Misconception

There is a widespread belief that the I. W. W. is an organization of foreign origin. On the contrary, it is a labor organization of American origin. Born of American labor experience and conditions, it was organized in Chicago, Illinois, in 1905. Dealing primarily with and guided by the facts of American economic life, it serves the economic interests of the American working class on this continent.

At the same time, it is also designed to serve the wage working interests in all the countries of the world, in many of which it has branches, and in all of which its influence is felt.

The opinion is commonly, too commonly held, that the I. W. W. membership consists mainly of foreigners. This charge is as old as labor unionism. The "foreign contention" has been used to discredit every union since labor first began to organize. It is conveniently overlooked that the "Pilgrim Fathers" were "foreigners", and that the only real "Americans" are the Indians.

In the I. W. W. membership in the United States, the prevailing nationality is American. Of course, there are workers of all nationalities in the I. W. W., because there are workers of all nationalities employed in American industry. While the employers find employment for foreigners, the I. W. W. will find it as necessary to organize them as to organize natives. As we work with foreigners, we must combine with foreigners. All those who work for wages the I. W. W. will organize, whether they be white, black or yellow; men, women or children.

To Unite All Workers

Race, color, religion, nationality, age or sex do not provide grounds upon which the I. W. W. will divide those whom the employing class have united industrially. Industrial solidarity of labor is a prospect of which the employing class stands in dread. That is why the capitalists strive to blacken the re-

putation of the I. W. W. They will scheme, lie, frame-up and villify it in order to prevent such industrial organization among the workers as the I. W. W. is endeavoring to bring about. When they say that the I. W. W. is a foreign organization, they appeal to a patriotism to which they themselves are strangers, which their records as financial industrialists proves conclusively. With the I. W. W. there are no foreigners. All are workers, and we have only one enemy—the employing class which exploits our labor.

I. W. W. Shuns Secrecy

It is also alleged that the I. W. W. is a secret organization. Those who utter that falsehood know in their hearts that the I. W. W. has successfully resisted every attempt to drive it underground. Its members have fearlessly asserted their beliefs and undauntedly faced mobs, insane with bloodlust, rather than retract their honest opinions. I. W. W. members have gone to jail by thousands, but the organization has never been forced into the retirement of secrecy. Their meetings have been held openly, in open halls, or upon the street corners, often with the jails to adjourn to.

There are no "grips" or "passworts"—no "hokus-pokus" of any kind. The I. W. W. is a wide-open organization which covets the light and avoids methods and acts that need the shelter of darkness, or the covering of a disguise. Truth is its doctrine, and overalls its uniform; the fellowship of wage toil is its qualification for membership, and loyalty to the cause of labor is its creed and test. It maintains eight publications, in six languages, to make its ideals known to all.

The I. W. W. and Violence

It has been rumored, and the rumor found acceptance, that the I. W. W. is an organization which endeavors to achieve its aim by violent methods. Violence has played a great part in the development of the I. W. W., but the I. W. W. has been the victim, and not the author of that violence.

In cases where employers have tried to connect the I. W. W. with acts of violence they have failed ignominiously. There has never been established in any court action a connection of the I. W. W. with crime. In all such cases the I. W. W. has been exonerated. In the world war cases the sabotage and

violence counts were thrown out by the United States Appellate Courts. Yet in spite of all this, there is an increasing propaganda maintained, whereby it is still sought to perpetuate the idea that the I. W. W. is a criminally disposed organization.

The Source of "Labor Violence"

In the history of American Unionism, the first established connection of organized labor with criminal violence is found when the capitalists planted an agent—JamesMcPartland—among the Molly Maguires.

Since then the "agent provocateur" has become a fixed institution in American labor unionism. In fact, providing men who will mislead labor and provoke violence in order to destroy labor unionism, has itself become an industry.

Senator Pettigrew, of South Dakota, who speaks with fifty years' experience in public life to guide him, has this to say of labor violence:

> **"The great combinations (of employers) would hire private detectives and use force, if necessary, to beat strikers into submission. In order to justify the use of force in the eyes of the public, they would send secret agents among the strikers, advocating some act of violence which these agents represented to be for the welfare of the workers. They would talk violently and excite the men and advise bomb throwing and even murder. They (these agents) even perpetrated such outrages.** Generally the assaults were against property, and of course immediately the army or police, or both, were called in to restore law and order."

The Megaphones of Criminal Capitalism

Senator Pettigrew might have added that the capitalist press seizes upon these made-to-order riots and committed-to-order outrages to inflame public opinion against labor organizations. The pulpiteers of capitalism take up the hue and cry, and they are echoed in every circle that depends upon the favor of capitalism for existence.

No other organization has been so grossly misrepresented in this respect as has the I. W. W. The attempt to fasten an ill-favored reputation upon this organization has cost the

capitalist class millions of dollars, and has cost the I. W. W. the lives of many and the liberty of hundreds of its members. Besides, because of manufactured opinion, those who oppose the organiation most bitterly, know the least about it.

In order that such among the workers, who have been misled into the belief that the I. W. W. is other than it is, may have an opportunity to judge it upon its merits, this pamphlet has been written. We shall here state without equivocation the principles, aims and methods of the I. W. W. Common fair play should grant us a hearing. Of the outcome we have no fear.

CHAPTER 2.

STRICTLY PROLETARIAN

Membership in the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is a labor organization whose membership is confined to those who work in industry for wages or salary, which is another name for wages. Anyone who does not work for a wage is not eligible for membership in the I. W. W.

Now, it may be inquired, why is not anyone who is engaged in an industrially productive capacity entitled to be a member of any labor union, more particularly of a union which aims to include the entire working class in its membership and which assumes to act for and in behalf of the entire working class?

First, as an economic organization, the I. W. W. must represent a definite economic interest, otherwise, it could not function effectively. Unless a clear and distinct line of demarcation is drawn to distinguish a particular interest, no organization could express or advance it. Therefore the I. W. W. organizes the wage workers as an industrial element whose particular interest immediately lies in modifiying the terms of its relationship to the owners of industry, while preparing to end that relationship altogether.

The terms of the relationship between employer and employee are expressed in the wage paid; in the hours worked, and the conditions obtaining on the jobs. For the wage worker on the job, everything else outside of these are irrelevant and immaterial. In these aspects, of the wage relationship, the wage earners are vitally interested, and about these they are

vitally concerned. Consequently, in order that no extraneous matter absorb the attention of the organization, or divert it from its function on behalf of the wage earners, the I. W. W. has confined its membership to those who have wages, hours and conditions of employment to settle with the employing class.

I. W. W. Serves Only the Wage Working Interest

Some persons are engaged in productive employment who are in a position to arrange their hours and conditions. In such self-employing capacity they are not irritated by restrictions that irk wage earners. They may have the same desire as wage earners for the overthrow of capitalism, but their interest is not identical with that of wage labor in the every day struggle against the wage relationship, because for them that relationship does not exist.

As a labor movement is necessarily and primarily concerned with the daily problems that confront the wage laborers in their working places, it is imperative that such a movement shall not admit into its ranks any element not completely in accord with the interest of those whose instrument it is intended to be. To introduce an alien and inharmonious element is invite discord and bring confusion. No organization can serve two interests simultaneously.

The Proletarian View Point

Then again, there are grades in the wage working class social division, whose admission into a working class economic organization is so dangerous an experiment that the I. W. W. has deemed it advisable and necessary, temporarily, to exclude them from membership. Managers, superintendents, foreman —those who hire and fire—are not admitted.

Those workers, from the very nature of their positions in industry, are prone to see all questions about the jobs, which they supervise and direct, from the employers' viewpoint. They would, because of this, tend to undermine the effectiveness of the union. Moreover, their control over the jobs, and, therefore, over the life conditions of the workers placed under them might be to obstruct the union in its functions, and might even defeat its purposes and its efforts. So that while the I. W. W. acknowledges the industrial kinship of these directors

with the manual wage workers, it excludes them from membership, pending the time when industrial proletarian elements will have achieved such organization and industrial standing that the members of this group can be safely assimilated.

This, in a general way, explains why the I. W. W. confines its membership to actual wage workers who have no connection whatever with the employer which might serve to dull their consciousness, or to reconcile them to the wage relationship at any time.

I. W. W. Not a Political Organization

Another popular misconception, that has been planted and is being carefully fostered by the capitalist class, is that the I. W. W. aspires to be a great revolutionary political organization, which aims to overthrow existing governments and set up a bureaucratic tyranny of its own. Positively this is one of the greatest untruths spread and believed about the I. W. W. **The I. W. W. is not a political organization.** It has no political aspirations or aims. What it knows about politics and politicions has taught it to avoid both, like pestilence. The I. W. W. does not direct its activities against the government at all. All of its attention is centered upon the jobs and the wage relationship. The I. W. W. is neither a political nor an anti-political organization. It is an economic organization.

Changing the Job Relationship

Every day and every hour of every day, week after week, and month after month, year in and year out, the I. W. W. concerns itself solely with and about the wage relationship, which involves a constant struggle between employers and employees. It seeks and strives constantly to arouse the sentiment for a shorter work day among the wage workers. It endeavors to organize them to demand and secure shorter hours. It tries to organize the workers in an effort to secure higher living standards. It would organize the workers to obtain better and more healthful conditions.

It does not seek working class betterments by way of politics, but by way of economic direct action.

Direct Action

Now perhaps no other term used, not even the term "radical," has been so grossly misrepresented by the capitalist

agencies to mean the violent destruction of life and property as "direct action." Working people have been led to believe that the direct actionists of the I. W. W. are men and women who go about the country loaded down with guns, bombs and chemicals, seeking something to destroy. Working people are made to tremble at the thought of the I. W. W. Destruction is alleged to be its sole concern, and violence preferable to the methods of peace.

Working people have believed this lying propaganda, and, unfortunately, many of them still continue to believe it, notwithstanding the fact, as before stated, that there has been a complete failure to fasten responsibility for crime upon this organization. Why do people go on believing what has been so often and so completely refuted? Simply because they have failed to investigate the facts. They are too indifferent to verify, or to disprove the allegations hurled against this and other labor organizations.

CHAPTER 3.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR IN SOCIETY

Individualism vs. Collectivism

To the vast majority of workers, the I. W. W. is something separate and apart from them and their problem. The influence of the capitalist propaganda, launched from several sources in which the people place a traditional confidence, has served to deaden the instinct of the working masses and blinds them to their own interests. The workers have been taught to think in individual terms, and only seldom rise above personal considerations. Each thinks of the job he or she holds as a personal quantity; of life as an individual problem, and even of eternal salvation, where there is what passes for religion, in terms of individual concern and achievement.

Against this individual conception, the I. W. W. contends with the collective idea of a class interest and class action. It discards the old capitalist ideas as outworn and dangerous to society. It refuses to pray for relief, and discourages the idea that the workers need, or should depend upon elements outside of themselves for relief in the present, or for emancipation finally. It sees the workers always as workers, and never in

any other character, nor would it employ them in any other capacity. To the I. W. W. the worker, as a producer, is a far more important social factor than the worker his political character of citizen, where he or she is endowed with the attributes of citizenship.

Economic Determinism

We hold that the manner in which a people make their living determines the form of their society. The changes in social institutions which mark the history of the human race have always been due to previously occurring changes in the mode of production. Man, by his observation of natural laws, made discoveries that were condensed into tools and tool improvements and, within the past century, more particularly, the observations of the laboratory have re-enforced those of the workshop until man has surrounded himself with an economic environment which is reaching upon the present social structure and compelling a social readjustment that will conform to the existing system of production. The old social order and the new economic system are at odds, and threaten the existence of the race. For now as in all previous times, organized human society is dependent upon the wealth producing element within it. As this element is made to suffer, society tends to decay. The magnificent social structure of our modern day cannot rest securely upon a proletarian foundation which misery and degradation are tormenting into restlessness. And, unless constructive progress is made, catastrophe must inevitably ensue.

What History Teaches

Similarly, in the past when the masters of the earth's resources so directed their control that human progress was hindered, they brought about the epochal changes that history records as revolutions. A careful study of conditions at these times will explain our contention that these revolutions were the result of a social adjustment to meet the new conditions. As Benjamin Franklin well expressed, "The history of the human race can be more correctly written in terms of tools, (means and methods of production) than in any other terms".

Violence and bloodshed upon a great scale marked the advent of every previous social change. Violence has been the

midwife by which every revolution of the past has been successfully ushered in. So with the unthinking, who take things as a matter of course, and who accept terms as including, without reservation, every detail pertaining to the events they describe, the fact that the I. W. W. is an avowed revolutionary organization is taken to mean that it proposes to use the weapons that have been used by all revolutionary organizations in the past. Therefore, when the term "direct action" was coined, the capitalist henchmen seized upon it to terrify the people with pictures borrowed from the bourgeois revolutions, which were marked by the greatest terrors and most inhuman atrocities.

The Economic Direct Action of the I. W. W.

Direct action, as used by the I. W. W., means that the workers shall act directly, as workers, where they are employed. It means, accordingly, direct economic action, where the workers decide upon, and apply the control of their labor power, which organization gives them, in the manner which they believe to be most effective. They may withdraw themselves entirely from the working places—declare a strike off the job. **They may remain in their working places and diminish their efficiency by one means or other. In the selling of goods they may tell the purchasers the truth about the goods; in the manufacture of products they may make known the adulteration which the manufacturer employs.** And there are other ways through which the workers can exert economic pressure.

But when the workers leave the working places they forfeit, for the time being, their productive character—cease to be workers. For this reason, the I. W. W. prefers the strike-on-the-job, to striking off the job.

Again, when the workers are misled into destroying property, they have abandoned their character of wealth producers and assumed a directly opposite character—that of wealth destroyers. To this, in principle and as a matter of sound policy, the I. W. W. is opposed.

Nor are the instruments of military warfare the weapons of industrial warfare, and the I. W. W. does everything in its power to discourage the idea that resort to physical force is an effective tactic for organized workers.

We believe and teach—that all such means will be used

only by the proletariat to its own disadvantage. The I. W. W. does not aim at the industry as a necessary social convenience, but at the employer as an unnecessary social encumbrance. The I. W. W. undertakes to deal with the employers consciously and directly, through the machinery of production which the workers use and by which the employers benefit. It proposes to act directly and not through leaders, political or otherwise. Conscious control of labor power is the reliance of the I. W. W.

The Price of Principle

If the I. W. W. were not avowedly committed to a revolutionary program, which it has steadily refused to compromise or forego, its enemies would have found it very difficult to hamper its progress, by arraying the ignorant and fearful against it. But to have bought popularity at the cost of principle was too high a price for this genuine labor organization. To eliminate from its program its ultimate objective—the overthrow of capitalism—would have been to forfeit its claim to being a labor union, in the true sense of the term.

The evils in society that compel organization by the wage workers are inherent in the capitalist system. They are its logical fruit. Therefore the I. W. W. cannot do less than declare its revolutionary purpose, even though by doing so it provided opportunity for its enemies to misrepresent and defame it, which they did not fail to grasp and make the most of. They ransacked the graveyard of history and rattled the bones of the historic dead to drive terror into the workers whom the I. W. W. is seeking to reach to educate and to organize.

The Capitalist Revolution

The history of past revolutions is a record of physical struggle in which the contest for class mastery was determined by the power of the sword. Conspiracy, which sought secrecy as one of the conditions necessary to successful preparation, marked all previous revolutions. Men and women who were parties to such revolutionary conspiracies carried their lives in their hands. They were severely dealt with when apprehended and they, too, dealt severely with traitors. Death was the penalty for treason. When these contests entered the stage of open revolution, blood flowed freely, and, hitherto, every epochal social development has had a sanguinary baptism.

In the history of social revolutions the sea of blood upon which the capitalist class rode to power was greater than that of all preceding revolutions put together. This was in great part due to the development of the death-dealing instruments of warfare, but there is also the marked tendency of the capitalist class to be more relentless and unmoral than any other class which aspired to, and gained social domination.

The history and rise of the capitalist class to a ruling position in society, as told by Karl Marx (Capital, Vol. 1. Chapters XXVI. to XXXIII.) and other writers, goes to prove that no other ruling class in the long history of the human race has been so completely without a sense of human responsibility, so filled with bloodlust, or so devoid of the principles of honor. Chivalry is impossible in capitalist society, and compassion is regarded by the bourgeoisie as unpardonable weakness. It depends upon power and respects only power.

Rigging Up a Scarecrow

The term "direct action" the industrial and political rulers of the United States seized upon and associated with past historical events. Direct action was associated with the deeds of terror in the French revolutions, and even of the Communards (1871) by the Thiers (capitalist) government was put upon those who were its victims in the Pere Lachaise cemetery and in the streets of Paris.

Direct action was distorted in the hands of capitalist propagandists from the meaning intended by the I. W. W., to convey the impression that the I. W. W. proposed to use the knife, the gun and the bomb to carry forward its designs. Such are the manner and the methods of the capitalist class; such were its own weapons and its own idea of the term direct action. It would hang its own reputation upon the I. W. W., and upon others who are inimical to its interests. It lives by cheating and robbery, and it only runs true to form when it would rob the I. W. W. of its reputation; and cheats opinion when it misrepresents the facts in connection with the I. W. W. mission, actions and methods.

Control of Labor Power

Let us repeat that by direct action, the I. W. W. means action by the workers in the working places. The workers, as

members of the I. W. W. always preserve their character as workers, and their direct action is always in their working capacity. The policy of direct action in this sense, which is the sense in which the I. W. W. uses the term, takes the form which the organized judgement of the workers deems most effective. They may use their organized control of their labor power (1) to suspend production by walking out of the working places; (2) by remaining on the job but consciously withdrawing their productive efficiency; or they may strike intermittently. But, in whatever way they exercise their organized control, they never entirely abandon their industrial character. This threatens seriously to embarass the capitalists in the operation of their establishments and they will not stop at anything to prevent the growth of an organization endowed with such potentialities. Hence their hatred of the I. W. W. in which they find inspiration for the multitudinous falsehoods they have circulated about it.

The Lever Labor's Weapon

We believe that the peculiar characteristic of the wage worker is that of wealth producer or potential wealth producer, that is, that of being the indispensable social element. Our aim is to cultivate this consciousness in the wage workers and to organize it for effective expression. It is our purpose to teach the workers that they can act only to imperil the cause of labor by attempting to abandon this character and adopt any other. The worker can only function in his own behalf by exercising his power over wealth-production and in no other character or capacity. The lever in the workshop we hold to be more powerful and reliable than a paper in the ballot box. Politics is the weapon of the ruling class, and its use will serve only to protect their rulership, and to perpetuate the wage relationship. And, as long as the wage relationship is continued, the evils which naturally flow from it will still continue to afflict the wage earning class.

To abandon the industrial field and attempt to further the cause of labor by physical violence, either in connection with a strike situation, or a military revolution, would be, for the organized workers, to abandon their entrenched position, and to deprive themselves of the shelter which their industrial position gives them. Organized to control their power as a

class, they occupy an impregnable position, and would be qualified to exert an irresistible force.

What the I. W. W. Teaches

The philosophy of the I. W. W. is not the philosophy of salvation through armed physical force, but the philosophy of freedom through organized industrial power. It does not teach the doctrine of blood-letting and wide-spread misery, but the doctrine of human conservation and the abolition of misery. It is not advancing mere theory, but dealing with a demonstrated fact—that the working class constitutes the all-sufficient element for social upkeep and security.

Economic Direct Action and Self-Reliance

When the workers use direct action they depend upon themselves instead of depending upon go-betweens as they have been accustomed to do. In this sense, direct action means self-reliance. Heretofore, the workers have depended upon representatives to meet and bicker with employers. Direct action eliminates these labor leaders, by refusing to employ them. Likewise, by refusing to embark upon a political career, the I. W. W. concentrates the activities of the organized workers upon the job. Instead of seeking redress for grievances in Washington, or one of the State Capitals, the organized workers will demand it from the employer directly, and be in a position to command it.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that the I. W. W. does not teach reliance upon, nor can it consistently advocate physical violence. It proposes more effective action, in which the workers depend upon their control over wealth production.

Because the I. W. W. does this, the capitalist class and its hangers-on regard it as the most dangerous of all labor organizations, and work industriously and unscrupulously to give it a reputation which will render it obnoxious to those who are ignorant of its real purposes, methods, and objects. But "Truth crushed to earth will rise again" and the I. W. W. is winning recognition. Through the mists of a vicious propaganda, the workers are beginning to know the I. W. W. for a labor organization in which they can place reliance and dependence.

The Political Shadow

We know that political institutions do not make economic conditions, but are themselves developed out of, and by

economic circumstances. The politician does not dictate to industry, but receives and records the dictation of industry. Senator Pettigrew will help corroborate our contention in this regard. In his book, "Imperial Washington," he says:

"It is fifty years since I began to take an interest in public affairs. During those years I have been participating, more or less actively, in public life—first as a government surveyor, then as a member of the Legislature of North Dakota; as a member of the House of Representatives, and, finally as a member of the United States Senate. Since 1880 I have known the important men in both the Republican and Democratic corps; I have known personally **the leading business men who backed the political parties and who made and unmade presidents. For half a century I have known public men and have been on the inside of business and politics. Through all of that time I have lived and worked with the rulers of America.**

"When I entered the arena of public affairs in 1870, the United States, with a population of thirty-eight millians, was just recovering from the effects of the Civil War. The economic life of the old slave-holding South lay in ruins. Even in the North, the panic of 1873 swept over the business world, taking its toll in commercial failures and unemployment and an increase in the number of tenant farmers. The policy of sending carpetbagging rascals into the embittered South hindered reconciliation, and sectional differences prevented any effective cooperation between the two portions of the country. The result was a heavy loss in productive power and in political position. Through this period the United States was an inconsequential factor in international affairs.

The Transition

"The transformation from that day to this is complete. With three times the population; with sectionalism practically eliminated; with the South recovered economically and the economic power of the North vastly increased; with more wealth than any other five nations of the world combined; with the credit of the world in her hands; with large undeveloped, or only slightly developed resources; with a unified population and a new idea of world importance, the United States stands as probably the richest and most influential among the great nations.

"I witnessed the momentous changes and participated in them. While they were occurring I saw something else that filled me with dread. I saw the government of the United States enter into a struggle with the trusts, the railroads, and the banks, and I watched while the business forces won the contest. **I saw the forms of republican (political) government decay through disuse, and I saw them betrayed by the very men who were sworn to preserve and uphold them. I saw the empire of business, with its innumerable ramifications, grow up around and above the structure of government. I watched the power over public affairs shift from the weakened structure of republican machinery to the vigorous new business empire. Strong men who saw what was occuring no longer went into politics. Instead, they entered the field of industry, and with them the seat of government of the United States was shifted from Washington to Wall Street.** With this shift, there disappeared from actitve public life those principles of republican government that I had learned to believe were the means of safeguarding liberty. After the authority over public affairs had been transferred to the men of business, I saw the machinery of business pass from the hands of individuals into the hands of corporations—artificial persons—created in the imagination of lawyers and given efficacy by sanction of the courts of law. **I discovered that these things had been going on from the beginning of our government, that they had grown up with it, and were an essential part of its structure.** From surprise and disgust I turned to analysis and reason and for the past twenty years, I have been watching the public life of the United States with an understanding mind. For a long time I have known what was going on in the United States. Today I think I know why it is going on.

Senator Looks Backward

"When I look back over the half century that has passed since I first entered public life, I can hardly realize that the America, which I knew and believed in as a young man in the twenties would have changed so completely in so short time. Even when I know the reason for the change, it is hard to accept it as a reality.

"Many of the public men who have lived and worked in the United States during the past century have written their

impressions of public affairs. Benton, Blaine, Grant and Sherman discussed the public life of the middle of the last century. Since then, there have been many autobiographies and memoirs. I have read these books carefully, and it seems to me that not one of the writers is at the same time a student and a realist.

"First of all, they have written about politics, with very little or no attention **to the economic forces that were shaping politics.** In the second place, too many of them have written the agreeable things and left the disagreeable ones unsaid. In the third place, they have written what they believed should have happened, rather than what actually did happen. Fourth, and by far the most important, **each of these men has written as a member of a ruling class, pleased with himself and satisfied that rule by his class was the best thing for the community.** The pictures that these men give are like the decision of our courts—built on precedents rather than realities." (Emphasis ours.)

CHAPTER 4.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION THE VITAL FORCE

The Compelling Force

As a changing mode of production operates to change all the institutions depending upon it, it is as well to recognize that production is the substantial foundation upon which any society rests. So that in any society that element only is necessary whose functions are essential to the prevailing productive system. In present day society, this element is comprised of every population which labors for a wage. Without the wage laborers our system of production could not endure.

A little consideration will satisfy even the most prejudiced that if the wage workers did not make and operate the tools of production, this system of production would go to pieces and our present civilization disappear.

The clothes we wear, the food we eat, the houses that afford shelter, the means of transportation on land, sea and air would all be out of reach, were not the hands of the wage laboring class busy in productive social service. Society does not depend upon the capitalist or the politician. It depends upon the workers. From the most primitive forms up to the

present, human society has always depended upon the working class element. The workers have always constituted the social guarantee, and their efforts as producers is the price that humankind has paid for its existence, from the time when man lived precariously until the present day, when the question of sufficient to enable the race to survive has been answered by superabundant production.

The productive facilities and capacity must exist before an organized society is possible, which is to say that production is prior to and more important than politics. Politics is the handmaiden of industry. As the system of production changes, so do we observe corresponding social and political changes.

But by whom is the mode of production changed? Obviously by those who alone are competent to change it—the human productive factors, at the present time, the wage workers. For if this contention did not hold true, our philosophy would be at fault. If it could be proven that the capitalists, as such, have contributed to the change in the productive system, then they would have justified their existence in a social sense. But they have not done so. Every change effected, which has won social advantage industrially, has been due to those actively engaged in productive work. The capitalist, as such, seized and fattened upon every invention, mechanical and administrative improvement. He has never contributed anything to human advancement. He is a parasite, and like all other parasites, he has no independent existence, but lives upon the constructive wealth-producing organism which the enthralled labor of the ages has built up.

I. W. W. Would Dispel Labor Ignorance

The power of the capitalist class is a delegated power, which labor ignorance has invested in it. It has no power in itself. Labor is power, and, when conscious of its own interest and its social responsibility, it is the only power. Therefore, the I. W. W. depends upon education, not upon terror. Facts are its weapons, not bombs. It is busy teaching instead of intimidating. Its arsenal is lined with bookshelves, and not with gunracks. Truth is its artillery, and justice its objective.

The I. W. W. is dangerous only to the greedy and the socially conscienceless. It brings hope to the dispossessed and downtrodden, and promises the earth and the fullness thereof

to those who make use of the one to bring forth the other. Those only shall share who produce, those only shall eat who labor. One for all and all for one. Such is the I. W. W. This is what makes it dangerous to those whose colossal fortunes and position of mastery are founded on the misery and wretchedness of the hosts of toil.

Industrial Organization

When the producers, who work for wages, organize as they are arranged in the industries, they will have taken a long step in the direction of industrial freedom.

We find the workers are so arranged that the labors of the classifications necessary for the completion of the finished products from the raw material dovetail into one another. The function of each labor classification is related to and coordinated with that of every other classification. The modern working force represents a harmoniously balanced industrial organization. Once the workers learn to combine into unions, as they are situated in the industries, they will develop a power which can be used to advance their interest; a power so great that nothing could successfully resist it.

Oil Industry an Example

Take the oil industry, as an example. The working force includes every necessary worker from the time the ground is surveyed for the derrick until the product is loaded on the cars. Take the oil industry as a whole—it is senseless to do less—and when the surveying crews, drillers, tooldressers, roustabouts, truckers, cooks, waiters, pipeliners, refinery men, repairmen of all kinds, tank builders, etc., are all organized into an oil workers union, you have a power which would bring one of the greatest of all employers—Standard Oil—to its knees. The same applies to the coal industry, agriculture, to lumbering, to the foodstuffs and textile, in fact to all industry.

Working Class Interdependence

But, as the workers in each of these industries are dependent upon the functioning of the workers in all other industries, it is necessary that all of them be bound together for mutual assistance and support. The transportation industry is the

connecting link which binds them all together. Without modern transportation, modern industry would be impossible.

But, without food and clothing and houses for the transportation workers, and fuel and oil for the engines, and rolling stock, modern transportation itself would not be possible. So that, while transportation appears to be of supreme importance, it is, in the true social sense, no more important than any of the other industries. There is this about transportation that, unlike other industries, it cannot be stored up. You can store oil, clothes and food, but you cannot store transportation.

Controlling Labor Through Craft System

If transportation is suspended the social effect is immediately noticeable, while in other industries the noticeable effect of a suspension is delayed. Transportation therefore is, from its strategic position in the industrial scheme, the key industry. For this reason, the capitalist class watch jealously over their control of transportation labor, which they retain possession of through what we know as the Big Four Railroad Brotherhoods.

It is worthy of notice that these four unions, up until quite recently, were not only kept rigidly apart from other unions, but from each other. Only when the rank and file of these unions gave evidence of their determination to force united action did the railroad-controlled Grand Lodges decide to make a united demand.

Time and again these Grand Lodges have refused to be bound by the expressed wishes of the rank and file, and have flagrantly disregarded the strike mandates of the membership. This emphasizes the difference between direct action and indirect action. The rank and file of these railroad unions are accustomed to do as their officers advise, instead of doing what their own judgement dictates, and their interest requires. Indirect action means control of organized laborers. Direct action means control by the organized workers.

So also the capitalist class control the labor forces outside of the railroad industry, by keeping the organized workers divided according the tools they use. Only when workers so organized have threatened to break away from the control of the capitalist-minded if not capitalist-employed labor

leaders, have they been successful in securing any substantial portion of their demands.

The craft unions are based upon a condition long ago superseded and discarded, where a workman employing many tools worked from the first operation upon the raw material until the finished product had been realized. Now, the system of production in the modern industrial plant has eliminated the craftsmen, and hundreds of operatives function in many capacities with power-driven machines to make the product which the craftsman used to produce.

Product Determines Labor Classification

Always the craftsman was identified by his product and today the working force which has replaced him also is identified by its product. The tailor was never the man who used a needle, shears and goods, but one, who by using these produced clothes. Similarly, the shoemaker was not a man who used an awl, waxed thread and lasts, but a man who, by using these produced shoes. It was always the product that determined the craftsman.

While the craft survived there was room and a function for the craft union, but in our present stage of industrial development, there is neither place nor function for the craft union. It serves the capitalist interests by keeping the working forces divided. It is as much out of place in modern industry as a Ku Klux Klansman in a Knight of Columbus meeting.

Another Bogey

The cry of being an anti-religious organization has also been raised against the I. W. W. when, as a matter of fact, the I. W. W. does not concern itself about religion in any way, shape or manner. It does not inquire about the religious views of the worker, it only takes cognizance of his industrial calling. Whether he (or she) be of the Catholic or Jewish religion, Greek Orthodox, or any of the varieties of Protestantism, makes no difference to the I. W. W. The belief of the Buddhist and the Mussulman are, equally with all other religions, or no religion, a matter of complete indifference to it as a labor organization. It is the champion of none of them as against the others.

The I. W. W. is free of religious strings, nor will it permit

itself to be made the vehicle of anti-religious propaganda. It takes those whom it finds in industrial occupations, regardless of their religious affiliations, and strives to weld them into One Big Union of the Working Class.

Now, those whom the I. W. W. encounters in industry the employers have placed there. Divers religions are encountered, many languages are spoken, and it is the mission of the I. W. W. to unite these into one common organization for industrial purposes. As the employers have recruited Jew and Christian, Buddhist and Mussulman, in the polygot working forces that man the industries, the I. W. W. as a militant labor union has no option but to organize these workers as workers, paying no attention whatever to their religious beliefs. It is concerned about them only as economic factors.

The Jew and Gentile expend their labor power in exactly the same manner; they labor together under the same conditions; and are exploited to the same degree. The I. W. W., being concerned only about the wage relationship, appeals to them upon the grounds of common activities upon the job, and pays no attention whatever to church, temple or synagogue. It is not to be held responsible for the fact that industry is not religious, and it takes industry and the personnel of industry, as it finds them. It seeks to fashion out of both a social order in keeping with the development of modern times. So much for the misconceptions that have been scattered broadcast about the I. W. W.

I. W. W. A Problem for Capitalists

When the I. W .W. came into existence, it set a new problem for American capitalism to deal with. Here was an organization based upon the bedrock of economic truth, whose message was vibrant with the appeal for class solidarity. It constitutes the greatest menace that ever threatened the capitalist regime. The capitalists are aware of its potentiality, and have tried to strangle it from its birth.

At the second convention a battle was staged which was to determine whether the new organization was to be controlled in the interest of capitalist property, or in the interest of wage labor. The workers' representatives dominated the convention.

The aftermath of this convention is a tale of labor

treachery and baseness, in a Western setting, that did much to stay the progress of the I. W. W. Such was its purposes, and the outcome was what the capitalists desired.

Behind the clash of personalities, leading up to, and following the events which established the general eight hour day in Goldfield, Nevada, was hidden a conflict of ideas and interests. The first skirmish by the Western capitalists and their agents in the Western Federation of Miners and A. F. of L., against the I. W. W. was successful locally and temporarily. Some of the principal figures in that contest have passed away, but the effect of their treason lived after them. The W. F. M. has been eliminated as a labor factor, and has degenerated into an organization more or less openly controlled by the mine operators.

Cutting Out Politics

The next contest in the I. W. W., and really the most significant in its history, was staged at the Fourth Annual Convention (1908) where the question of political action was at issue. The decision of the convention was that the organization could not be a labor union and a political party at the same time. The I. W. W. divested itself of the disease-breeding political illusion which had murdered every previous labor movement, and settled itself upon a proletarian basis and a single function—in the every day struggle to regulate the job relationship by economic means alone, and eventually to abolish that relationship altogether.

This decision antagonized the labor politicians, who then enlisted with the enemies of the I. W. W. and did yeoman service in misrepresenting it. For a time these politicians did the dirty work of the capitalist class, and as they gave their imagination full play, they did it more effectively than the less qualified stool pigeons which the capitalists keep on their payrolls. These politicians, and the parties they belonged to, have gone the way of all illusions, and the I. W. W. is still here, adding to its strength and influence. Of course, the old-time labor political parties have been succeeded by other political forms which, true to their capitalist conceptions, also believe that attacking the I. W. W. will recommend them to reaction and will provide a passport to the flesh-pots. However, the I. W. W. pursues the even tenor of its way, un-

disturbed by the yawping of political mongrels, who are neither avowedly capitalist, nor outspokenly labor.

The principles of the I. W. W. are concisely set forth in its Preamble, which is the most important document ever issued in the name of labor for the guidance of labor.

PREAMBLE of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been everthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

CHAPTER 5.
THE ONLY REAL INTERNATIONAL

An International Proletarian Union

As will be seen the I. W. W. principle is not intended to apply to only one country, but is intended to cover wage labor in all countries. As the laborers in one industry are dependent upon and necessary to the laborers in all other industries, so are the workers of one country dependent upon and necessary to the workers in all other countries. Modern transportation has practically eliminated distance, and knits the countries of the world in an industrial whole. This interdependence of the workers in all the countries of the world, the I. W. W. is the first organization to give expression to. And it is fitting that the most highly developed capitalist country of the world should bring forth the labor organization most suitable to the needs of the world's proletariat. In the I. W. W. we find the genesis of the first proletarian international.

Building the New Society

"By organizing industrially, we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old (order)", states the Preamble. Here, in this declaration, we have that which differentiates the I. W. W. from all previous and present allegedly revolutionary organizations. This idea proclaims the rise of a new school of labor thought and makes a new program for the labor movement.

In the conventions and meetings of the I. W. W., in its first four years, two ideas that had dominated and vitiated every previous labor movement met and fought out their contentions—the labor political advocates and the anti-political forces. Hitherto, these two had divided the realm of labor thought and both had commanded much strength, although neither had succeded in attaining a commanding position among the organized labor forces in America, since the failure of the political movement of labor (1828-1832), in the Atlantic states. Among labor progressives it was conceded that if a movement was not political, it must necessarily be anti-political, and vice versa. Marxists and Lassalleans had fought out their differences, and the followers of Bakunin and Proudhon had disputed with the united remnants of both.

The I. W. W. Neither Political Nor Anti-Political

When the Industrial Manifesto was issued, both the labor politicians and the anti-politicians prepared to capture the new

movement and bend it to their purposes. The outcome was a disappointment to both, and each school claims, despite the evidence to the contrary, that the I. W. W. fell victim to the will of the other.

As a matter of fact, the I. W. W. rejected domination at the hands of either, and as its judgement directed, took from each what would stand analysis. It has accepted the economics of Marx, while rejecting his speculative philosophy and it has conned from other philosophers principles in accord with working class experience. For its fundamental principles it has drawn more heavily upon Marx, Engels and Dietzgen than upon others, but its philosophy is not that of the traditional Marxists, for it rejects the theory of working class advancement or emancipation through political action.

Nor is it anarchistic, because it aims at, and is endeavoring to organize a highly central form of organization which views industry and its problems from the highly collective instead of the individual viewpoint.

This, and this only, it has in common with the anarchist school of thought—it rejects political action, as an effective medium of organized working class activity.

It is an economic organization, operating in the economic sphere, using economic means for economic purposes at all times, and aiming at an economic objective—an industrialized society.

The Economic School

The I. W. W. philosophy is a new school of thought developed out of the contending philosophies of the past. The I. W. W. is the economic school of thought in contradistinction to the political and other schools which sought some other means than the organized control of human labor power to bring about the overthrow of capitalism, and its replacement by an industrial society.

Social evolution sustains the I. W. W. theory of "building the new society within the shell of the old". That which was responsible for the epochal changes that mark human social history has not been the development of political forms, but the development of economic forms. Moreover, it was only when these forms had developed to a point where they could bear the weight of social responsibility that revolutionary changes

occurred. There is no reason to suppose that capitalist society will offer an exception to this historic rule. Only when the proletariat has developed a form which will suffice to safeguard human interest will the industrial revolution become the fact of history.

Russia Sustains I. W. W. Contention

Russia affords a striking example of what occurs when "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old" has been neglected. Not that the revolutionaries of Russia are to be held responsible for a condition not of their making. They did the best they could. But the industrial facts were against them and they failed to achieve the goal they were bent upon achieving. They accomplished a political revolution, but in the absence of a sound industrial underpinning, the communist state collapsed and Russia has slipped back into capitalism. This has not occurred because the Russian revolutionists desired it, or schemed to bring it about, but because the law of economic determinism is operative under a communist as well as any other regime. The Russian experience supports the I. W. W. theory. By organizing industrially—not politically or militarily—the workers "are building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Industrial Organization by Industries

Let us take the coal industry and look at it organized industrially as an industry. When the coal production workers are organized industrially, such an organization deprives them of no rights which they enjoy and choose to exercise. They will be at liberty to vote if they feel so inclined, or not vote, as they please. They may go to church or stay at home. Their activities in every sphere, outside of industry, are determined by themselves individually. In industry, however, they will all belong to one union of coal mine workers, regardless of what they do in or around the mines, coke ovens, etc.—engineers, loaders, firemen, oilers, machinists, blacksmiths, electricians, weighmen, miners, pullers, topmen—everyone, the object of whose labor is coal production, will be members of one union.

Productive Interdependence

But as the operation of the coal mine industry is dependent upon all other industries, this union of coal mine workers, in order to function successfully, must be linked with similar unions of the workers in all other industries. Before the coal mine workers can function industrially, in the social sense, there must be transportation provided. Unless the loaded cars are hauled away, no coal can be mined. For the object that inspires coal production is to supply a social need.

Then it resolves itself into this, that the transportation workers are as necessary to coal production as are the coal mine workers. And again, the coal diggers must have machines or picks to dig with, mine cars, tracks to run them on, and motors or mules to haul them with. They must have houses to live in, and beds to sleep in; food, and means to prepare it. The clothing makers must have furnished them clothing, and the shoe workers footwear. Without all of these, they could not function. They help the coal workers, and the coal workers help them. Each depends upon all the others. They supplement and complement one another.

Each article for human consumption from coal to candy, represents the labor of the entire working class. This is why independent unions cannot fully serve the interest of the workers in any industry. Sooner or later these must break beneath the strain that the united capitalist class will subject them to. At best, they serve as points of resistence and are without the capacity to build for the inauguration of a new social order. But industrial unions, linked together, or one I. W. W. union, branched according to the arrangement obtaining in capitalist industry, generates the power to resist in the present, and to construct the new order as well.

The I. W. W. is not a federation or amalgamation of industrial unions, but one union, with several subordinate parts.

CHAPTER 6.

LABOR'S GREATEST ENEMY

Industrial Ignorance

The workers are aware that certain undesirable and unwelcome things exist, but they do not know why these things

are. Consequently, they do not understand how to secure the remedies that they covet, and for which they clamor. This knowledge the I. W. W. is striving to bring to the working class. Education is the main dependence of the I. W. W. It realizes that only the ignorant can be victimized with impunity. Ignorance is the enemy of working class progress. The ignorant are always fearful; they do not know how to go, and they only make headway timidly. In proportion as the workers understand their class position in society, they recognize the need of organization and the power that lies in it. The intelligent among the workers are nearly always found in labor organizations.

Labor Leaders

Unfortunately for the working class, the individual conception sometimes overpowers the social consciousness of organized workers, and they reach out for personal advantage to the point where they use the working class, instead of permitting themselves to be used by it and for the class interest. They are not always consciously unfaithful, but are swayed, without perceiving it, by the common predilection to put self before others. There is a deplorable low standard of economic morality obtaining among organized workers, for which leaders of labor thought, who encourage imperfect labor agencies, must be held accountable, because they have consistently and often intentionally cultivated and fostered economic ignorance among the union membership whose sources of information they controlled.

So long as this ignorance permeates the mentality of the workers, the labor movement must lag behind and labor miss opportunities to advance its interest. Moreover, as long as the element which has dominated labor affairs, and controlled working class destiny in the past, maintains its position of mastery, every attempt to educate the working class will encounter hostility from it.

Gompersism, which means capitalist control of organized labor power through the craft system, will fight every educational movement which it cannot control in the interest of capitalist property, as it has fought every movement in the past forty years that tended more clearly to define the lines of class division in capitalist society.

Ask the average worker what relation machine production has to unemployment, and you will find that he is unaware of the fact that machinery will explain unemployment. Yet this fact, which is potent enough to be self-evident, is a mystery to the average unionist, let alone to the average working man and woman. The unemployed, even after many experiences, on the average only understand that "the job was shut down" by the boss. It is accepted that the employer has an unquestioned right to shut down industry, regardless of the social consequences. Why the capitalist system compelled the suspension and left the employer no option is a sealed book to the working class generally. This should not be.

The workers, at least the organized workers, should be able to explain this phenomenon, and the experience of years should have taught them how to correct these periodic industrial visitations. But under the domination of ideas, as much out of keeping with the times as are their unions, every new occasion finds the workers as unprepared as did every previous panic. Labor has not learned from its sufferings, because its thinking, like its action, is largely indirect. It does not find explanations for its plight, it accepts advise and explanations from those who do not explain, and whose interest lies in working class inability to understand; and in its acceptance of conditions to which only its ignorance permits it to tolerate. And the explanation for unemployment is not difficult, if the workers seek it out.

Where the machine is put in, some of the workers move out. One worker with a machine, or a small working force with machinery, will produce more goods than a large working force with hand tools. So that machinery displaces laborers. This is the feature of machinery that secures its installation in industry. But machinery does more than merely throw workmen out of jobs, it renders the versatile skill of the craftsman unnecessary. So the machines have won their way into every industry, and wherever they went less labor was required until eventually the aggregate of these surplus laborers grew to such proportions that there came into existence what is known as the army of unemployed.

At first the unemployed were largely of the mechanical

trades, but the invention of new mechanical devices, and the improvement of machinery, which has been going on, has reduced the unemployed to a working class contingent in which the unskilled workers predominate.

The change in the proportion of skilled and unskilled workers in the unemployed ranks corresponds to the change which was taking place in industry, where skilled craftsmen had ceased to be important factor. For in all industries today, due to machinery, the unskilled and little-skilled constitute the predominant element. The place of the craftsman has been taken by the technologist but relatively, the industrial proletariat is the most important factor in modern production. In field, mine work and railroad, and upon the sea, the unskilled workers dominate. Were they once organized, as the I. W. W. proposes, they would bind every other social element to their will and purpose.

Two Conflicts

There has been going on in society, side by side, two great conflicts, that between the working class and the employing class on the one hand, and that between the unskilled and the organized craftsmen. Within the working class, the organized workers of the craft days have striven to retain their supremacy over the unskilled workers. The organized labor movement in the craft system, so far as it is a labor movement, has and is still attempting, to secure for itself the places attending the machinery of production. Its fight has been to drive off the unskilled, for whom technical advancement was making place. These unions grew to deserve the term "job trust," which has been applied to them. Even their demand for shorter hours, better wages and conditions were never intended to improve the lot of their unskilled fellows, and many advantages won by these unionists were secured at the expense of the unskilled. Their initiation fees, generally prohibitive, their apprentice rules, their jurisdictional lines, were all established in an effort to retain their special advantages.

Even their attempt to organize the unskilled workers by their sides, where they did organize them, was intended only to make their own positions more secure. Instead of asking for the organization of the unskilled, the working out of this policy made organization by and of the unskilled more diffi-

cult. But the machine continued at work, reducing the quality of skill and diminishing working forces to mere skeletons of what they were formerly. The problem of unemployment persisted in chronic form, insistently commanding the attention of the workers until there is a growing recognition that the solution of this problem rests with the workers themselves, and that they must organize as a class to solve it.

Unemployment Working Class Problem

While the unemployed army is a constant and growing social element, its personnel is in a state of constant change. There is continuously growing an interchange of places between the employed and unemployed portions of the working class. The problem is ever the same, and its solution becomes every day more necessary to the working class. Within the capitalist system, the workers must decide how to fit a continuously increasing number of wage workers into a constantly diminishing number of jobs. One way is by shortening the workday.

If the average working day is now eight hours, by reducing the number of working hours to six per day, millions, now permanently unemployed, would be put to work. Of course the workings of the capitalist system would operate again to create another army of unemployed, but the workers, by organization could again shorten the workday to from 6 to 5 or 4 hours, or by reducing the number of working days per week.

Unemployment Necessary to Capitalism

While the present system of ownership survives, the army of unemployed is necessary for the capitalist class. The workers are indispensable, the capitalists are unnecessary. Common social sense points out that what is essential to social upkeep be preserved and that the unnecessary and unserviceable be dispensed with. So that when it becomes apparent that capitalist ownership of necessary social resources, and the means for their utilization, menace society they will be discarded. But, in the meantime, the workers must organize themselves to make room for their fellow workers around the machinery of production. Every worker added to the working force lightens the burden of the other workers. The employers, by virtue of their ownership, are riding upon backs already

overburdened. The employers are not necessary to production, the workers are; and, as workers, they have the power to say whether, or how long, the capitalists will ride. The power over wealth production is the power over society. The workers must organize, as the I. W. W. is proposing, in order to wield that power.

Industrial Solidarity Greatest Power

The superiority of industrial power, as represented by the workers' organized control of labor power, over every other expression of power, has been strikingly illustrated in recent years.

In the great world war, the economic forces were as important as the military forces. It was clearly proven that without economic support the military effort would have collapsed. So important was the economic end of the military campaign that the several governments actively prosecuting the war had to take cognizance of it and give expression to their recognition. Politician and militarist were reluctantly forced to admit that, in the last analysis, the success of the military effort depended upon the economic support with which the industrialists in the various countries assisted the armies; "Work or Fight" was the slogan and men were selected for work or war, as their value in the furtherance of the campaign seemed to warrant. The machine in the industry was as important and as necessary as the battery at the front; the worker in overalls was as indispensable to military victory as the soldiers in uniform. The worker was even more necessary, because the soldier, in his military character, cannot and does not equip himself with the instruments of warfare, or the means with which to fight.

A nation must first be a producer of surplus wealth before it needs to, or can fight. In war, as in peace, the working class is the determining factor. The I. W. W. would preserve the working class character—producer—and would eliminate war wherein the overall is dropped and the uniform assumed; where productive tool is replaced by the death-dealing weapon, and men go forth to destroy wantonly and recklessly what has been produced in labor travail and is sorely needed by the human race.

Labor the Great Reliance

The political contention for labor has also received a decided setback, when the annals of the world war are read understandingly. Political governments proceeded to industrialize themselves and to organize the industrial forces of the nations as a prerequisite of military and political success, which, taken together, meant national industrial advantage, for the capitalists who control.

In Russia, we found that the political communists were compelled to forego some of their industrial policies to win political tolerance from, and a place among, the political governments. In proportion as it changed its economic principles, Russia made headway politically, until at the present time, the fears of the international capitalist class have abated to a point where Russia is about to be admitted to the "family of nations." The economic retrograde movement, though the Russians entered upon it reluctantly, won friendly influence among the profit-hungry in the capitalist countries, but the friendship is that of the wolf for the sheepfold.

Economic Factor in War

Again, in the Turkish-Allies controversy, political democracy is the disguise preferred to an economic end—control of the oil deposits in the disputed territory.

In the French invasion of the Ruhr basin, if political ends only were to be served, Berlin was as readily seized as Essen and Bochum, but the French were after the substantial in German national life, and they occupied the industrial heart of Germany.

The politicians in Berlin in this emergency did not rely upon political platitudes; they made their appeal for the greatest resistance that Germany as a nation could offer—a general strike by the German workers. This is all the more significant, because it was the German political socialists who coined the phrase: "The general strike is general nonsense." Time and circumstances have driven the German socialists to give world acknowledgement that the conscious, organized control of labor power is the greatest force in society. In 1920, the German politicians also depended upon industrial action to defeat the Kapp counter-revolution.

The French, also, recognize that the one power in Germany which would reduce the army of invasion to impotence is the refusal of the workers to labor. The French use their military power to exert economic pressure—their army of occupation is but an extended armed picket line—but if the workers stand pat, and the French labor movement does its labor duty, the capitalists of France, and their comrades in labor exploitation will experience the setback and the lesson of their career.

Industrial Power

An I. W. W. organization in Germany, or in France and Germany, would bend the politicians, render the army of occupation helpless, and bring the capitalist class, which both serve, to its knees. Industrial power is the irresistible force which the I. W. W. is endeavoring to bring into play. When the labor power necessary to each industry and all industries is controlled by an organization which includes the workers in every labor classification and division, it will not only be possible, but sure, that such control will be exercised in the direction of attaining higher living standards, as stepping stones to industrial freedom.

The I. W. W. and the Unemployed

As the unemployed, or workers in fear of unemployment and its denials, constantly threaten this working class ambition, one of the first undertakings of such an organization would necessarily be to relieve this disastrous competition. One of its early moves would be to strive for a shorter workday, thus reducing the number of unemployed and strengthening the employed force which would be more amenable to organization, and so situated as to exert its industrial influence toward the advancement of working class interest. A working class organization will naturally have a working class viewpoint, and its activities will be of a working class nature primarily, but all its industrial ventures will likewise be social in character because of the fundamentally social character of the working class.

For the unemployed workers, there is no hope for alleviation of their lot, or for emancipation from their condition of helplessness, except through such an organization as the I.

W. W.; and propagation of its principles should be their constant care and business.

Migratory Labor and the Social Revolution

The self-satisfied among the labor intellectuals pronounce the I. W. W. anathema because it is composed principally of migratory workers. "Wise" in their conceited estimate of themselves, it does not dawn upon these "superior" persons that the migratory worker, the worst denied and one of the most essential of working class elements, is the proper custodian of correct labor principles, and of proletarian revolutionary organization and program. The migratory wage worker is the particular product of machine production, and in this element all the experiences of the working class under capitalism are incorporated.

Fundamentally and economically, there is no difference between those workers who move about from job to job and from one industry to another in one city or neighborhood, and those who travel the United States and Canada shifting from locality to locality, and following now one and again another industrial calling. The only thing that distinguishes or rather differentiates one from the other is the radius in which they move about.

To change residence from one part of the city to another, is not different to changing from one city, or state, to another. The necessity to move arises from a common cause. The problem of the one element is the problem of the other, and they must unite to solve it.

The migrant is an unemployed wage-worker in search of employment. He may find a job within reaching distance of his residence, or he may have to travel thousands of miles to find one. But find a job he must, or perish. Upon this is his life conditioned.

The homeguard may balk at the term "tramp," but the workman who is out of work must tramp to find another job. To sell his labor power is the sentence of capitalism upon the wage worker. To try to sell it is his pressing business when unemployed. How far he must travel before he succeeds in doing so depends upon circumstances and the man. Between the city's unemployed, who tramp the streets from factory to factory, and those who go from place to place by way of the

boxcar, there is no difference substantially. The difference is only psychological, not material.

The condition is identical, resulting from the same cause, springing from the same source, and demanding the same remedy. They must unite to solve that problem, and the I. W. W. offers the only means for doing so. The existing ownership, and the class relationship growing out of it, makes it imperative for the migratory workers to seek permanent access to the means of life—the earth's resources and the instruments of production. This element is where it must move for its own preservation, and the only objective toward which its condition and experiences are driving it entails a revolutionary change. It must have access to its means of livelihood. The present system of ownership stands between it and the social destination toward which it must travel—it must remove and replace that system of ownership before it attains security for itself. Hence the tenacity, with which the migratory workers cling to the I. W. W.

Again, if the workers can only learn by experience, surely these migratory workers, all of them at some time resident or stationary workers, have a fund of experience excelling that of other working class elements. They have, besides, the stimulus of a condition that qualifies them to lead the vanguard of labor.

Labor and the "Intellectuals"

Had the I. W. W. entrusted its destiny to the unrestricted control of parlor intellectuals whose experiences were not those of the industrialists, the organization would long ago have disappeared from the labor arena. The I. W. W. is not unmindful or neglectful of the need for intelligent guidance and action. It stresses education for the workers, but it has drawn its intellectual material from, and been guided by the experiences of the actual workers in industry and they are slowly and painfully building this organization into power which will bring to the working class the recognition to which it is entitled, and give the control of society into the hands of those who alone are capable of administering its affairs in the interest of all and for the benefit of all—the workers.

The future belongs to the I. W. W.

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JOE HILL



by Fred Thompson 50c

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Joe Hill's Last Will

Written in his cell November 18, 1915,
on the eve of his execution

My will is easy to decide,
For there is nothing to divide
My kin don't need to fuss and moan -
"Moss does not cling to a rolling stone."
My body? Ah, if I could choose,
I would to ashes it reduce,
And let the merry breezes blow
My dust to where some flowers grow.
Perhaps some fadin flower then
Would come to life and bloom again.
This is my last and final will,
Good luck to all of you,

- Joe Hill.

Published by San Diego General Membership
Branch of IWW, 1971

Printed by Fanshen Printing Collective
P.O. Box 1332
San Diego, Calif. 92112

Only a handful of the popular songs from the days preceding World War I have remained popular, but today's rebel youth are still stirred by the biting radical parodies a Swedish born longshoresman wrote to be sung to some of the tunes of that time. A number of them have been translated into other languages and the name Joe Hill has become a universal symbol of workers' hopes.

In 1970 in Gavle, Sewden, the S.A.C. labor federation made the house where Joe Hill was born a museum of labor history and the lot back of it into a movement meeting place.

"Joe Hill" was born there October 7, 1879 and named Joel, one of nine children of Olaf Hagglund, a railroad conductor. The family was very poor and Joel never received formal musical education, but he picked up guitar, violin, accodian and the cottage organ his father managed to build. When Joel was eight his father died of a work injury and life became still harder. In his youth he contracted tuberculosis of skin and joints and in 1900 received treatment in Stokholm hospitals that accounted for the many scars on his body. In 1902 his mother died, the family broke up, the home was sold and, with their share of the small amount received, Joel and his brother Paul bought tickets to America. In October 1902, they arrived in New York on the Saxonia and, like many immi-

grants of that era, Joel Hägglund changed his name - first to Joseph Hillstrom and soon to plain Joe Hill.

These details about his boyhood came to light only in recent years and equally little is known about his wanderings in America. Much that has been written about these years is hearsay, sometimes unfounded and often refutable. It is known that he sent a Christmas card home from Cleveland in 1905 and that he wrote his home town paper about his experiences in the San Francisco earthquake in 1906 and about helping with the rescue work afterwards. Bill Chance, who "shacked up" with him when he worked longshore in San Pedro a good part of 1910 to 1913, is still alive, but says that since Joe was not a man to talk about himself, he knows little of him. Joe did work at times in the wheat harvest, for several old Wobblies knew him there. If is also true that he joined with other rebels to support Madero and Magon against the tyranny of Diaz in the Mexican revolution of 1911, but he denied having been present at the liberation of Tiajuana.

In april of 1912 he was in British Columbia with Louis Moreau in an IWW strike that tied up 4000 miles of railroad construction, and he wrote songs about that strike while he was there. In the summer of 1913 he was back in San Pedro, secretary of a local longshore workers that unsuccessfully tried to organize the docks, and was jailed on "vagrancy" in an effort to discourage him. He worked so large a part of those years as a longshoreman that, in the few letters of his that have survived, he refers to himself as a "wharf rat."

Some of the published accounts about Joe Hill say that he was active in the IWW free speech fights in Spokane in 1909-10, in Fresno in 1910, and in San Diego in 1912. In these free speech fights, workers flocked

from near and far to take their turns mounting a soap box set up on some street corner. There they spoke their minds in defiance of the police and were carted off to jail in such numbers that national attention was attracted, jail costs rose, and eventually the local authorities decided that the First Amendments with its guarantees of free speech applied even in Spokane, Fresno, and San Diego. But Joe was a quiet man, who would rather listen to conversations, then go off into a corner and work out some verses on the back of an envelop, instead of taking the floor and making speeches. Historians have put him in these free speech fights because the quite common name of Joe Hill had turned up up in accounts of these events, and because of the say-so of persons not directly involved. Men who were there say Joe wasn't.

Those free speech fights, whether Joe Hill was in them or not, shaped his life and led him to write his songs. They were fights for job conditions and for the right to organize, not merely for the right to speak. Roads, dams, irrigation systems, and railroads were being built, forests were being logged and mines dug by workers who got their job through an employment agent (always called a "job shark"), to whom they paid a fee - usually a dollar, which at that time was a full day's pay. Sometimes the job evaporated before the worker could find it. Sometimes the foreman, in collusion with the shark, fired workers when they had a few days in, and thus kept a steady flow of fees to split. This practice was a major grievance of these migratory workers, and it had to be abolished before much could be done about their grievances: no beds or bedding, no showers, no chance to wash clothes, poverty pay, and food only a very hungry man could stomach.

The IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) was founded in June, 1905 largely in response to the desire of western metal miners to build a working class union along industrial, as distinguished from craft, lines. They wanted a union that would have a suitable place in it for every wage worker, so that they could back each other up. The IWW spread rapidly and pioneered in the organizing of these migratory victims of the job sharks. In Spokane, its spokesman mounted wooden soapboxes in the skidroad areas where the sharks had had their offices; they told workers that if they they would refuse to patronize the sharks their employers would soon set up some better way of hiring them. Street speaking was customary in those days for religious enthusiasts, single taxers, socialists, suffragettes and other unpopular causes.

The sharks found these new ideas dangerous, of course, and persuaded the police to harass the IWW speakers. They also got the Salvation Army to tey to drown out the speakers with their trumpets and drums. The IWW countered by making up new verses to go with the Salvation Army tunes. Starting in 1909, it issued a series of books of these songs, its famous "little red songbook to fan the flames of discontent." The first song of Joe Hill's to appear in the IWW songbook (in 1911) pictured this street situation and brought into the American language a phrase much used today by people with no idea of its origin: "Pie in the Sky". To the well-known Salvation Army hymn "In the Sweet Bye and Bye", Joe Hill had the workers singing:

Long haired preachers come out every
night,
Try to tell you what's wrong and what's
right,
But when asked about something to eat

They will answer with voices so sweet:
You will eat, bye and bye,
In that glorious land above the
sky (way up high).
Work and pray, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky when
you die.

After a few more similarly sacrastic verses, the song gets serious:

Workingmen of all countries unite,
Side by side we for freedom must fight;
When the world and its wealth we have
gained.
To the grafters we'll sing this refrain:
You will eat, bye and bye,
When you've learned how to cook
and to fry;
Chop some wood, 'twill do you good,
And you'll eat in the sweet bye
and bye.

Another of Joe Hill's songs plainly designed to be sung to music furnished by the Salvation Army, had this chorus:

There is power, there is power
In the band of workingmen
When they stand, hand in hand.
That's a power, that's a power
That must rule in every land
One Industrial Union Grand.

That job sharks weighed so heavily on the backs of these workers that, in early editions of the IWW songbook, over half the songs are attacks on them. Hill wrote a total of 32 songs before he was executed in 1915. The current (33rd) edition of the IWW songbook carries 14 of them among its 57 songs. Most

of his songs are parodies on hymns or popular tunes of the day. For a few he wrote his own music.

Those were the days before radio, and phonographs had not yet become popular. Saloons were working class centers, especially in the west, even for those who did not imbibe extensively, serving as restaurants and often simply places to get in out of the rain. Most had a resident piano player, usually capable of singing the popular songs of the day. Audience, singers, piano players were all on the move and a new "hit" spreah almost as fast as it does by radio. Joe's lines about the longhaired preachers were becoming popular even before they first appeared in print and had become so well known that, when the IWW wanted to advertise its forthcoming 1911 edition of the songbook, it said it would contain this song, but had Joe Hill's name wrong. In July, 1912, the Industrial Worker similarly announced that a new edition would carry Joe Hill's hit "Casey Jones-The Union Scab."

A top hit of the day was a ballad about John Luther Jones of Cayce, Kentucky (and so know as "Casey" Jones) who, at the throttle of a passager train pulling into Vaughn from a double-S bend, saw the caboose of a sidetracked freight projecting onto his track. He told his fireman to jump, put his whole weight on the brakes and thereby saved all lives but his own. "Casey Jones" in 1911 had come to mean the heroic locomotive engineer, the envy of every small boy who watched a train go by.

Meanwhile the workers who repair locomotives and other rolling stock in railroad shops had gone on strike September 30, 1911 across the entire Harriman system from the Illinois Central to the Southern Pacific. They struck because Harriman insisted they

bargain as 16 different craft unions and not as one shopmens' federation of these unions. The strike lasted until 1915. During it, the engineers and other crafts that move the trains kept on working, hauling scabs to take the place of the strikers and even making emergency repairs on the raod themselves. They too were union members amd claimed they didn't work to break strikes byt said they had to do this because each union had its separate contract.

The main argument of the new union, the IWW, was that all in the same industry should be in the same union, and no worker should help break the strike of any other worker. Joe Hill's comic parody on the popular hit tune started off:

The workers on the S.P. line to strike
sent out a call,
But Casey Jones, the engineer, he wouldn't
strike at all.
His boiler it was leaking and his drivers
on the bum,
And his engine and its bearing they were
all out of plumb.

Casey Jones kept his junk pile
running.
Casey Jones was working double time.
Casey Jones got a wooden medal
For being good and faithful on the
SP line.

The words, rolling along in the rhythm of an elliptical box car wheel, told how Casey "went a-scabbin' on the angels" but they "promptly fired Casey down the golden stairs." It became a hit which, through the strike, replaced the popular ballad about the original Casey. Vaudeville teams used it in song and dance routines, and the strikers spread it

across the country. Joe Hill's scribbling on an envelop had become a light in men's minds, a new hope in their hearts, a new bond of fellowship, a force shaping history into something less shameful than it had been.

That same 1912 edition of the IWW songbook also carried other songs by Joe Hill. Irving Berlin had made a hit in 1911 with a song on the Turkey Trot dance craze, "Everybody's Doin' It." Joe made that over into a song about IWW: "Everybody's Join' It." He parodied the gospel hymn "Count Your Blessings", with advice to count your pennies, count them one by one, to see if you have the price of a coffee-and. In January, 1912, the textile workers of Lawrence, Massachusetts had struck against a cut in weekly pay as the law reduced their hours, and asked the IWW to organize their strike. John Golden, an A.F. of L. labor leader, offered to ward off this IWW menace by supplying scabs. To a popular Sunday school tune, Hill wrote, "A Little Talk With Golden Makes It Right, All Right."

In April, 1912, he has been in the strike along the Canadian Northern in the Fraser River Valley, a strike against small construction companies that sometimes built camps with their walls made out of the jute sacking in which potatoes were shipped. To Russel's 1905 "Where the River Shannon Flows", very popular with barroom tenors, Hill wrote a song with the following verse:

These gunny sack contractors have all
been dirty actors,
And they're not our benefactors as each
fellow worker knows;
So we've got to stick together, in fine
or dirty weather,
And we will show no white feather where
the Fraser River flows.

For the 1913 edition of the songbook he wrote nine more songs, two of which were anti-war. One of these commented upon the frequent sending of troops against strikers, and explained that Gatling guns had been mounted thousands of miles from any shore where invaders might come, and so were obviously intended for use agaisnt strikers. This song pledged that, "Should I ever be a soldier, 'neath the Red Flag I will fight," the red flag being the universal symbol of labor's struggle at that time.

Another, to the swinging tune of "Sunlight", told of the misfortunes of a lad who joined the Navy to see the world and spent all his time scrubbing decks, polishing brass and shining the Captain's shoes. Two of the new songs ridiculed workers who let their employers do their thinking for them. One concerned "Scissorbill," who hated foreigners, blacks and union men. The other was to the tune of the ragtime hit of the day, "It Looks to Me Like a Big Time Tonight," and told about Mr.Block, who "head was made of lumber and was solid as a rock."

"Mr. Block" was being sung at a street meeting in Salt Lake City on August 13, 1913, when thugs of the Utah Construction Company attacked the IWW speaker and others and broke the meeting up. These company goons felt they must suppress the IWW, for it had struck the company's job at Tucker, Utah, that spring and, despite all that plug uglies could do (including deporting a trainload of strikers to Provo), the Wobblies had won improved conditions and a 25¢ a day pay increase. There was an active IWW Local 69 in Salt Lake City that irritated the establishment with its orgainizing efforts and with its frank preaching that one class does the work and produces all the wealth while another class takes that wealth and leaves the workers just enough to keep on

working; that this arrangement sets national ruling classes at war with each other for markets and resources and makes them pit workers against each other, sometimes with patriotic flags and rifles, sometimes with craft unions and work tools; and that such a system turns editors and diplomats into liars, judges into oppressors and tries to turn workers into unthinking idiots. Law and order, in Salt Lake City and everywhere else, were against the IWW.

At that time, Joe Hill was back in San Pedro. Besides longshoring and tinkering with the piano in Mr. Malkins' Beacon Street Mission, he had managed to start an organization among his fellow "wharf rats." It didn't last long, and the chief of police, who knew Hill and his record as an IWW song writer, ran him in for vagrancy, later lying to the Salt Lake City authorities that it had been for holding up a street car.

Late in 1913 Joe left San Pedro and went to Salt Lake City. He got a job in the machine shop at the Silver King Mine in Park City, about 30 miles out of town. He later became ill, was hospitalized for two weeks, then came into Salt Lake City with Otto Applequist, his foreman on the job. They boarded with the Swedish Eselius family, and during the Yuletide season, mixed with other Swedes, some of them socialists. Among them he met a Dr. McHugh. If he didn't find a new job soon, he planned to head East.

On Saturday, January 10, 1914 Hill went out for the evening. About half past eleven he knocked at the door of Doctor McHugh's home to seek treatment for a gunshot wound. He had walked to the doctor's home and the doctor later reported that his shirt and under shirt were saturated with fresh blood. The bullet had gone completely through his body, missing the heart and grazing the lung. It had also penetrated both the front and back

of his jacket at points that indicated that his arms had been raised up high when he was shot, but it had not left any hole in his overcoat. This wound eventually cost him his life; the State of Utah executed him for the strange reason that he gave no explanation of how he got it.

Only a few facts have been established about this wound but they indicate the following:

1. That Joe was shot not far from Dr. McHugh's home and not long before 11:30 p.m.;

2. That he was shot with his jacket on but with his overcoat off;

3. That he was shot with his coat pulled up up into the position of a man "stuck up" in a holdup.

Joe never made any statement about how he was wounded. The nearest to such a statement is that made by Dr. McHugh to a newspaper reporter - that Hill had told him; "Doctor, I've been shot. I got into a stew with a friend of mine who thought I had insulted his wife. When he told me I had insulted his wife I knocked him down, but he got up and pulled a gun and shot me. I have walked away up here and I guess it isn't serious. Because this fellow who shot me didn't really know what he was doing, I want to have nothing said about it." This newspaper report of what the doctor said Hill had told him is neither supported nor contradicted by anything Joe Hill ever said to anyone on record. He believed it was his own business how he got shot and he told no one. The general belied that there was a woman in the case hangs only on this slight thread, yet it may for all that be true. Dr. McHugh dressed he wound and Dr. Bird, who was passing by and noticed a light, drove Hill back to his boarding house, where he was put to bed in a room off the kitchen.

Sunday and Monday, as he rested in bed, there was talk in that kitchen about how two masked men had gone into Morrison grocery store as they were closing up at 10:00 p.m. Saturday, and had shot Mr. Morrison and the elder of his two sons, both of whom were in the store with him. It was thought that one of the assailants may have been wounded.

Years later, and of course not entering into the court evidence in the case, the historian Vernon Jensen (in Industrial and Labor Relations Review, April, 1951) that, in 1946, he had talked with Dr. McHugh, who had explained that on the Monday following Hill's being wounded, he had been out of town on a difficult confinement case and learned about the Morrison murders only in the evening as he came to the Eselius boarding house to check on Hill's wound. According this source, the doctor asked Joe if he had killed the Morrisons and Joe had told him: "I'm not such a bad fellow as you think. I shot in self-defense. The older man reached for his gun and I shot him, and the younger boy grabbed the gun and I shot him to save my life. I wanted some money to get out of town."

This 1946 release of a skeleton from the doctor's closet set off a series of allegations that Hill had been guilty of the Morrison murder and had confessed it to his doctor. These allegations are absurb. Had he been involved he certainly had no reason to tell the doctor or anyone else. Trial records definitely established the ten o'clock situation in the Morrison store; the older Morrison dragging a sack of potatoes across the mani store floor, while the revolver that may or may not have been used was in an icebox behing the counter. Two masked men had entered - one shouting, "We've got

you now," shot Mr. Morrison and the elder of the two boys in the store, and then gone out wiht no attempt at roberry. The statement Jensen cites McHugh as quoting is plainly in conflict with the position of the men, the gun, and other established facts of the physical situation in the store. It is the the sort of answer a man such as Hill, whose natural speech was one of sarcasm and irony, might have given to McHugh under the circumstances - he was wounded and lying under sedation in the room off the kitchen. Although it was McHugh who got the police to arrest Hill, McHugh never put any such information into the trial records. Historian Philip Foner, in his book, "The Case of Joe Hill," (p.113) mentions that Barrie Stavis, the dramatist, saw correspondence from McHugh seeking $500 reward for information leading to the arrest of the Morrison killer.

But all of this has nothing to do with the Morrison murder or the trial of Joe Hill; only with efforts to muddy Joe's reputation half a century after he was executed. If Jensen hasrecorded his conversation with McHugh accurately then plainly McHugh mistook an ironic and impossible answer to his question as a confession and worried about it for years. Gibbs Smith, whose University of Utah Press book, "Joe Hill" (1969) is the most complete account available of either Joe's life or his trial, looked into this and could get nowhere, either from the doctor's widow or from the historian Jensen, who claims that he had misplaced a letter in which McHugh confirmed Jensen's account of Hill's purported "confession". In evaluating this, one may note the obvious bias against Hill that Jensen showed in his 1951 article, attempting to read the mind of a man dead 36 years; putting words into the

mouths of witnesses other than they themselves recalled; and assuming such key issues as the possible wounding of an assailant as having been established.

This historian had earlier written a rather friendly book on the IWW in the lumber industry, but in 1950 came out with his major work, Heritage of Conflict , the history of the metal mine workers union, filled with anti-IWW bias, showing him so prone to jump to an anti-IWW conslusion that,on page 347 he interprets an apprehension that the Wobs in Butte might notbe able to pay their hall rent as evidence they knew the Miners' Hall would be blown up in June!

Dr. McHugh had mingled with socialists and knew Joe Hill had written many IWW songs. He told the police that Hill might be a suspect in the Morrison case and offered to make it easy for them to take Hill by giving him a sedative just before the arrest was made, and did so. Yet the police, entering Hill's bedroom on Tuesday evening, shot at him and wounded him in the had and arm. Later they even tried to use these wounds as additional evidence to tie him to the Morrison murders. The police reported that they found in Hill's pocket $5.60 and a note reading: "Hilda and Christina were here. We went to the Empress, We tried to find you. Otto." Otto was reported to have returned to the Eselius boarding house late that nihgt, and no trace of him has been found after that - another mystery.

Up to the time of Hill's arrest, the police had assumed that the Morrison murder was an act of revenge by some persons whom Morrison had sent to prison while he was a policeman. No attempt at robbery had been made. The shout, "We've got you now." fitted this assumption. Morrison had lived in dread if just such revenge and, that very day,

had spoken to his former police captain of his fear. He had told his wife to follow through on this line of inquiry if he were killed.

But once Hill was arrested this line of investigation ended. The Salt Lake City Police got in touch with the Chief of Police in San Pedro and he sent them a letter that was published in the January 23, 1914 Salt Lake Herald-Republican, reading, in part: "I see you have under arrest for murder one Joseph Hillstrom. You have the right man... He is certainly an undesirable citizen. He is somewhat of a musician and a writer of songs for the IWW songbook."

The remarkable police psychology that enables a chief of police in San Pedro to know who is the right suspect in a Salt Lake City murder case may be besides the point here. The point is that, in both cities, the police hated the IWW, knew Hill was not only a member, but the author of the derisive songs that got under their skins and, in both places, acted as though this were grounds enough to convict him. And convict him they did. Did the sacrifice of an innocent man strike them as one way of ending the revenge feud with Morrison's actual killers?

The case on which they tried and executed Joe Hill involved the following rather nebulous set of circumstances. A younger son of Morrison who was in the store at the time of the murder and also some passers-by, said Hill somewhat resembled one of the murders. The murdereds had red bandana handerkershiefs and so did Hill, but so did most workers in the area. Morrison kept a gun in his ice locker. This was out and one cartridge had been discharged. Since it had been Morrison's practice, as a requirement of the police force to keep the hammer of the revolver resting on a discharged cartridge as an extra safety

precaution, this does not establish that the revolver had been fired that night. No bullet was found in Morrison store. If the gun had been fired, it must have been into someone who took the bullet out of the store in his body, and not into Joe Hill, who had been wounded by a bullet that went completely through him. The theory in the arrest, trial and execution of Joe Hill was simply that the Morrison gun may have been fired and that Hill had a bullet wound for which he offered no explanation. The state stuck to this line through the trial, appeals and the pleas of the Swedish ambassador Ekengren, supported by President Wilson, that there was no conclusive evidence to find Hill guilty. The Utah Supreme Court held that the unexplained wound was evidence as damning as would have been merchandise from the store.

Throughout all of this, Joe Hill's position was a stubborn insistence that a man must be considered innocent, even if he offers no word in his defense, unless he has been proven guilty. He held to that, asking neither pardon nor commutation when such seemed possible, but demanding a new trial so he could vindicate himself. He also made the very practical point that, if those who were with him when he was shot did not come forward on their own account, it would do him little good to name them, even if he could. To liberal sympathizers this stubborn insistence seemed strange. It did not seem strange to the migratory workers from whose ranks Hill had been picked out. Scholars still write, professing a wierd "objectivity", as they insist that while Hill was never proved guilty, neither had he proved himself innocent. Neither could ten thousand other wandering men who might have been charged with Morrison's murder and who could have been unable to prove where they were at the time. To

such men, the logically inescapable doctrine that the burden of proof falls on the accuser and not on the accused is of an importance that homekeeping people cannot appreciate. Hill's boyhood had been spent in a religious family that held to a rigid code. He dropped his theology it would seem, but not the value system that went with it. Consistent with that value system and his sense of loyalty to his class, he refused to budge an inch from his position that the prosecution must prove him guilty. Shortly before his death he wrote: "If my life will help some other workingman to a fair trial, I am ready to give it."

The trial had interested many scholars. Gibbs Smith had given it the most thorough analysis, and it has been examined by Renshaw, Tyler, Foner and Dubofsky in their histories of the IWW. All scholars, including Jensen and Morris who wanted to find Hill guilty, agree that he was not proven guilty. Hill contended, as we all should contend, that this was grounds enough to let him live. If the Supreme Court felt that it must, under the laws that restricted it, sustain the verdict, it could in its capacity as Pardons Board, have commuted the life sentence and ordered Hill tried for the murder of the younger Morrison, thus giving Joe the new trial he wanted and clearing the air. It didn't want to do that.

Hill was arrested January 13, 1914, charged with murder on the 20th, pleaded not guilty on the 27th and went to trial on June 17th with attorneys who served him with out fee, but who, in the eyes of all students, bungled the trial. Joe discharged them in the midst of the trial. At that point, Virginia Snow Stephens, an art teacher at the University of Utah, and a member of a prominent Mormon family, interceded and obtained more competent counsel for Hill. She was

fired from her position at the University for this, and it was, in any case, too late. The court seemed determined to convict. It denied a defense request for an instruction that, in this trial for murder, "when circumstances which succeed and depend upon each other as a chain, alone are relied upon for conviction, each link must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt," even though such instruction would have have been justified by precedent. Instead the court gave a "preponderance of evidence" instruction and on through the appeals, the courts held that the parallel was the strands in a cable and not the links in a chain. No motive for Hill to have killed Morrison was ever offered, nor considered necessary by these courts.

The jury found Hill guilty in response to the prosecution's argument that, if Hill were innocent, he would speak up for himself. Such an argument should have been grounds enough, in itself, for granting a new trial.

On July 8th the judge gave him the choice of being hanged or shot. He had been shot by persons unknown on January 10th, and again by the police as he lay under sedation in bed on the 13th, and he replied, in his own ironic style: "I'll take shooting. I'm used to that. I have been shot a few times and I guess I can stand it again." He was sentenced to be shot September 4, 1914, but appeals were in process until he was turned down by the Utah Supreme Court on July 3, 1915. He was resentenced on August 2 to be executed on October 1. Intervention of Ambassador Eckengren and President Wilson postponed the actual date until November 19, 1915.

A wave of protest against this legal murder swept America and other countries. In November, the convention of the American Federation of Labor, with the support of the Utah delegation, urged a new trial. The

Salt Lake City labor leaders opposed it. The establishment used many ruses to confuse the issues. It gave out news items about threats received by mail against the Governor of Utah and others. Later the postmaster complained that none of those letters had gone through his post office and that he had not been asked to investigate them. The newspapers carried a "leak" from the secret "information files" of the Pardon Board, a horrendous record of various convictions of Joe Hill (who had never been convicted of anything but that "vagrancy" charge in San Pedro), including a charge of blowing up the Los Angeles Times Building.

All this "information" was clearly refutable and the defense had never been confronted with it. Did it influence the Board of Pardons? When the police took out Hill's one and only suit so he could be buried it it, they gave the press a news story: that here was final evidence that Hill had murdered Morrison, for the word "Morrison" was written on a paper attached to it. A police clerk later explained he had done so in case the suit was asked for as evidence in the case.

During the nearly two years that Joe Hill was in jail, he wrote some of his finest songs. Two that have stayed alive in the movement have original music by Hill: "Workers of the World, Awake" and "Rebel Girl." His persistent humor showed in a parody of the British marching song "Tipperary", which he made into a song for San Francisco's unemployed, "It's A Long Way Down To The Soupline." He impressed reporters with his calm demeanor, his humor and the evidence of a clear conscience. The night before his execution he wrote the famous verses of his "Last Will." He walked to his death unaided and himself called out "Fire" to his execution squad at daybreak on November 19th.

He had asked that his body be taken out of Utah and, after a funeral service by Salt Lake City sympathizers, it was shipped to Chicago, where unexpected thousands poured out for his funeral. Only a small fraction of them could get into the West Side Auditorium, but all marched to the cemetary where Hill's body was to be cremated, singing the songs Hill had written as they marched. An amazed reporter wrote: "What sort of man is this whose death is celebrated with songs of revolt and who at his bier has more mourners than any prince or potentate?"

As his last will requested, the following year packets of his ashes were distributed by rebels at May Day or other appropriate observances on all continents and at sea.

Need one ask what the relevance of Joe Hill is for today? He was the kind of man we always need more of. The messages in his songs ring true today. His determination is something we need to rescue this planet, and his humor somehting we need to make this determination liveable. Hill was a practical man. He caught the world's fancy with the telegram he sent to Bill Haywood, secretary of the IWW in Chicago: "Don't waste any time in mourning: Organize!"

By organize he meant join the Industrial Workers of the World, the union for all workers that he was helping to build. It is still there, at 2440 N. Lincoln, Chicago, Ill. 60614, waiting to hear from any workers who have not joined it yet, and taking its instructions from those who have.

Fred Thompson
September 18, 1971

Editing by X303659
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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



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born 1879; executed 1915

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IWW songwriter

by
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752 West Webster, Chicago, IL 60614

★ Education

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ISBN 0-917124-09-X

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Industrial Workers of the World

Set up and printed in the United States of America
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Shortly after Salt Lake City police had arrested Joe Hill on January 13, 1914, they got in touch with the Chief of Police of San Pedro, California, where Hill had previously lived. The Chief of Police there had fought Hill's efforts to organize longshoremen and replied: "I see you have under arrest for murder one Joseph Hillstrom. You have the right man. . . . He is certainly an undesirable citizen. He is somewhat of a musician and writer of songs for the IWW Songbook."*

His meaning was clear. Though he lacked details of the murder with which Hill was charged, he had no doubt that Hill was "the right man." For him, Hill symbolized working class threats to the established order. The men he admired did not want their workers to organize, or to sing such songs as Joe Hill had written, ridiculing them and their police, challenging their right to wealth they had not produced. From these biases it came about that Joe Hill was tried and executed for a murder he did not commit.

Joe Hill was born Joel Emmanuel Häggland on October 7, 1879 in Gävle, Sweden. One of nine children, he was brought up in a conservative and highly religious family atmosphere. It was a closely knit family in which

*Salt Lake City *Herald-Republican*, January 23, 1914.

both parents encouraged music, and during his early years Joel learned to play the organ as well as the violin, the accordian and the guitar. In 1887, Joel's father, Olaf, a railway conductor, was injured at work and died. All members of the hard-hit family had to earn what they could, including eight-year-old Joel who went to work in a rope factory. In his teens he contracted tuberculosis of the skin and joints and was treated for it in a Stockholm hospital, but the disease left his body scarred. In 1902 his mother died and the family fell apart. He and his brother Paul left for America and landed in New York. Like many immigrants of the time, Joel changed his name, first to Joseph Hillstrom and then to Joe Hill.

Few hard facts are known about Joe Hill's first ten years in America. Although there are a number of stories about the places he had been and the things he had done, one account putting him in Hawaii, few can be substantiated. His brother Paul later told Ralph Chaplin that at first Joe worked as a porter in New York and played the piano in saloons there. He did send a Christmas card to his sister from Cleveland in 1905. In April 1906 he was in San Francisco during the earthquake and wrote an account of it for his home town paper. He became one of thousands of migrant workers who were building America or harvesting its wheat. Men who worked the harvests with him later spoke of knowing him there, and he was in a picket camp on the Canadian Northern Railway when the IWW struck it in 1912. He worked so much of the time as a longshoreman that he referred to himself as a "wharf rat." Bill Chance shacked with him in San Pedro, where he worked longshore, but says Joe talked so little about himself that he could add no details. Neither could Alexander McKay, who also worked with Hill, and who wrote his recollections of the 1912 San Diego free speech fight in 1947.

During the first half of 1911, Hill with his friend Sam Murray and other IWW members and radicals who supported Madero and Magon in the Mexican revolution

were in Lower California, trying to protect it from Diaz. Hill was there only off and on, but he could not have been there if he had not by that time dropped the conservative views with which he came to America. In 1913 he was secretary of the local the IWW had formed in San Pedro.

The earliest parody written by Hill that we know of went to the hymn "In the Sweet Bye and Bye," a Salvation Army favorite. It was already in circulation before it appeared in the 1911 edition of the IWW songbook. It went:

Long-haired preachers come out every night,
Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right,
But when asked about something to eat
They will answer with voices so sweet:

You will eat, bye and bye
In that glorious land above the sky;
Work and pray, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky when you die.

If you fight hard for children and wife—
Try to get something good in this life—
You're a sinner and bad man, they tell,
When you die you will sure go to hell. (Chorus)

Hill's song added a phrase "pie in the sky" to the American vocabulary, a phrase often used by people who would be surprised how it came about. In those days before movies, before radio, when phonograph was still an odd-sounding toy, the music most available to working people, especially to the migratory workers of the West, was that of the Salvation Army and other street evangelists. They usually performed along the "skid road," the section of town where migratory workers could find the cheapest meals, the cheapest "flops" or lodging, and a series of signs chalked on blackboards offering them another job for a dollar—roughly a day's pay at the time. These skid roads became the field of bat-

tle for men's minds between those who wanted to keep things as they were and those who wanted to change and improve them. Hill's parody had several verses, the final verse and chorus running:

Workingmen of all countries, unite;
Side by side we for freedom will fight;
When the world and its wealth we have gained
To the grafters we'll sing this refrain:

You will eat, bye and bye,
When you've learned how to cook and to fry;
Chop some wood, 'twill do you good,
And you'll eat in the sweet bye and bye.

Hill's union, the Industrial Workers of the World, was launched in 1905 by the Western Federation of Miners, some smaller unions, and rebels in better established ones, in the hope of bringing the millions of unorganized workers and those in existing organizations into One Big Union of the Working Class, so that no group of workers could be used to break the strike of another group. Asserting, as its name implied, the widest jurisdiction a union could have, its concern was the welfare of the worldwide working class, and its ultimate aim the reorganization of industry to be run by its workers for the general good.

Its practical activities were smaller scale, but notable. In the Pittsburgh industrial suburb of McKees Rocks in 1909, in response to a call for help from car builders already out on strike and excluded from the craft union a handful of skilled workers had there, the IWW went in and won. The strike drew wide attention, for it proved that unskilled immigrant workers, speaking a confusion of tongues, could stick together and win, even though the established unions had refused to accept them. On western construction projects, in lumber camps, and along the skid roads where these migratory workers got their jobs, the IWW was engaged in efforts to raise the pay,

establish showers and laundry rooms on these out-of-town jobs and make the company provide beds and bedding so that workers could discard the blanket rolls they had carried on their backs.

In Spokane, Washington, the IWW concluded that the practical way to organize the workers on these projects was to get them to make the companies set up a free hiring system by concerted refusal to patronize the "job sharks" who sold them the right to hire out. This could be done without risking a strike. The IWW promoted the idea from skid road soap boxes. The soap box, an improvised stand for a street speaker, was an established institution of the times. It was used by evangelists, by socialists, by advocates of new diets and currency reform, by the IWW, and by women who had the novel idea that they too should be allowed to vote.

As the IWW campaign to bypass the job sharks became effective, these employment agents countered by getting the Salvation Army or other religious groups to drown out the IWW speakers with trumpet and drum. The IWW replied with song cards containing verses to be sung to these hymn tunes. Both used the song "Where Is My Wandering Boy Tonight?" that closed a still current melodrama, but the IWW version depicted the wandering boy as being yanked by a cop from a freight train and sent to a chain gang. For the Army favorite, "Revive Us Again," the card carried:

O, why don't you work like other men do?
How in hell can I work when there's no work
to do?
Hallelujah, on the bum! Hallelujah, bum again!
Hallelujah, give us a handout to revive us again.

These song cards in 1909 grew into the first IWW Songbook, in its early editions aimed mostly at employment sharks. Hill's pie-in-the-sky song fit this skid road situation and so did another he wrote to the hymn "There Is Power in the Blood":

There is power, there is power
In a band of workingmen
When they stand hand in hand;
That's a power, that's a power
That must rule in every land—
One industrial union grand.

When the employment agents found they could not win by drowning out the speakers, they got the city council to pass an ordinance denying the IWW the right to speak. This led to the IWW Free Speech Fight of 1909-1910 and to headlines about the IWW across the nation. Figuring the jail could hold only a limited number, the IWW sent out a call for volunteers to test the constitutionality of the ordinance. These men mounted the box, said a few words and were hauled off to jail. On the first day, November 2, 1909, 103 were arrested. By March, jails and a schoolhouse turned into a jail were filled. Jail conditions and police brutality aroused wide indignation and created pressure in lumber and construction camps to boycott Spokane merchants. A compromise was reached, the IWW resumed publication of its banned *Industrial Worker,* spoke once more on the streets and laid the basis for much improvement of job conditions in the Inland Empire.

Similar free speech fights related to similar issues developed in Fresno, California in 1910, in San Diego in 1912, and in other towns, with the same basic story, volunteer speakers herded to jail, brutalized by police and vigilantes, with the right of free speech eventually asserted.

Did Joe Hill get arrested in these free speech fights? Various histories say he did, but always quote the same source as evidence—an account of a meeting in London, England, at the time of Hill's execution, reporting that various speakers there said he was involved in these fights, and that is not good evidence. A Hill who addressed a San Francisco meeting protesting San

Diego police brutality may have been some other Hill. Those who knew Joe describe him as a quiet man, and not a speaker.

Another of Hill's songs, his parody on Casey Jones, got into wide circulation, like his pie-in-the-sky song, months before it got into the 1912 IWW Songbook. He wrote it in support of the railroad shopmen who walked out on strike in September, 1911, throughout the Harriman system that stretched from the Illinois Central to the Southern Pacific. These shopmen who repaired railroad cars and locomotives were divided among 16 different craft unions and wanted to bargain as a federation of the 16 instead of separately. Harriman said no. These shopmen struck for over four years and still did not win because five other crafts running the trains still ran them, repaired them, and hauled scabs in to the shops. It was a situation that painfully illustrated the merits of the IWW argument for industrial unionism, an argument it was almost alone in making in those days.

By 1911 "Casey Jones" had come to mean locomotive engineer because of the popularity of a series of ballads memorializing the heroic John Luther Jones of Cayce, Kentucky. He had lost his life April 29, 1900 while saving the lives of his crew and passengers with his full weight on the brakes as his engine plowed into a sidetracked freight projecting into its path. Wallace Saunders, a black who took care of Jones's engine, wrote the original version. It was developed by vaudeville song and dance teams into a powerful rhythmic song, and well before Joe Hill wrote his industrial union parody, others had turned the original tale of Casey Jones's heroism into various unprinted verses alleging that Casey was the father of numerous children along his line. It was a well-known song, identified with locomotive engineers, and the appropriate vehicle for ridiculing how separate craft union contracts obligated them to make emergency repairs to keep engines running despite the bungling work of scab shopmen. As the song put it,

The workers on the S.P. line to strike sent
out a call
But Casey Jones the engineer, he wouldn't
strike at all;
His boiler it was leaking and his drivers on
the bum
And his engine and its bearings they were all
out of plumb.

Casey Jones kept his junk pile running;
Casey Jones was working double time;
Casey Jones got a wooden medal
For being good and faithful on the S.P. line.

In Hill's version, Casey met with an accident and "took a trip to heaven" where St. Peter told him "our musicians are on strike, you can get a job a-scabbing any time you like." But the angels got rid of him too. The striking shopmen welcomed this song of humor and defiance and circulated it across the country.

In the spring of 1912 Hill was in British Columbia during a strike on the construction of the Canadian Northern. To the tune of the Wearing of the Green, he had the strikers promising to "build no more railroads for overalls and snuff." One grievance was the poorly constructed camps with walls made out of potato sacks. To the tune of the River Shannon ballad, he wrote:

These gunny-sack contractors have all been
dirty actors,
And they're not our benefactors, each
fellow worker knows;
So we've got to stick together in fine or
dirty weather
And we'll show no white feather where the
Fraser River flows.

On this Fraser River strike he wrote other snatches used during the strike but soon forgotten. All used comic

jabs to aggravate the bosses and to boost the morale of the workers, so that they could look down on their bosses for a change. Many of his songs written for specific strike situations paralleled experience elsewhere, and had wide worker appeal.

He chose the popular songs of the day for parody. The 1912 songbook had one on Irving Berlin's Turkey Trot, turning "Everybody's Doing It" into an IWW song, "Everybody's Joining It," its optimism warranted by the growth that year of IWW in southern lumber and eastern textiles. In January workers at American Woolen Company in Lawrence, Massachusetts, walked out and asked IWW to handle their strike. John Golden, head of UTW, disgraced himself in the eyes of other union men and women, by offering to supply scabs. Hill sent the strikers a parody on a Sunday school song, "A Little Talk with Golden Makes It Right, All Right." They won their strike.

Hill had nine new songs in the 1913 songbook. As if in anticipation of what was brewing in Europe, two were anti-militarist. To the Irish air Colleen Bawn, he wrote:

We're spending billions every year
For guns and ammunition,
"Our Army" and "Our Navy" dear
To keep in good condition....
Why do they mount their Gatling guns
A thousand miles from ocean
Where hostile fleets could never run?
Ain't that a funny notion?

Another to the rollicking tune of "Sunlight" told the disappointments of a lad who joined the Navy to see the world but found he had to "scrub the deck and polish brass and shine the captain's shoes."

Some of his best-liked songs ridiculed the 1913 forerunners of Archie Bunker, who blamed their troubles on foreigners and blacks. To his Industrial Workers of the World no worker could be a foreigner. "Steamboat Bill"

had a swinging rhythm for one of the dances of 1913, and to it Hill had words about Scissorbill....

He's found in every mining camp and lumber mill;
He looks just like a human, he can eat and walk
But you will find he isn't when he starts to talk.
He'll say "This is my country" with an honest face
While all the cops they chase him out
of everyplace....
Scissorbill says "This country must be freed
From Niggers, Japs and Dutchmen and the
gol-durn Swede"...

A similar worker was "Mr. Block who thinks he may be president some day." The IWW was turning out songbooks in printings of 50,000 at a time, and Mr. Block inspired a cartoon strip about the misfortunes that his lack of class consciousness brought on him.

The gender of the terms in Hill's songs reflects the circumstance that out west the population was predominantly male, and its wage earners almost entirely male. This was balanced somewhat back east by predominantly female textile towns. Children were an important part of the labor force and, except for the textile and garment industries, women's main economic role was to produce children and rear them to working age. Here Hill was no Archie Bunker, either. He wanted women in his union. To the hit tune "Rainbow" he wrote in early 1913:

We want the tinner and the skinner and
the chambermaid,
We want the man that spikes on soles,
We want the man that's digging holes,
We want the man that's climbing poles,
And the trucker and the mucker and the
hired man
And all the factory girls and clerks,
Yes, we want every one that works...

He wrote his own music for "That's the Rebel Girl, that's the Rebel Girl/To the working class she's a precious pearl," and said he considered that his best song.

In San Pedro Hill had the use of a piano at the Beacon Street Sailors' Mission, and many of his songs seem to have been written in San Pedro. He was secretary of the IWW local there and during a short strike of dock workers was picked up by the police. They tried to get passengers on a street car to say he was the man who had held them up. None would say so, but they gave Hill 30 days for vagrancy anyway.

Late in 1913 Hill headed for the Salt Lake City area and got a job in the machine shop at the Silver King Mine in Park City, where Otto Applequist, a fellow Swede he had known in San Pedro, was foreman. In this area IWWs were not welcome either. Earlier that year the IWW had struck the Utah Construction project at Tucker, and despite attacks by thugs, had won a 25-cent increase and improved conditions. The company retaliated by sending thugs to attack IWW street meetings in Salt Lake City, where the police arrested the speakers instead of their attackers. Somewhat before Christmas, Hill and Applequist came to Salt Lake City and visited in the sizable Swedish community there, where Hill's musical talents fitted the season's festivities. They stayed at a boarding house run by the Eselius family, some of whom had known both in San Pedro.

It was in a room off the kitchen of this boarding house that Hill was arrested Monday evening, January 13, 1914. He lay in bed, a bullet wound completely through his chest, grazing heart and lungs, and under sedation. As three police entered the room, he moved an arm. The chief of police fired at Hill, shattering his knuckles. Later he explained that he thought Hill might be reaching for his gun, though he had none and though Dr.

McHugh, who had informed the police about treating Hill's wound, had told them he had Hill under morphine. The chief had come to arrest him on the theory that his wound might tie him to a revenge killing the preceding Saturday night, January 10, in John Morrison's grocery.

John Morrison, a former police officer, had lived in continuous fear of revenge. He had exchanged shots with three assailants in his store seven years earlier, and one of them was killed by police in the chase that followed. He had been attacked again the previous September and had wounded one of his assailants. He spoke of his fear of revenge to several, including his wife, whom he instructed in case he be killed to ask police to investigate a certain neighbor. On the afternoon of his death he had told a police associate, Captain John Hemple, that he would gladly give up all he had saved from years of hard work to be free of his fear of revenge. Hemple told the press, "Morrison was in constant dread of men he had arrested when he was a policeman."

The revenge killing he had feared came as he was closing his store at ten o'clock on Saturday night. One son, Arling, was sweeping; a younger son, Merlin, was near the storeroom at the back of the store. Mr. Morrison was dragging a sack of potatoes across the floor as two masked men, both armed, came into the store, hollered, "We've got you now," shot Mr. Morrison as he bent over the sack of potatoes, then shot the boy Arling and left. A revolver on the floor near Arling, belonging to Morrison, probably indicates that Arling was not an intended victim, but was shot as he came out with the store's revolver which had been kept in the icebox.

Years later a charge against Joe Hill, more serious to students of labor history than any police contention, was made by historian Vernon Jensen in the *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* for April 1951. There Jensen wrote that Dr. McHugh (who had treated Hill's chest wound) had told him in the late forties that Hill had confessed the Morrison murder to him. According to his

account, McHugh had asked Hill on Monday evening whether he had shot Morrison, and Hill had answered: "I shot him in self-defense. The older man reached for the gun and I shot him and the younger boy grabbed the gun and shot me and I shot him to save my life. I wanted some money to get out of town." Dr. McHugh had given no such story to the police nor in the trial. The alleged confession does not fit the known physical facts, for Mr. Morrison was shot dragging a sack of potatoes across the center aisle where he had no access to the gun that was kept in the icebox. It was plainly a revenge killing, with no hindrance to robbery, yet no robbery attempted.

But back to 1914. Until Dr. McHugh, who had met Hill at social events and knew him as the author of IWW parodies, notified the police about Hill's wound and arranged to sedate him, the police had followed the obvious revenge clues, but without success.

The Morrison gun had one spent cartridge. It was the practice of the Salt Lake City police to let the hammer rest on an empty chamber or discharged cartridge as an extra safety precaution. No bullet from the Morrison gun was found in the store, and probably it was not fired, yet could have been, if the bullet remained in the body of the man it hit. Neighbors who rushed to the scene upon hearing the shots said that one of the two masked men held his hands to his chest as though wounded; one neighbor reported the only words spoken by the pair as "I'm shot," while another heard this as "Oh Bob." There were blood stains on the ground. So police considered that one of the two men may have been wounded by the Morrison gun. Hill's wound, however, went completely through his chest.

Blood stains on the ground led in diverse directions. Some went down alleys, some to warehouses, some to railroad tracks. They could not have all been made by one man, and all they led to was a dog with a bleeding paw. Two men were apprehended as they grabbed a freight

leaving town; they were wanted in Arizona for a $300 robbery, and were ruled out as suspects somehow. Other suspects were taken in and released. A man had been seen lying in a ditch at 11:30 Saturday night, and got up and ran to a street car when a passerby asked him if he needed help. Later a street car conductor reported the man had taken the car downtown and by photo identified him as Frank Z. Wilson, an ex-convict Morrison had helped send to prison.

The revenge theory and all other trails were dropped by the police once they had arrested Hill. The doctor who had told them about Hill knew him as the man who wrote those IWW songs, and like the Chief of Police in San Pedro, they were satisfied that they had "the right man." One circumstance may have made them prone to forget the revenge motive and try to convict Hill: this would end a blood feud that had been going on between Morrison and some gang, a feud that would likely continue against any officers convicting members of that gang. They now had a chance to end all this while disposing of an "undesirable citizen," a stranger, whose union and whose songs they hated anyway. On January 23 through the local press the police informed all, including the gang members, that Joe Hill, IWW songwriter, was the man they would try to convict for the Morrison murder. The unjust convictions that have evoked wide indignation have usually started out, not as a conspiracy by some executive committee of the elite, but as one of the more or less routine injustices that lower authorities perpetrate, confronting those higher up with something congenial to their biases. Their superiors must go along, despite public outcry, or admit the criminal character and class bias of law enforcement.

The only link the police offered to connect Hill with the Morrison murder was that he had a bullet wound for which he offered no explanation, and the Morrison gun may have been fired. The neighbors who saw the two

masked men flee could give no trustworthy identification, but did try to. Merlin Morrison, the youngest son (13 at the time and still living), said when taken to the jail on the 14th to see Hill: "Hillstrom is about the same size and height as one of the men who entered my father's store Saturday night. As the light was bad, I could not get a lasting impression of the man's features, but Hillstrom appears to be very much the same build as the man who entered the store and whom I saw fire at my father"—or that is how the *Salt Lake Tribune,* the only available record, reported the comments of this 13-year-old boy. Again according to the press, for the transcript has been lost, Merlin said much the same at the trial. Hill gave a very different account in September 1915, when, in a statement to the Utah Board of Pardons, he recalled Merlin Morrison's visit to the jail thus:

> He was the first one to come up and look at me in the morning after my arrest. Being only a little boy, he spoke his mind right out in my presence, and this is what he said: 'No, that is not the man at all. The ones I saw were shorter and heavier set.' When he testified at the preliminary hearing, I asked him if he did not make that statement but he denied it.

Hill was arraigned on January 27, and his preliminary hearing set for the next day. At the hearing he questioned the boy and two other witnesses, for he had no attorney, and presented no defense. Trial was set for June 17. A few days after this January hearing, E.D. McDougall, an attorney, visited Hill and offered him his services for free. Hill accepted them, for he had told Ed Rowan, the local IWW secretary who had visited him after the local press had published his picture, that this did not involve the IWW and he did not want the union to get him a lawyer. McDougall's poor services at the June trial led some to wonder if the mysterious offer of free help could have been part of the plan to make sure Hill lost.

The sole link to the Morrison murder was Hill's wound. How did he get it? To this day no one knows. A

widely held belief ran that he got it out of some romantic affair but the evidence for this is slim: that a newspaper said that Dr. McHugh told a reporter that this is what Hill told him. Hill himself offered no one an explanation. The physical evidence shows that Hill was shot from the front, with his jacket on, but no overcoat, so presumably indoors, with his hands raised as if he had been held up, thus pulling his jacket high, and somewhere about an hour after the Morrison murder, and several miles away from the Morrison store. He walked to Dr. McHugh's office, which was also his home, and about five miles from the Morrison store, about 11:30, January 10, rather freshly wounded, his shirt bloodied, his heart grazed, his lung bleeding. There was no bullet hole in his overcoat, though the bullet had gone through torso, front and back of his jacket and shirts—and had been left wherever he was shot, which could not, then, have been the Morrison store.

Hill insisted that how he got wounded was his own business and that he owed no one any explanation about it. But some of his statements, combined with other data, do bear on the question. He did have a gun when he entered Dr. McHugh's office. He said he was not armed when he was shot. He threw the gun away on his ride from the doctor's office to the boarding house. Later he went with police unsuccessfully trying to find it and with the police did establish that he had bought a gun in a Salt Lake pawn shop. He hoped by identifying the gun or its make to establish that it could not have been the gun that killed the Morrisons. When he was arrested the police found in his pants pocket a note from his associate Applequist reading: "Hilda and Christina were here. We went to the Empress. Tried to find you. Otto." The Empress was a local theater. There were conflicting accounts of whether Applequist was in the Eselius home when Hill returned wounded, but he was neither seen there nor identified anywhere else thereafter.

These circumstances do make a much better case than the police had against Hill for this chain of events: that Hill went out Saturday evening leaving his gun at the boarding house; that later he returned and picked up the note; that he then went out and somehow got shot and obtained the gun from the person who shot him. For this to be the gun he had bought in the pawn shop, his assailant must have obtained it from the Eselius boarding house, making him most likely Otto Applequist. Whether this is how it happened involves limited conjecture.

Anyway, Hill consistently refused to say how he got wounded. Some urged that he might save his life by telling. He replied that if those who did know did not come forward freely on their own account it would be useless for him to identify them. So he stuck to his position that it was not up to him to prove himself innocent, but up to the police, if he was guilty, to prove that. A good lawyer could have shredded the prosecution's case, and have used physical facts about the wound to show that he could not have received it in the Morrison store or about ten o'clock. His trial in June was a farce in which he tried to dismiss Attorney McDougall for not cross-examining witnesses, but he lacked the courtroom skills to bring out the facts himself.

Belatedly a new attorney, Soren Christensen, was added through the efforts of Virginia Snow Stephen and Orrin Hilton. The court would not let them present any evidence of the fears Morrison had about revenge. They did get a chance to show that the police had tried to get a member of the Eselius household to lie against Hill under threat of jailing her son. The court would not let them ask Dr. Beer whether the holes in Hill's body and jacket could be accounted for except that he was shot with his arms high. The court would not instruct the jury in acordance with Utah precedent that such circumstantial evidence must be like a chain with no defective link; instead the

court instructed them to consider the preponderance of the evidence. McDougall got in a closing speech that botched the defense presentation, and Hill was convicted June 27.

On July 8 the judge asked Hill whether he would prefer to be hanged or shot. He answered: "I'll take shooting. I have been shot a few times and I guess I can stand it again." On September 1, a motion for a new trial was denied. In May 1915, Orrin Hilton argued the case before the Utah Supreme Court. In its decision the court dodged defense contentions by saying it could not attempt to do the work of the jury or make up for bad judgment of the jurors, but on those bullet holes it did assert great creative imagination. It argued they could be low in the coat but high in Hill's body if he got shot leaning over the counter with his coat pulled opposite to the direction in which this would pull it—and that Hill's possession of these bullet holes identified him as clearly as if he had goods stolen from the Morrison store.

On September 18, 1915, the same imaginative gentlemen met along with the Governor and the Attorney General to sit as the Board of Pardons much in the manner of Gilbert and Sullivan's Lord High Executioner. They could not reconsider what they had already passed upon, but did here meet with Hill face to face. Knowing his adamant position about revealing nothing on how he got shot, they urged him to tell them or attorneys privately. Hill said what he wanted was a new trial where witnesses could be properly cross-examined. Any ordinary crook could long before this have arranged with friends to set up some satisfactory explanation about how he got shot—but that was not Hill's way.

During these months in jail Hill wrote more songs. The fracture of the knuckles on his hand impeded writing, but he turned out music to go with his words for "The Rebel Girl" and "Workers of the World Awaken." These

two songs are less in the vernacular of the job than most of his songs, but show that in jail he had not lost the perspective of job action:

If the workers take a notion
They can stop all speeding trains;
Every ship upon the ocean
They can tie with mighty chains;
Every wheel in the creation,
Every mine and every mill,
Fleets and armies of the nations
Will at their command stand still.

Locked up, Hill was missing acquaintance with the new song hits. Europe was at war, marching to "It's a Long Way to Tipperary," and Sam Murray sent him a copy with a request for something for the unemployed around San Francisco, where many had come hoping to get jobs at the World's Fair. Hill made a song about Bill Brown's job hunt that left him singing:

It's a long way down to the soupline
It's a long way to go
It's a long way down to the soupline
And the soup is weak I know.
Goodby, good old pork chops
Farewell, beefsteak rare—
It's a long way down to the soupline
But my soup is there.

Meanwhile, worldwide protest grew on his behalf, paralleled only by concern in 1918 for Tom Mooney and in 1927 for Sacco and Vanzetti. From September 22, 1915 on, the Swedish government actively intervened on his behalf and induced President Wilson to do likewise, even though this was a state and not a federal matter and Utah officials and press resented this interference. Hill was to have been shot October 1, but on September 30, after he had written farewell letters beneath the eye of a death-

watch, a stay was granted to October 16, when the Pardon Board was to reconvene. The Swedish minister urged Hill to conciliate the Board of Pardons with an explanation about his wound, but Hill refused and said he wanted a new trial. Since he was charged with the murder of only the elder Morrison, the State could have provided for a new trial without conceding an inch on its previous conviction, by deferring execution on that score while he stood trial for the murder of Arling Morrison—but it did not want to give Hill that chance to cross-examine its witnesses and lay a foundation for witnesses he might then call. On October 18, he was sentenced to be shot November 19.

The massive protest continued to grow, with a new issue in November. On October 30, Salt Lake City police officer Myton took exception to the remarks made by R.J. Horton in a street talk on behalf of Hill, and shot and killed Horton. On November 16, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled resolved that the Governor should grant Hill a new trial. Telegrams and letters of protest came to the governor by the hundred daily, and also threatening letters, some traced later to a detective agency. Preparations to protect the governor from some imagined attack were much publicized. Hill worked calmly on a new song dedicated to the dove of peace, wired Bill Haywood, general secretary of the IWW, "Don't waste any time in mourning—organize." At 10:00 p.m., November 18, Hill handed the guard a slip of paper headed "My Last Will":

My will is easy to decide
For I have nothing to divide.
My kith don't need to fuss and moan,
"Moss does not cling to a rolling stone."
My body—Ah, if I could choose
I would to ashes it reduce

And let the merry breezes blow
My dust to where some flowers grow;
Perhaps some fading flower then
Would come to life and bloom again.
This is my last and final will:
Good luck to all of you
Joe Hill.

After a funeral service in Salt Lake City, Hill's body was brought to Chicago. The funeral fell on Thanksgiving day. Thousands had to be turned away from the West Side Auditorium. The streets were crowded for many blocks by those following the coffin, shocking others by singing Joe Hill's songs. In accordance with his Will, his body was cremated and his ashes distributed the following May First by rebels in many lands.

Joe Hill has become known as "the man who never died," the title Barrie Stavis gave to his 1951 play on Hill. His songs are still sung, and he is not forgotten. The hundredth anniversary of his birth is being honored by labor movements in many places, taking as the theme his wire: "Don't Mourn—Organize." There is a demand for his exoneration as Sacco and Vanzetti have been exonerated because they and the injustice to them have not been forgotten either.

Hill's union has regularly memorialized his execution in November along with others who gave up their lives in labor struggles in other Novembers: the eight-hour advocates who were hanged in Chicago November 11, 1887; the free speech fighters shot down on the Verona at Everett, Washington, November 5, 1916; Wesley Everest lynched for defending the Lumber Workers hall in Centralia, Washington, November 11, 1919; the miners shot down at the Columbine Mine in Colorado, November 21, 1927, and others. Ralph Chaplin wrote a verse for all of these:

Red November, black November,
Bleak November, black and red;
Hallowed month of labor's martyrs,
Labor's heroes, labor's dead.

Labor's wrath and hope and sorrow,
Red the promise, black the threat
Who are we not to remember?
Who are we to dare forget?

Black and red the colors blended,
Black and red the pledge we made—
Red until the fight is ended,
Black until the debt is paid

Hill soon became a legendary figure. References to him came up in more publications than one would want to count. A man is most likely to turn into myth and legend when his life becomes a symbol of some widely felt wish. There was an inkling of this in the unexpected thousands who filled Chicago streets at his funeral, for most of them were outside the groups that had been demanding a new trial. Some were there because they loved his songs. Some admired his determined stand that a man need not prove himself innocent, for they knew how hard it often is for migratory workers to prove the most simple facts about their lives. Some admired the man who could write that final will. All who marched felt he was a man on their side, against those who were cheating them out of the life they wanted, a man worth imitating.

In 1925 Alfred Hayes wrote a poem, "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night" that became widely known through the labor movement after Earl Robinson set it to music in the thirties. A line in that ballad, "I never died, said he," suggested the title to Barrie Stavis's play, a play prefaced with one of the first serious attempts to assemble the facts of Hill's life. In Sweden in 1951, Ture Nerman pub-

lished the information of Hill's boyhood as Joel Häggland—information quite new to Hill's friends. In 1964, the Canadian Broadcasting Company brought out a documentary on Hill in their Other Voices series, in which Don Francks sang many of Hill's songs against a background depicting his life here. Two years later Phil Ochs wrote words and music for a popular lengthy ballad. In 1970 the University of Utah Press brought out Gibbs Smith's *Joe Hill,* the most complete study of the man yet written, and republished later as a Grosset & Dunlap paperback under the title *Labor's Martyr, Joe Hill.* In Sweden and California, Bo Widerberg produced a rather imaginative film on Hill. The Swedish union SAC has honored Hill by making his birthplace into a labor museum. When King Gustav of Sweden visited America in 1976, he brought to the Walter Reuther Labor History Archives at Wayne State University, where old IWW records are preserved, copies of the extensive correspondence between the Swedish government and the American authorities on behalf of Hill. A visitor to Geneva, Switzerland, reports seeing Hill, bigger than life, decorating the wall of more than one office of the trade union internationals centered there.

There is that about Joe Hill that has endeared him to union people around the world, including many who know they might have quite an argument with Joe if they could meet. These many expressions of regard and plans to celebrate his hundredth birthday October 7, 1979, have developed largely outside of Hill's union. Hill's persistence as an enduring symbol is thus not some artifice maintained by a handful, but part of the process, like his funeral procession, through which the working class shapes its hopes and values. Hill has become an industrial William Tell. William Tell was assumed to be a real person in history until it was found that his story, or one like it, is to be found wherever there is a class society and the oppression that accompanies it.

Joe Hill, however, was a real man as well as a legend. He did live. He did organize for the IWW. He plainly had it in mind in his final wire "Organize—Don't Mourn." The IWW, a bit legendary too, is still here trying to achieve Hill's hopes for a world run by workers, able to run it for their own good when they reach an understanding not to scab on each other, or shoot each other, or let themselves be used against each other in any way. The world has changed since 1915. Then Hill's vision of world labor solidarity was a decorative sentiment in a world torn by a war fought with weapons now obsolete. Today that vision of world labor solidarity has become indispensable to human survival. Is it too optimistic to feel that the warmth shown Joe Hill in 1979 is a recognition of this fact?

★ ★ ★

On May 29, 1979, Harriet L. Marcus, Vice-Chairman of the Utah Board of Pardons replied to Folke G. Anderson, a Swedish-American musician who has sought exoneration for Hill. She wrote: "Dear Mr. Anderson: The Board feels that it would be inappropriate to grant a retroactive pardon in an ambiguous case." If the case was ambiguous, why did they shoot Joe Hill?

What Is IWW Doing Now?

Since Joe Hill wrote his Casey Jones parody union mergers and more industrial unions have changed the picture somewhat, but the working class is still being used to threaten itself: the workers in this plant against the workers in that; the workers in this country against the workers in another, in peace and in war. The great working class need still is for us to organize ourselves so that we cannot be used against each other. To this great task we bid you welcome.

Alike on jobs we have organized and on jobs where IWW members belong to other unions, we try to make the job a healthier and more pleasant place to earn a living. We urge democracy on the job and democracy in the unions as foundation stones of the better world labor can build. We try to spread more understanding of what can be done here and now, and what can be hoped for if we keep doing that. We urge that unions everywhere get their research people together on planning, as a world labor project, the best use of this planet's resources. We see that doing this puts a new perspective on everything.

We invite all wage and salary earners, whether they are members of other unions or not, to join and help us. Drop us a line about your job.

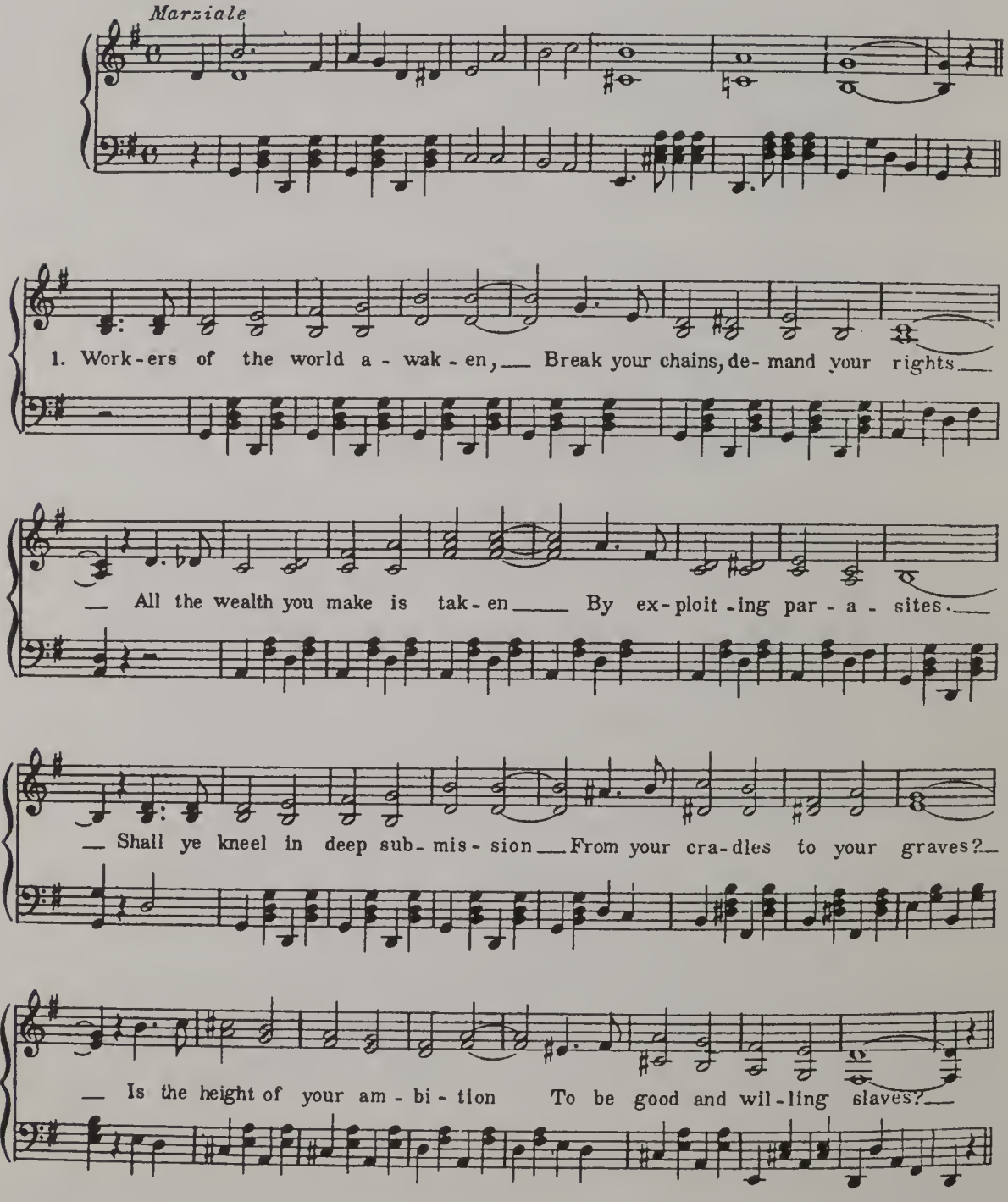
Marching-Song dedicated to all class-conscious workers_ everywhere

Workers of the World Awaken

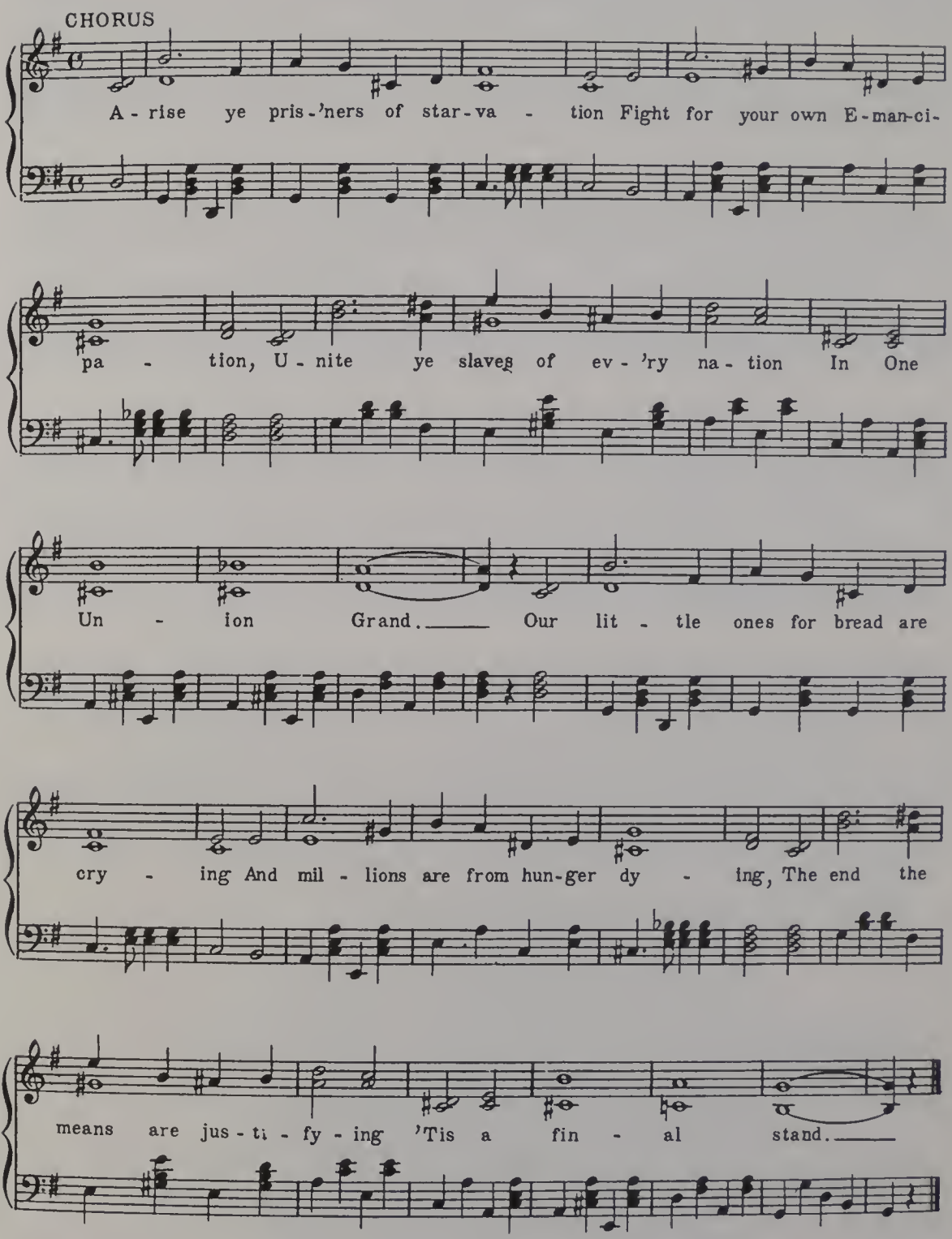
Introduction

Words & Music by JOE HILL

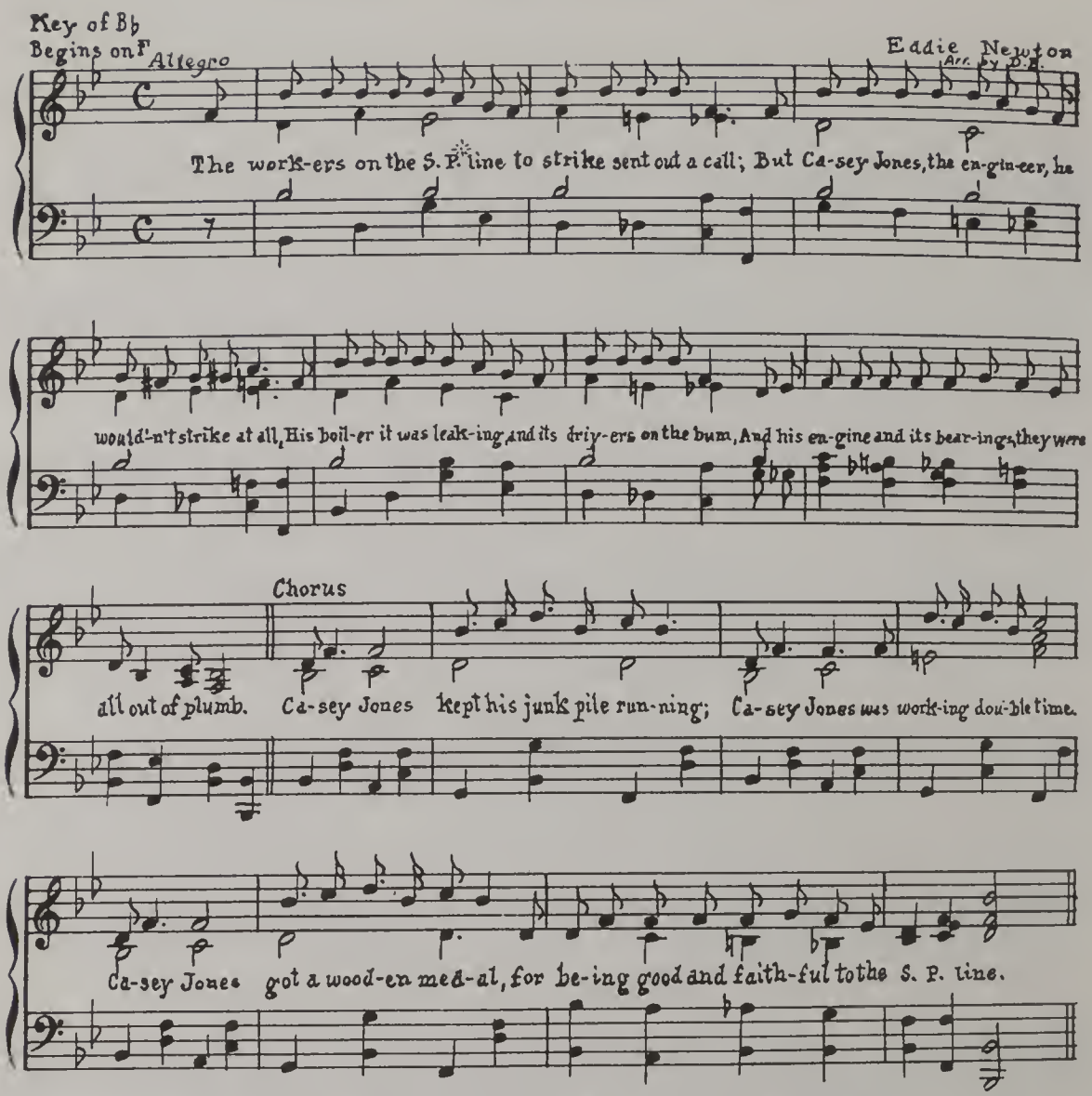
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CHORUS
A - rise ye pris - 'ners of star - va - tion Fight for your own E - man - ci -
pa - tion, U - nite ye slaves of ev - 'ry na - tion In One
Un - ion Grand. Our lit - tle ones for bread are
cry - ing And mil - lions are from hun - ger dy - ing, The end the
means are jus - ti - fy - ing 'Tis a fin - al stand.

CASEY JONES



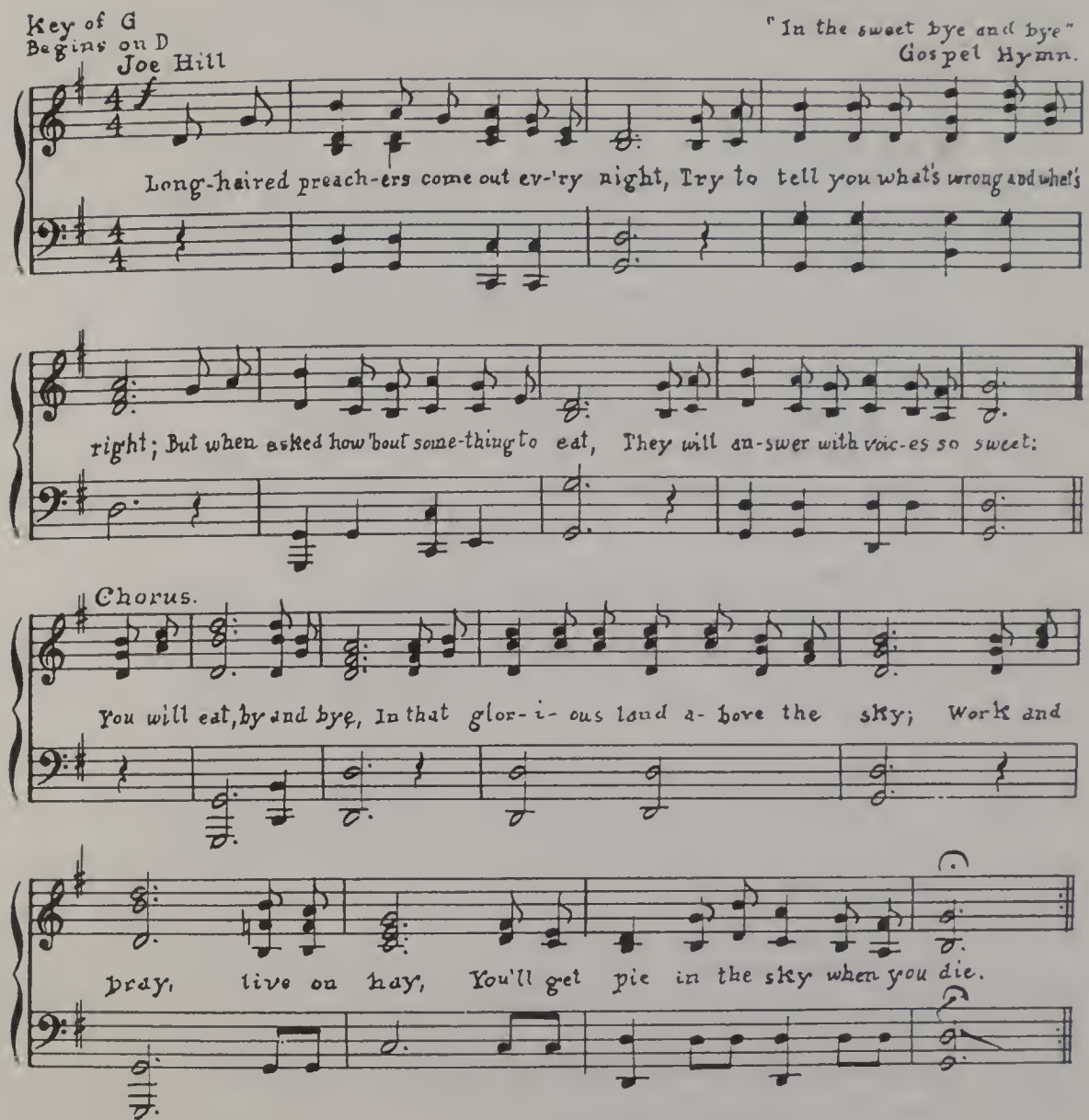
2- The workers said to Casey "Won't you help us win this strike?"
But Casey said "Let me alone, you'd better take a hike."
Then Casey's wheezy engine ran right off the worn out track.
And Casey hit the river with an awful crack.
Casey Jones hit the river bottom;
Casey Jones broke his blooming spine,
Casey Jones was an Angeleno,
He took a trip to heaven on the S. P. line.

3- When Casey Jones got up to heaven to the Pearly Gate.
He said "I'm Casey Jones, the guy that pulled the S. P. freight."
"You're just the man," Said Peter; "our musicians went on strike,
You can get a job a-scabbing any time you like."
Casey Jones got a job in heaven;
Casey Jones was doing mighty fine;
Casey Jones went scabbing on the angels,
Just as he did to workers on the S. P. line.

4- The angels got together, and they said it wasn't fair.
For Casey Jones to go around a-scabbing every where.
The Angels Union Number twenty three, they sure were there,
And they promptly fired Casey down the Golden Stair:
Casey Jones went to Hell a-flying
"Casey Jones" The Devil said "On fine,"
"Casey Jones get busy shoveling sulphur,
That's what you get for scabbing on the S. P. line."

* S.P. — Southern Pacific.

THE PREACHER AND THE SLAVE



2

If you fight hard for children and wife
Try to get something good in this life
You're a sinner and a bad man, they tell,
When you die you will sure go to hell.

3

Workingmen of all countries, unite!
Side by side we for freedom will fight;
When the world and its wealth we have gained,
To the grafters we will sing this refrain.

Last Chorus

You will eat bye and bye,
When you've learned how to cook and to fry.
Chop some wood, 'twill do you good,
And you'll eat in the sweet bye and bye.

IWW Songbook 75 cents

The music Joe Hill wrote for *Rebel Girl* and for *Workers of the World Awaken* is in this 64-page 34th edition, and also ten of his parodies on other songs. These 52 "songs to fan the flames of discontent" also include the music for *The International* and the *General Strike Song.*

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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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WHAT IS THE I. W. W.?

The Industrial Workers of the World—the I. W. W.—is a Labor Organization. It is organized scientifically upon the basis of true industrial unionism.

The I. W. W. is composed of industrial unions, which in turn, through a General Administration, are combined into the One Big Union of all workers.

The I. W. W. accepts for membership only actual wage workers. No business man, no exploiter of labor can become a member of the I. W. W.

RANK AND FILE

The I. W. W. is not controlled by its officials. Nor does it pay them salaries higher than the wages paid in industries. The I. W. W. believes in and practises the all important slogan: ALL POWER TO THE RANK AND FILE! Its business meetings and conventions are conducted upon this principle. All important questions are decided directly by the membership through a general referendum vote. All officials are elected by the same method.

The I. W. W. has been organized for over forty years. It has fought and won some of the hardest battles in the annals of American labor history. It has at all times stood with the workers in their fights for more of the good things of life. Its record is one of honesty, courage and integrity. The I. W. W. is known and respected by the workers the world over.

The I. W. W. is in no way connected with any political party—be it Democratic, Republican, Socialist or Communist. It is NON-POLITICAL. It is not concerned with the possible political or religious beliefs of its members. IT IS CONCERNED WITH THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOR. And, therefore, it objects most emphatically to interferences in its, or any other labor union's activities on the part of any political outfit. It has long ago learned that such interferences lead to disruption and ruin.

DON'T BE MISLED BY RUMORS

At times, it has been rumored that the I. W. W. is connected with the Communist Party. The record of the I. W. W. is one of unrelenting opposition to this political group's interferences in union affairs. The I. W. W. has constantly fought and exposed the rule-or-ruin tactics—the union busting attempts of the Communist Party within the workers economic organizations. This is a matter of irrefutable record.

Those who spread the rumors that the I. W. W. is connected with the Communist Party are either misinformed or plain liars.

We reiterate: THE I. W. W. IS A LABOR ORGANIZATION. It is all a labor union should be. It is the union to which YOU should belong. Take your place in the ranks of the thousands who have already joined it. It is YOUR union Get that red card in your pocket today.

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JUSTICE

:: :: and :: ::

The I.W.W.

By PAUL F. BRISSENDEN

With the exposure of Attorney General Daugherty's misstatements regarding the status of Political Prisoners by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America :: ::

Third Edition

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Paul Frederick Brissenden, the author of this pamphlet, is widely known as an economist. He is a member of the faculty of Columbia University, from which institution he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He was formerly assistant in economics at the University of California.

His book, "The I. W. W.; a Study of American Syndicalism," published in 1919 (2nd ed., 1920) *by Longmans, Green & Co., New York, is the most comprehensive work on this subject yet published in America. It is recognized as an impartial analysis.*

Dr. Brissenden has traveled extensively through the industrial regions of the country as a special agent of the United States Department of Labor.

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Justice and The I. W. W.

IN ITS prosecution of actual or alleged pacifists, conscientious objectors, pro-Germans, I. W. W.'s and "criminal syndicalists" this country moved with a thorough-going ruthlessness which would have made ante-bellum Prussians hang their heads in shame. During 1920 it appears that at least 44 convictions were reversed by appellate tribunals in the United States for flagrant misconduct of the public prosecutor or of the trial judge whereby the accused was deprived of a fair trial. In 33 of these cases the records show that the district attorney made inflammatory appeals to prejudice upon matters not properly before the jury. Listen, for example, to the words used by the prosecutor in a war-time trial in the South: "She is a Negro. Look at her skin; if she is not a Negro I don't want you to convict her." *

For "Negro" substitute "Wobbly" and we have a measurably accurate thumbnail report of the animus underlying our prosecutions of "I. W. W. conspiracy," "criminal syndicalism" and similar cases. The most famous of these cases—that of the United States vs. William D. Haywood, *et al,*—at last has reached and

* Moseley vs. State, 112 Miss. 855.

been disposed of by our highest judicial tribunal. In February, 1921, attorneys for Haywood and his fellow defendants filed application with the United States Supreme Court for a *writ of certiorari,* which, if it had been granted, would have re-opened the case for a review of the trial and appellate proceedings. In April, however, the Court announced that the *writ* was denied. This decision appears to close the chapter.

The history of the case runs back to September 5, 1917. On that day a large number of United States marshals and agents of the United States Department of Justice conducted a series of raids upon local offices of the Industrial Workers of the World and upon the private residences of certain of its members and officers. These raids occurred simultaneously in more than half a hundred cities in the United States and resulted in the seizure of an enormous mass—"several thousand pounds"—of correspondence, pamphlets, account books and other papers and documents belonging to the organization or its members and in the arrest of nearly all of the 166 I. W. W. members and sympathizers against whom indictments were returned a few weeks later.

Five Separate Conspiracies Charged

The indictment, as originally returned, contained five counts. Each count brought a charge of conspiracy. The first count charged each of the defendants with having "unlawfully and feloniously . . . conspired, combined, confederated and agreed to-

gether . . . and with divers other persons to said grand jurors unknown, by force to prevent, hinder and delay the execution of certain laws of the United States . . ." The most important laws here involved were the Selective Service Act, the Espionage Act, the act declaring a state of war with the German government, and certain war-time appropriation bills and sections of the Penal Code.

The second count charged the defendants with having conspired together "to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate a great number of citizens of the United States [meaning employers of labor] in the free exercise" of the right to sell munitions, etc., to the government. The third count charged the defendants with conspiring to attempt to induce 10,000 draft eligibles not to register, and to persuade 5,000 drafted men to desert. The fourth count charged a conspiracy "feloniously, and wilfully" to cause and attempt to cause "insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States when the United States was at war . . ." The fifth count alleged a conspiracy to execute "a certain scheme and artifice to defraud the employers of labor" by depositing propaganda in the mails.

The period covered by the indictment is, in general, that from April 6, 1917, when the United States entered the war, to September 28, 1917, when the indictment was returned. Count 3 refers primarily to the Selective Service Act of May 18, 1917, and Count 4 to the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917. The particular conspiracies charged in those counts, therefore,

were not alleged to have begun until those dates. The number of offenses alleged to have been committed in this case was no less than seventeen thousand.

The trial of 113 of the 166 persons originally indicted opened in April, 1918, some six months after the arrest of the defendants, before District Judge K. M. Landis, in Chicago. At the beginning of the trial the fifth count was stricken from the indictment. Practically the whole of the evidence presented by the government in support of the remaining four counts of the indictment was derived from the papers and documents seized in raids of September 5, about 15,000 of the confiscated documents being offered in evidence.

On August 17, 1918, the case went to the jury, which, after deliberating for twenty-five minutes, returned a verdict of "guilty, as charged in the indictment." On August 30 Judge Landis imposed upon 98 defendants sentences of from one to twenty years (except for two 10-day sentences) and fines of from $5,000 to $20,000 each. The fines imposed aggregated $2,570,000 and costs.

In July, 1920, the case was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh District. On December 9, 1920, this court handed down a decision which modified the judgment of the trial court "by striking therefrom the imprisonments and fines assessed under counts one and two" and, as so modified, affirmed the judgment of the trial court. * And now the legal record of the case is brought to a close

* 268 Fed. 795.

and the appellate court's opinion (tacitly) confirmed by the recent Supreme Court denial of the defendants' petition for a *writ of certiorari.*

Technically, the I. W. W. organization was not on trial in this case. Indeed, seventeen of those indicted were not members of the I. W. W. at the time of the indictment and eleven of these never had belonged to the organization. The indictment lay very specifically against the defendants personally. The appellate court laid some stress on this point in its opinion on the case: "Defendants were indicted as individuals," says the court, "not as members of the I. W. W. That organization is not on trial."

But the I. W. W. WAS on Trial

Yet, in a very real sense the I. W. W. *was* on trial. The indictment itself, on the theory, apparently, that the organization was a tool used by the defendants in furtherance of the alleged conspiracies, devotes two or three pages to a characterization of it and to a picturesque array of its propaganda catch-words. An indictment, I believe, is a legal instrument which is supposed to be drawn for the sole purpose of telling the accused in a somewhat specific way just what it is that he is being charged with.

Moreover, in the trial itself the great bulk of the testimony and the material put in evidence dealt with the I. W. W. and its activities, tactics, philosophy in a general way and not with the defendants in a specific and particular way. Most of the evidence had to do with its activities and doctrines as done and

expressed during the twelve years of the I. W. W.'s existence which had elapsed before the passage of the principal laws which the present indictment charges it with having violated.

Judge Landis ruled that evidence of these prior activities and propaganda doctrines was admissible as showing defendants' "frame of mind," *i. e.*, intent. The appellate court overruled this, but said that, though not admissible as showing intent, such prior evidence was admissible as showing prior knowledge of the means by which the conspiracies charged might be made effective. Not alone in reference to the I. W. W. organization but also so far as it dealt with the defendants personally and individually, the evidence presented dealt with their activities prior to April 6, 1917.

The quality of the indictment and the general run of the evidence brought to prove its charges seem to make the conclusion inescapable that, had the same evidence been brought forward against a hundred men who were not members of the I. W. W., they must almost certainly have been acquitted. The present writer, for one, is convinced that even the same hundred Wobblies, despite the not inconsiderable disrepute involved in their being Wobblies, had they been brought to trial on the same indictment and faced with the same evidence at a time when the interesting sentiment which some one has christened "parlor patriotism" was somewhat less rampant than in 1918, would have been acquitted. At least one might safely bet that, whatever the verdict, jurors of

a saner season would spend more than fifteen seconds in meditation on the evidence against each defendant!

There are some aspects of the case which unquestionably were open to sufficient doubt and uncertainty to have inspired the hope that the Supreme Court might order a review of the appellate court's decision. The conclusiveness of the appellate court's opinion in this case seems open to question in respect to the adequacy of the indictment, the admissibility of the evidence in view of the manner in which it was obtained, the sufficiency of the evidence to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendants were guilty of the particular conspiracies charged in counts 3 and 4, and the conclusiveness of the particular overt acts brought forward by the government to prove that the defendants had done something to give effect to those conspiracies.

Where Are the 15,000 Alleged Deserters?

1. The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall . . . be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation." To convey such information is the chief purpose of an indictment. The present indictment seems to be defective in that it does not, as constitutionally required, with sufficient particularity inform the defendants of the nature of the accusation. **For example, it fails in any way to identify (except as "other members of said organization") the 15,000 persons alleged to have been persuaded by defendants not to register or, if enlisted, to desert.**

Moreover, in a very similar case recently tried in Seattle—a case also resting upon a charge of conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act—the conviction obtained in the trial court was reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Ninth District.* The reversal was made on the ground that the indictment was defective in not conveying to the defendant sufficiently detailed information as to the nature of the offense charged and as to those against whom it was alleged that the offense had been committed.

2. Most of the material submitted in evidence by the government was obtained in the raids of September 5, 1917. These raids were made on void and illegal warrants. So much the appellate court admits. But the court rules that the government's affidavits, sworn out in support of its own motion to impound the seized documents for use as evidence against members of the voluntary association from which the documents had been illegally seized, contained facts (obtained from the illegally seized documents) sufficient to remedy the admitted defects of the original warrants upon which the seizures were made. This would seem to give the government immunity from the disabilities inhering in the illegal searches and seizures by permitting it to use as evidence material which it was able to get only through such illegal seizures, thus allowing the government to profit from its own wrong.

Furthermore, the appellate court ruled that in this case of illegal search and seizure the rights of the

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* Foster et al vs. United States, 253 Fed. 481.

defendants under the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects were not violated because the seized papers were the property, not of the individual defendants, but of the association to which they, or most of them, belonged.

This association, as we have seen, was not technically on trial. An examination of the lists of items seized and of the places from which they were taken reveals the fact that some of the property was, indisputably, the private property of certain defendants and that some of it was seized, not at I. W. W. offices but in the homes of some of the defendants. It was introduced as evidence, however, against ALL of the defendants.

But even if all of the property had been seized from the offices of the organization and none of it had been the private property of its members, if the government may on a void warrant raid the premises of a voluntary association, of which A and B are members, and seize the association letters of A and B and then use these letters as evidence upon which to convict A and B and numerous fellow members of having entered into a conspiracy, the rights of a citizen under the Fourth and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution are tenuous and shadowy indeed. Although the Espionage Act, in terms, greatly extended the use of search warrants, it did not annul these two sections of our bill of rights. Nor did it authorize a search for evidence.

The Supreme Court has very recently expressed a

clear opinion on this question of the use in evidence of matter obtained by illegal seizure:

> "The essence of a provision forbidding the acquisition of evidence in a certain way is that not merely evidence so acquired shall not be used before the Court but that it shall not be used at all. Of course, this does not mean that the facts thus obtained become sacred and inaccessible. If knowledge of them is gained from an independent source, they may be proved like any others, but the knowledge gained by the government's own wrong cannot be used in the way proposed." *

The recent ruling of the Circuit Court of Appeals in the Haywood case would seem directly to contravene this opinion of the Supreme Court. The circuit court ruled that members of an unincorporated, *i. e.*, a voluntary, association could not be supported in their motion for the return of papers seized under an invalid warrant from officers of the association, and, consequently, could raise no objection to the introduction of such papers in evidence against them.**

Court's Ruling Disregards Constitution

Without being allowed any of the advantages of a corporation, the appellate court has thus treated the Industrial Workers of the World—a membership association—as if it were a corporation, and has given a broad hint that there can be no redress for the unlawful seizure of property belonging to the individual members if that property was taken from the possession of the association. This surely permits the government to benefit by illegal seizures so long as it takes pains not to seize property from the possession of its owners. It is very difficult to see how this rul-

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* 251 U. S. 392 (1920).
** 268 Fed. 795.

ing can be made to harmonize with either the letter or the spirit of the Constitution. It is the writer's belief that it is at variance with both.

3. Quite apart from the character of the indictment and the methods used to get the evidence there remains the very important question: Was the evidence, however obtained, sufficient to warrant a conviction?

In counts 3 and 4 of the indictment the defendants were charged with conspiring (in the third count) to procure desertions from and prevent registration in, the army and navy of the United States and (in the fourth count) "to commit a certain offense of unlawfully, feloniously and wilfully causing and attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States, when the United States was at war,"—and this by means of solicitations, speeches, articles and pamphlets, and "the offense of unlawfully . . . by and through the means last aforesaid, obstructing the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States, when the United States was at war, to the injury of that service and of the United States."

In both counts, immediately preceding the statement of the nature of the conspiracy charged, the indictment emphasizes the affiliation (or alleged affiliation) of the defendants with the I. W. W. in the following language: "the said defendants . . . then [*i.e.*, during the period covered by the indictment] being members of the organization described in said first count, and called 'Industrial Workers of the World,' 'I. W. W.'s,'

the 'One Big Union' and 'O. B. U.'s' . . . have conspired . . .", and so forth.

In the first count it is further and more specifically charged (and the charge is meant to apply as well to the other counts in the indictment) that the defendants "in their said membership in the I. W. W. . . . *with the special purpose* of preventing, hindering and delaying the execution of said laws, *severally* have been actively engaged in managing and conducting the affairs of said association, propagating its principles by written, printed and verbal exhortations, and accomplishing its objects, which are now here explained, and *thereby and in so doing* during said period . . . have engaged in, and have attempted to accomplish, and in part have accomplished, the objects of the unlawful and felonious conspiracy aforesaid."

Now what does all this legal stuff mean? It seems to mean—indeed, it is absolutely meaningless unless it means that the agreement—the meeting of minds—which must be proved in order to prove conspiracy, follows, as day follows night, upon the fact of membership in the I. W. W., or at least upon the fact of being an active member during the period of the indictment. The defendants were members. Being members *"with the special purpose"* (and, inferentially, each one of the 200,000 members with whom the government very generously credited the I. W. W. must be assumed, on the theory of the prosecution, to have been animated by the same special purpose) of obstructing our war activities, the defendants

"*severally* have been actively . . . propagating its principles . . . and *thereby and in so doing*" have (jointly!) conspired as charged.

Joining the I. W. W. Was Not the Fatal Act

The fatal act was not the act of joining the I. W. W. All of the defendants who were Wobblies (and most of them were) had joined the organization long before April 6, 1917, that is to say at a time when it was of course impossible that they could have become Wobblies "with the special purpose" of violating certain laws which were sooner or later to be passed. The fatal thing was the condition and status of *"then being members"* of the I. W. W., managing its affairs and "propagating its principles" and, "thereby and in so doing," entering into the conspiracy charged.*

It was not mere membership that proved conspiracy. It was, so the argument of the government must logically run, the conduct of the defendants. For their conduct—and, in turn, the criminal intent of it—followed naturally (thanks to the government's assumption of the complete depravity of the I. W. W.) from the fact of their membership. A person who belonged to, say, the Pretzel Varnishers' Union might have done these things (agitated for a strike, for example) with innocent, *i.e.*, with purely industrial purposes; but, if that person also belonged to the I. W. W., that fact, *ipso facto,* proves beyond a reasonable doubt the criminal character of his intent

* The italics in this and the preceding paragraphs are the writer's.

—the very special nature of his purpose. This was the vicious circle in which the prosecution moved.

It was stopped from using I. W. W. membership, in any direct way, as evidence of guilt, but immediately faced about and used the fact, or alleged fact, of membership to prove criminal intent, in effect saying: "Defendants must have had such intent; they are I. W. W.s and therefore could have no other intent." Consistently with the foregoing argument, the government would seem to be forced to presume that each defendant-member "severally" beat his way about the country propagating the principles of the I. W. W. "with the special purpose" of procuring deserters, preventing enlistments, obstructing the service, etc., and that in so doing each defendant implicitly agreed with every other defendant as to the "special purpose," or intent, which all were supposed to have in mind, thus establishing the agreement necessary to a conspiracy. It was done, evidently, by the defendants "severally" making up their minds to come to a joint agreement.

Prosecution Did Not Show Conscious Intent

Of course the government did not pretend to undertake to show that the special purpose or intent was consciously entertained by each of the defendants. Fortunately for the prosecution, that was not necessary. Its position was that the work of propagating the principles and managing the affairs of the association had the necessary result of bringing about desertions and obstructing enlistment, and that, al-

though the defendants may not have consciously intended their work to bring about such results, they must have known that such results (apart from whatever lawful results there might be) could naturally follow from their acts. And that, consequently, since men are presumed to intend the consequences of their own acts, the defendants must be held guilty. This, of course, overlooks the fact that there are also just as reasonably to be inferred other logically deducible consequences of the same propaganda activities. The same thing would be true of more direct and overt acts, in so far as such acts had been shown to have been performed.

The government was undoubtedly obliged to frame the indictment in this fashion (and so was committed to the weird theory of conspiracy outlined above) because of the nature of the evidence it was able to produce. Thus, it is rather significant that the only thing the government could prove in regard to most of the defendants was that they were members of the I. W. W. The prosecution piled up item after item of I. W. W. newspaper and pamphlet propaganda calculated to show what a destructive and violent society it was.

As to whether or not the organization advocated force and violence or the unlawful destruction of property, governmental authorities themselves cannot agree. Some of the State courts have held that it advocates all of these things. * Both the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor, however,

* State vs. Moilen, 140 Minn. 122 (1918); State vs. Lowery, 104 Wash. 520 (1918).

have taken the position that the I. W. W. is not a revolutionary organization in the sense of advocating unlawful destruction of property, and that its members, therefore, are not deportable merely because they are members.

The weight of authority, then, would seem to justify the conclusion that the I. W. W. does not as an organization advocate the unlawful destruction of property, and that in this respect at least it and its members would stack up not unfavorably with "the Founding Fathers" who, as is well known, urged the unlawful destruction of property by the destruction of tea and by the burning of stamped paper. That example, however, does not excuse the I. W. W.

But even though the organization did advocate unlawful destruction of property—even though it went further and officially and unequivocally indorsed every kind and degree of force and violence against persons and property, civil and military, it does not necessarily follow that it would in time of war also advocate or attempt obstruction of the nation's military activities. (Even such an organization would be very likely to refrain—if on no other grounds than those of expediency.)

Still less does it follow (even from the premises of the innate-and-complete-depravity theorists in our State courts and legislatures) that certain members of that organization must necessarily, because they were members, have conspired to do the particular anti-military things charged in the indictment. (They,

too, would be very likely to refrain—if on no other grounds than those of expediency.) **And be it remembered that 18 of the 19 defendants who were subject to service under the draft act did actually register.**

The "thousands of pounds" of evidence submitted to the Supreme Court with the petition for *certiorari* consisted almost wholly of correspondence, propaganda pamphlets and papers, and account books. All of it that was considered significant was no doubt fully utilized by the prosecution, and, if the contents of that section of the government's brief before the appellate court which deals with the evidence in the case are fairly representative of what was submitted in evidence against the defendants, it is fair to say that **the utmost that is shown is that the defendants were members of the I. W. W.—and, more or less faithfully, that the I. W. W. is the sort of an organization that it is!** The evidence and the opinion of the appellate court make it clear that the defendants, if they opposed the war and the nation's military activities, did so only by words—spoken or written.

Judge Landis charged the jury to bear in mind "that even by the processes charged in the indictment the defendants might have had a lawful purpose in mind." And it is only reasonable to suppose that they might have had *only* a lawful purpose in mind—possibly the same lawful purpose (that of improving labor conditions for the unskilled worker) which animated it during its 12 years of existence prior to the period covered by the indictment. Judge

Landis further explained that, even if some of their methods and activities were actually vicious, the defendants were not guilty if by these vicious processes they purposed solely to improve conditions of labor.

It would seem that if any other (and more sinister) intent were in their minds—if they really had agreed together as charged in the indictment—they would on some occasions surely have done overt acts in circumstances where there was no local or general controversy or grievance as to labor conditions, denial of constitutional rights of free speech, unlawful deportation, etc. The evidence shows up no such acts. It would seem that any group which had come to the agreement charged in the indictment would be found to have, on at least a few occasions, committed acts under circumstances so free from ambiguity that the *only possible result* of the act would be to give effect to the conspiracy. The evidence contains no proof of any such acts.

Law Makes Reasonable Doubt a Factor

Even though such a volume of testimony and such an array of propaganda material, by its very iteration of unpopular beliefs and more or less ambiguous statements, might predispose a juror to think that *probably* the defendants were guilty, that would of course be quite insufficient. The evidence must indicate *beyond a reasonable doubt* that the defendants agreed together to carry out the special purpose set forth in the indictment.

If the juror can honestly say: "I think that it is quite possible that, in view of the evidence presented, these defendants might have been animated by another purpose," he is under obligation to return a verdict of "not guilty." The record of the activities of the I. W. W. since 1905 shows that their acts, that is to say, *e.g.* strikes, as distinguished from talk and leaflets, have invariably been pulled off under circumstances where there was some special and concrete condition of social or economic injustice or wrong to be protested against.

It can hardly be shown that defendants did what they did and said what they said except in reference to some such specific wrong or injustice, and that their intent was, or is reasonably to be inferred to have been, to bring about a correction of this wrong—be it raising of too-low wages, the reduction of too-long hours, the abolition of insanitary work places, or the prevention of the railroading of a Mooney to the penitentiary. The evidence presented fails to prove beyond reasonable doubt that either the defendants' acts or words were done or uttered with intent to accomplish the objects charged in the indictment.

4. The indictment in this case sets forth certain "overt acts" which it alleges were done by the defendants to give effect to the conspiracy. Twenty such acts are enumerated. Nine of the twenty acts are publications of propaganda. The others comprised a resolution by a Kansas local to "resist conscription," distribution by a Minnesota organizer of a circular urging a strike for the release of those

imprisoned for not registering, a similar circularization by an organizer on the Pacific Coast, the suggestion in a letter by Haywood that literature be distributed in Minnesota and directions by him to organizers in that State, the sending of telegrams by Haywood conveying good wishes and encouragement to strikers in Arizona and protesting to President Wilson against the Bisbee deportations, the sending of a telegram by Haywood to the President stating that strikes impended in Michigan and Minnesota if the Bisbee deportees were not returned to their homes, telegraphic instructions by Haywood to organizers to go to Bessemer, Michigan, appeals to Haywood by local organizers to send funds for men arrested in Michigan and for the Bisbee deportees, and the sending of a telegram by a Portland, Oregon, organizer to Haywood stating that on account of the lynching of Frank Little in Butte, Montana, and on account of the Bisbee deportations "a nation-wide general strike is the only weapon left in labor's hands . . ."

The proof of overt acts is in a sense subsidiary to the proof of conspiracy. **There can be no proof of an overt act until and unless there has been proof of the existence of a conspiracy to which the overt act gives effect.** As already remarked, nearly half of the overt acts were publications of propaganda. Those publications included the I. W. W. *Preamble*; *Sabotage,* a translation of a book by the French syndicalist, Emil Pouget; and several editorials and other articles from an official I. W. W. newspaper called

Solidarity. The I. W. W. *Preamble* and Pouget's book were circulated throughout the country for years prior to 1917. *Sabotage* was also circulated by the anarchists and, I believe, by the Socialist Party. The charge in the present case is, of course, that they were circulated by the defendants during the period covered by the indictment.

There appears to be no doubt that they were so circulated—and that the *Solidarity* articles were so circulated. But if there was no conspiracy the listing of a thousand "overt acts" would be meaningless. If there was a conspiracy, it must be said that it is exceedingly difficult to see precisely how the acts set forth would tend to put it into effect.

The other overt acts consisted, as we have seen, of letters and telegrams sent or received by the defendants during the period of the indictment: A local union in Kansas passes a resolution to resist conscription and wires Haywood it has done so; an organizer on the Pacific Coast urges a general strike unless men arrested for not registering are released by a given time. This organizer also writes that he is sure that the "German people" in Seattle were "in sympathy with our cause." Several telegrams are sent back and forth in regard to the Bisbee deportations and $3,000 is evidently sent to Salt Lake City for use in Arizona.

Such acts as these are, of course, susceptible of different interpretations. On the basis of one interpretation the act would further a conspiracy such as charged if such a conspiracy were proven. On the

basis of another interpretation it would not. Thus, anyone knowing the situation in the lumber industry in the Seattle district and the history of I. W. W. activity in that district might reasonably conclude that the organizer meant that the "German people" were not only not pro-Prussian but were so thoroughly pro-American that they wished to sponsor the I. W. W. campaign for better living conditions—a more American standard of living—in the lumber camps, which campaign was *the* I. W. W. cause in the Pacific Northwest if it ever had a cause anywhere.

The $3,000 said to have been sent for use in Arizona was sent, as the writer recalls it, for the purpose of feeding the families of the Bisbee deportees and possibly a part of it to finance a protest strike against the deportation. The action of a stray local here and there, of course, means nothing—except that there were a few locals which did not agree with the national organization's policy of strict neutrality in political and military matters.

It is true that the evidence submitted by the defense does show that the organization in a few instances so far departed from this policy of neutrality that Haywood and at least one other organizer, in reply to letters from members, advised them to register. In general, however, the organization took the position that each member must solve the problem for himself. And here again there is some significance in the fact that, of the 19 defendants who were of draft age, 18 registered! With respect to those 18

at least, it is not easy to credit the charge that they conspired to induce their fellow workers to refuse to register.

Strikes Not Illegal Even in War Time

Strikes are not illegal even in war time. The purpose underlying the strike, moreover, is nearly always to obtain better wages, shorter hours and better living conditions generally. If this is its purpose, the fact that the interests of the government in carrying on war are incidentally injured does not make the strike a violation of law. Even though the I. W. W. was thus within its rights in striking (as it has been striking, intermittently, for 16 years), that organization appears to have been much more successful in curtailing its war-time strike activities than have some other labor organizations. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the total number of strikes in the whole country was 4324 in 1917 and 3232 in 1918, a reduction of 25 per cent. The number of I. W. W. strikes was 285 in 1917 and 69 in 1918, a reduction of 75 per cent.

There is a Federal judge in the city of Butte, Montana, who has set what seems to the writer a very wise example to judges (and to jurors!) who are called upon to decide these perplexing cases wherein emotion and prejudice are likely to play such havoc with law and justice. In the case of *Ex parte Jackson* * (Jackson being at the time the

* 263 Fed. 110 (1920).

Assistant Secretary of the Butte local of the I. W. W.), Judge Bourquin said:

> "From the record it appears that from August, 1918, to February, 1919, the Butte union of the Industrial Workers of the World was dissatisfied with working places, conditions and wages in the mining industry, and to remedy them was discussing ways and means, including strike if necessary. In consequence its hall and orderly meetings were several times raided and mobbed by employers' agents and soldiers duly officered, acting by federal authority and without warrant or process. The union members, men and women, many of them citizens, limited themselves to oral protests, though in the circumstances the inalienable right and law of self-defense justified resistance to the last dread extremity."

— THE END —

Falsehoods in Daugherty Screed on Politicals Bared

Federal Council of Churches Investigates Statements of Attorney General. — Spikes Assertion I. W. W. Were Convicted of Property Destruction.

Evidence that false assertions concerning political prisoners have been issued over the signature of Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty is presented in an official statement given out by the research department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It is revealed that grave charges made by Mr. Daugherty against the politicals, and especially against the Industrial Workers of the World, were without any foundation in fact.

His assertions, made in an attempt to justify the failure of the Harding administration to release all wartime prisoners in line with the policy of every other government, are directly at variance with the action of two United States Appeals Courts in relation to the large majority of the defendants in question.

The Federal Church Council's statement follows a painstaking investigation, impelled by a letter written by Mr. Daugherty to the Chicago Church Federation's committee on international friendship. That committee, considering a resolution on amnesty, had asked the Attorney General to define the legal status of the 114 wartime prisoners. Mr. Daugherty in his letter wrote in part:

"Most of the prisoners still undergoing sentence have not applied for clemency and until they do the department is not, of course, informed, as to what extenuating circumstances or further light they might be able to throw on the subject of their conviction.

"It may be stated generally that practically all the prisoners now undergoing confinement for violation of war-time statutes belong to the Industrial Workers of the World, generally termed the I. W. W., or to the Working Class Union of Oklahoma.

"There were three special trials of the I. W. W. held in Chicago, Kansas City, Kan., and Sacramento. There were 97 convicted at Chicago, approximately 40 at Sacramento and

approximately 30 at Kansas City. All of these so-called political prisoners were indicted by a Grand Jury and convicted before a jury of twelve men after hearing all the evidence submitted at their trial. The cases in most instances were appealed to a Circuit Court of Appeals and in some instances to the United States Supreme Court.

"The evidence before the department shows that some of the prisoners in question, or their co-conspirators, destroyed $50,000,000 worth of property.

"In Oklahoma an armed organization was armed for the purpose of resisting the draft and seizing the reins of government and by concerted action murdered officials of the government.

"I cannot go further in details concerning the class of prisoners to which you refer. As an illustration of the attitude of mind of the prisoners from Oklahoma, which is, I think, an accurate reflection of the minds of many other I. W. W. prisoners, the following is a portion of the oath taken by the prisoners to which I refer:

"'YOU WILL SWEAR BEFORE GOD AND THESE WITNESSES THAT YOU WILL HOLD IN SUPREME CONTEMPT ALL THE INSTITUTIONS OF CAPITALISM, ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR, INCLUDING ITS LAWS, ITS COURTS, ITS RELIGIONS, AND ITS FLAGS.'

"I trust that the foregoing will be sufficient for your purposes, and if you have any information regarding any particular prisoner, the department will be glad to receive it and will give it consideration."

The nature of Mr. Daugherty's reply led the Chicago Federation to withhold decision on the resolution until further information could be obtained, and the letter was turned over to the Federal Church Council for investigation. A representative of the council's research department took up the matter in detail with the Attorney General's office. Digests of the cases and information on specific charges against the individual prisoner were asked for, the council's report states, but were refused.

Continuing, the Federal Church Council says:

"As to the statement that $50,000,000 worth of property was destroyed in California during 1917 and 1918, it was learned that this is the amount claimed to have been the aggregate property destruction in that state during those years, and is not apportioned among the prisoners in question.

"No evidence was presented in support of the claim that

this amount of property had been destroyed. It was explained that this aggregate was attributed to these prisoners and their co-conspirators—"co-conspirators" because they were members of the I. W. W., an organization which the department asserted encouraged and incited sabotage, and members of which are therefore responsible for whatever destruction there may be.

"The Chicago and Wichita cases (of the I. W. W.) were carried to Courts of Appeals. In both instances the Appeals Courts ruled that no cases had been made against the defendants on industrial counts, but sustained the convictions on the war counts. These prisoners, therefore, are now serving sentences for violation of the Espionage Act, which is no longer operative.

"Regarding the oath quoted in the Attorney General's letter 'as an illustration of the attitude of mind of the prisoners from Oklahoma, which is, I think, an accurate reflection of the minds of many other I. W. W. prisoners,' it was learned at the Department of Justice that this is not the oath of the I. W. W. organization as the sentence seems to indicate. It was said to have been an oath taken by members of the Working Class Union of Oklahoma.

"This organization was created prior to our entrance into the war by a small group of tenant farmers in Oklahoma for the purpose of improving their economic status. The department stated that the organization is now out of existence, so that there is no way of checking up this statement concerning the oath. However, it is of slight importance here, since the large majority of the prisoners had no relation to the Working Class Union.

"On Christmas Day the President commuted the sentences of 24 of the political prisoners. This action has not disposed of the matter, as the correspondence here cited concerning the 114 remaining political prisoners clearly shows."

Persons who have analyzed the Daugherty letter have pointed out the curious phraseology with which the Attorney General comments on the alleged oath. When he expresses the belief that the purported oath is "an accurate reflection of the minds of many other I. W. W. prisoners," he has gotten a long ways from the facts, inasmuch as none of the Oklahoma defendants were members of the I. W. W.

—Reprinted from "New York Call" of March 11, 1922.

The One Way Out

We can hope for nothing more from the courts in our efforts to free the 49 Industrial Workers of the World still in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth. The last detail of procedure provided for by the national judicial machinery has been completed, and under the ruling of the appeals courts in the two major cases, the defendants must remain behind the bars, even though the Espionage Act under which they were convicted has been repealed.

But both courts of appeals reversed the verdict of the trial courts on the industrial counts, which charged property destruction; and this means that our fellow workers are now serving time solely for expression of opinion concerning the origin and purposes of the war.

Our only recourse is to develop latent public sentiment which will impress upon the federal officialdom the logic and justice of granting general amnesty. We can do that by spreading the facts; by letting the public know, and having the public remind President Harding, that all other nations have released their war-time prisoners; that the Espionage Act has been suspended; that all persons convicted in the United States as actual German spies, persons who plotted secretly against the government, have long since been freed.

To disseminate these facts, we need money for printing, mimeographing, letter-writing, postage. And money is needed, too, for prison relief and for aid to dependent families of the industrialists inside. SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION TODAY.

General Defense Committee

1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

LESSONS IN ECONOMICS

A Textbook for Workers

Prepared by C. H. CHAPMAN, Ph. D.

PRICE TEN CENTS

Published by the Industrial Workers of the World
1001 W. Madison St. : : Chicago, Ill.

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

Lessons in Economics

A Textbook for Workers

PREPARED BY C. H. CHAPMAN, PH. D.,
FOR THE
EDUCATIONAL BUREAU OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD



PUBLISHED BY THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 WEST MADISON STREET. CHICAGO, ILL.

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LESSONS IN ECONOMICS

LESSON I. WEALTH.

1. **What is wealth?**
   Wealth is any object or performance for which human beings will pay.
   Examples of wealth: Sheep, watches, potatoes, a stage play, a musical performance.

2. **Is wealth always material?**
   No. A concert, a lecture or a sermon is immaterial wealth.

3. **What is the primary source of all wealth?**
   The materials and forces of nature such as gold, coal, soil, oxygen, the light and heat of the sun, the life force.

4. **Does unassisted nature produce any wealth?**
   Yes. Unassisted nature produces wild nuts and fruits for food, palm leaves for clothing, caves for shelter.

5. **How are these natural products paid for?**
   By the labor of collecting and putting them to use.

6. **What is the effect of additional labor applied to nature?**
   It increases and improves the products of unassisted nature and invents new products.

LESSON II. INDUSTRY.

7. **What is an industry?**
   The systematic and extensive application of labor to nature to produce any form of wealth.

8. **What are the basic industries?**
   Agriculture and mining.

9. **Why are they basic or primary?**
Because they produce the materials which are transformed by labor into all other forms of wealth.

10. **What does agriculture produce?**
All wealth that increases by germination and growth.
Examples: Corn, cattle, cotton, apples, timber.

11. **What are the principal agricultural uses of labor?**
Tilling the soil, sowing seed, harvesting. Logging is a kind of harvesting.

12. **What does mining produce?**
All wealth that labor obtains directly from nature without germination and growth.
Examples: Coal, copper, petroleum, asbestos, building stone.

13. **What is the secondary industry?**
The production of mechanical power.

14. **Why is it secondary?**
Because it is less fundamental than mining and agriculture but prerequisite to transportation and manufacture.

15. **Is not mechanical power used in agriculture and mining?**
Yes. But they use the labor power of man more than other industries. The principal power operative in agriculture is nature's reproductive power, the life force, which labor does not produce.

16. **What forms of power does labor produce?**
Animal power, steam, electricity, water power, gasoline.

17. **What force co-operates with human labor to produce animal power?**
The life force, nature's reproductive power.

18. **How does labor produce water power?**
By causing the weight of descending water to turn a wheel.

19. **How does labor produce the power of steam?**
By applying heat to a boiler.

20. How does labor produce the power of electricity?
By applying steam or water power to a generator.

21. What are the tertiary industries?
Transportation, manufacture, trade.

22. Why are they tertiary?
Because they are dependent on the primary and secondary industries.

LESSON III. INDUSTRY CONTINUED.

23. What form of human labor is mainly employed in the mechanical industries?
Muscular labor.

24. Is not brain labor also employed?
Yes, to some extent, but mechanical invention and standardizing processes tend to dispense with it.

25. What wealth does transportation produce?
Transportation produces convenience of situation.

26. What other wealth does transportation produce?
It produces travel, a form of immaterial wealth.

27. What forces are mainly used in transportation?
The forces of steam, electricity, gasoline.

28. What advantage has gasoline?
It can be used on common roads. Steam and electricity require rails.

29. What wealth does manufacture produce?
Adaptation to use, as flour from wheat, cloth from wool, lumber from logs.

30. What wealth does trade produce?
Convenience of supply.

31. What is the proof that convenience of situation, adaptation to use and convenience of supply are wealth?
People pay labor and money for them.

32. What other industries are there?
The professions and arts such as law, engineering, music.

33. What form of labor is mainly employed in the professions and arts?

Brain labor.

34. What kind of wealth do they produce?

Mainly immaterial wealth.

35. What is the proof that music, lectures, law pleas, are wealth?

People pay for them.

LESSON IV. CAPITAL.

36. What is capital?

Capital is wealth applied by labor to produce more wealth.

37. How was the first capital produced?

By labor applied to the products of unassisted nature. In this way labor produced the stone knife and axe, the bone fish hook, the bow and arrows, all of which are forms of primitive capital.

38. How was labor supported while engaged in producing the first capital?

By the products of unassisted nature, game, wild fruit, roots.

39. Who was the original owner of capital?

The worker who produced it.

40. What faculties in man have always been active in producing capital?

Inventive genius, the love of wealth, ease and power.

41. What has inventive genius produced?

Machinery, labor saving appliances, new manufacturing processes, new chemical formulas, etc.

42. How has the love of ease, wealth and power operated to produce capital?

Sometimes by stimulating inventive genius, sometimes by inciting human beings to save wealth.

LESSON V. SAVING.

43. Does saving produce wealth?
Not directly but it turns wealth into capital and this leads on to greater production.

44. How do ordinary people save?
By making deposits in banks, by payments on life insurance, buying bonds, stocks and mortgages.

45. What becomes of the wealth thus saved?
It finds its way into banks directly or indirectly.

46. Where does the capital of every community tend to accumulate as the result of saving?
In the local banks.

47. What is the effect on industry?
The local banks gain control of the local industries.

48. Explain why.
Industry cannot proceed without capital. The banks have the local capital. Therefore they control the industries.

49. Why cannot industry proceed without capital?
Because labor has to be fed, the plant kept in order and raw materials provided while the product is being made. This requires capital.

50. Why cannot labor live on the products of nature, as it did originally?
For two reasons: (1) Nature's products are not sufficient to support a large population. (2) Nature has become private property and labor is forbidden to take the little that it does produce.

51. Of the capital accumulated in local banks does the whole amount go into local industry?
No. There is usually a surplus which the local banks redeposit in larger and more central banks.

52. Do they always deposit this surplus in banks?
Not always. Sometimes they invest it in city industries. But that makes no difference. It goes into the central banks just the same only by another route.

53. State this fact in other words.

The capital saved in all communities, no matter where, accumulates in great central banks.

54. Do these central banks compete with each other?

Not as a rule. They are united by common ownership and common interest into a close organization.

LESSON IV. SAVING CONTINUED

55. What do the central banks do with the capital they accumulate?

Some of it they apply in large industries. Some is used in speculation or gambling. Some is again redeposited in still larger and more central banks.

56. Do the last mentioned banks form a combination?

Yes. The combination is known as "Wall Street" or "the money trust."

57. What conclusion must be drawn from these facts?

That all the capital saved in the country tends to accumulate in Wall Street under the control of the money trust.

58. Who are the real owners of this capital?

The industrial workers, teachers, farmers and other frugal people who saved it.

59. What does Wall Street do with their savings?

It uses one part to support an immense gambling machine called the stock exchange. It uses a second part to extend its control over the industries of the country. It uses another part to buy up whatever natural resources it does not already own.

60. What then do the masses gain by pinching and saving?

Economic enslavement to the money trust.

61. How is wheat gambling supported in Chicago and Minneapolis?

By the savings of farmers tributary to those cities.

62. What is the economic effect of the gambling?

It slumps prices when the farmers have wheat to sell and raises prices to the consumer.

LESSON VII. THE PRODUCTION AND SALE OF LABOR POWER.

63. How is labor power produced?
By nature's life force from the food which the workers eat.

64. How do the workers procure their food?
By selling the labor power which it generates in their bodies.

65. To whom do they sell their labor power?
To employers, who apply it in industry.

66. For what purpose?
To make profit out of it.

67. Why do not the workers apply their labor power in industry for their own profit?
Under present conditions it is impossible.

68. Why impossible?
To apply labor power to industry, land (or nature), raw materials and machines are necessary. All these are owned by the employing or capitalist class.

69. What is the only way at present for a worker to obtain access to the land, raw materials and machines in order to produce wealth?
He must sell his labor power to an employer.

70. Suppose he cannot sell it?
Since he has nothing else to sell he must beg, borrow, steal or starve.

71. How was nature (land) produced?
It was the gift of evolution to the human race.

72. How are raw materials produced?
By the workers.

73. How are machines produced?
By the workers.

74. What right, then, have the capitalists to own the land, machines and raw materials?
No right whatever.

75. What aggravates the injustice of such ownership?
The fact that it is procured by means of the savings of the workers themselves.

76. What is a commodity?
Anything that is regularly bought and sold.

77. Is labor power bought and sold regularly?
Yes. It is sold by the worker and bought by the employer.

78. Is labor power then a commodity?
Necessarily.

79. Can this fact be repealed by law?
It cannot.

80. Under what condition will labor power cease to be a commodity?
When the worker ceases to sell it and employs it himself for his own benefit.

81. When will that come to pass?
When the workers own the land (nature), the machines and the raw materials.

LESSON VIII. JOBS AND WAGES.

82. What is a job?
The routine task to which the worker applies his labor for the profit of his employer.

83. What is meant by "having a job" or "holding a job"?
That the worker can sell his labor power day after day to the same employer for the same task.

84. What is meant by "losing a job"?
That the worker's former employer refuses to buy his labor power any longer.

85. How long can a worker hold his job?
As long as his employer makes a satisfactory profit out of his labor power.

86. What is done with a worker when the life force ceases to generate labor power in his body?
He is scrapped like other wornout animals and machines.

87. What is meant by "a period of unemployment"?
A strike of capitalists. They stop buying labor power.

88. Why do they stop?
Because the profits of industry do not satisfy them.

89. What is the effect of a capitalist strike?
Hardship for everybody but the capitalists themselves.

90. Can capitalist strikes be prevented?
Not as long as capitalists own the industries and run them for profit.

91. What are wages?
The price which the employer pays the worker for his labor power.

92. What is the employer's interest with regard to wages?
To buy labor power as cheap as he can.

93. What is the worker's interest with regard to wages?
To sell his labor power as dear as he can.

94. Are these interests harmonious?
No. They are in irreconcilable conflict.

LESSON IX. THE RATE OF WAGES.

95. What is meant by the rate of wages?
The current price of labor power in the labor market.

96. What determines the rate of wages?
The ratio between the supply of labor power and the economic demand for it.

97. On what does the economic demand for labor power depend?
On the rate of profit which industry returns to its capitalist owners. When the profit is big the owners keep the industries running at full speed and start new ones. This opens new jobs and raises the market price of labor power.

98. Why?
The capitalist employers bid against one another for labor power. The worker naturally sells his commodity to the highest bidder.

99. Then the employer's big profit benefits the worker, does it not?

No. It injures him.

100. How can that be so when it raises his wages?

The employer's big profit raises the cost of living faster than it raises wages.

101. What happens when the capitalist employers' profit begins to decline?

They cease to start new industries and hold up the old ones. The number of jobs diminishes.

102. How does this affect the price of labor power?

The workers now bid against one another in the effort to sell their labor power and the price necessarily falls.

103. When the capitalists' profit from industry declines the cost of living declines also, does it not?

Yes. An unprosperous period in industry is a period of falling prices.

104. Does the fall in the cost of living benefit the workers?

No. It injures them.

105. Explain why.

Because wages always fall faster than the cost of living.

106. What other injury do the workers suffer in periods when capitalists' profits are small?

Many of them lose their jobs.

107. It seems then, that the workers are injured no matter whether the employers' profits increase or diminish.

They are. The tendency of the profit system in industry is to drive the rate of wages down to the lowest possible figure and keep it there.

108. Is there a figure below which wages cannot fall?

Yes. Unless the worker eats enough to keep up his labor power he cannot make profit for his employer.

LESSON X. PRICES AND PROFITS.

109. Why do big profits imply a high cost of living?

The capitalist owners of industry produce big profits by marking up the prices of commodities.

110. How high can they force profits and prices?

Up to the point where consumers stop buying.

111. What is the rule that guides the profit and price makers?

Fix the price of commodities at the figure which yields the maximum sum total of profit.

112. How is the sum total of profit computed?

Multiply the profit on each sale by the number of sales.

113. What is the tendency of this rule?

To produce a scarcity of commodities.

114. Why?

Because a few sales at a big profit on each may yield a larger total profit with less outlay of capital than many sales at a small profit on each.

115. Why are the capitalist owners of industry able to fix prices at their pleasure?

Because they have monopolized all the important commodities and control the supply.

116. How did they obtain the capital to finance their monopolies?

From the savings of consumers.

117. So the consumers supply the money trust with the power to plunder them?

Yes. Such is the folly of mankind.

118. When does a "buyers' strike" occur?

When the monopolists push the prices of commodities so high that consumers stop buying.

119. What is the effect of a buyers' strike?

Prices and profits collapse.

120. Then profit cannot always be obtained by marking up prices?

No. It is a rich mine when it can be worked, but it can only be worked at intervals.

LESSON XI. EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKERS.

121. What is the constant and always dependable source of capitalist profits?

The exploitation of the workers.

122. How are the workers exploited?

By the forced sale of their labor power for less than it is worth.

123. What forces the sale?

Hunger.

124. In any bargaining between the worker and the capitalist what fundamental advantage does the capitalist enjoy?

The worker must sell his labor promptly or starve. The capitalist can lie in wait until hunger reduces the worker to submission.

125. Then labor always bargains with capital under the coercion of hunger?

Yes.

126. In a bargain so made is there any freedom of contract?

No.

127. How is capitalist exploitation of the workers measured?

By the difference between what they receive for their labor power and what it is really worth.

128. What technical term is applied to this difference?

Surplus value.

129. What is a worker's labor power really worth?

It is worth what it would produce if he had free access to nature, machines and raw materials.

130. But the capitalist owns nature, machines and raw materials. Is he not entitled to pay for the use of his property?

They are his property only because he takes advantage of the ignorance and folly of his fellow men. He should not be paid for such conduct.

131. Why has the worker the right to the free use of

nature, machines and raw materials in producing wealth?

Because nature is the gift of evolution to all alike, while machines and raw materials have been produced by the workers themselves. The capitalist contributes nothing but his ownership.

132. But the capitalist seems to contribute the money or credit to keep the industry running. Should he not be paid for that?

The money or credit which keeps industry running is the accumulated savings of the workers themselves. The capitalist is not entitled to pay for allowing them to use their own savings.

LESSON XII. MACHINES.

133. What is the typical source of labor power?

The human body.

134. What is a machine?

An apparatus for transforming the crude power of steam, electricity, gasoline and water into labor power.

135. What are the two factors in human labor power?

Intelligence and mechanical power exerted by the muscles.

136. Has a machine intelligence?

Machines embody intelligence, often large quantities of it.

137. Is the intelligence embodied in the machine dearer or cheaper than that of the living worker?

It is cheaper because it is more dependable, more durable and not exhausted by use until the machine itself breaks down.

138. What is the effect of machine intelligence upon the labor market?

Its tendency is to make the living workers' intelligence unsalable.

139. Is not the living worker's intelligence required to run the machine?

As invention perfects the machine, less and less

intelligence is required to run it. Whatever intelligence is needed to turn out the complete product is embodied in the machine itself.

140. Is this an accomplished fact or a tendency?
It is an unmistakable tendency.

141. What then is the living worker's function in industry?
To be an automatic servant of the machine with his intelligence useless and unmarketable.

142. Is this the case in mining and agriculture?
Not so much so yet as in the other industries, but it is a tendency which must be faced everywhere.

LESSON XIII. INVENTION AND LABOR.

143. What other tendency is seen in invention?
To produce machines which dispense with the living worker's muscular power as well as his brain.

144. What is the effect of this tendency on industry?
To render the workers' muscular power unmarketable; to replace adult, ablebodied men and women with children and weaklings.

145. Will not patriotism, humanitarian considerations, etc., deter capitalists from allowing this tendency to proceed?
Under the profit system capitalists are moved by no consideration but profit. They are patriotic and humanitarian when it pays to be so. Not otherwise.

146. Mention a parallel instance.
The labor power of horses is not unlike that of men. They have a degree of intelligence combined with great muscular power and were formerly of fundamental use in industry. But the progress of machine invention has rendered the labor power of horses almost unmarketable except in certain special lines.

147. What will be the effect of this tendency upon the working class?
That depends upon the workers themselves. They

may permit it to reduce them to a slum proletariat living on the charity of the capitalists; or they may make themselves the owners of the industries and use the intelligence and power of the machines for their own advantage. If they should do the latter the present working class would become a leisure class with full opportunity and means for self-improvement and rational enjoyment.

LESSON XIV. LABOR UNIONS.

148. Whom do you include in the working class?
Under the ideal conditions for which we ought to strive it would include all mankind.

149. What is a labor union?
Any society of workers organized to promote the interest of their class.

150. What should be the purpose of all labor unions?
To produce a world free from exploitation, oppression and misery.

151. What are the necessary steps to that end?
Organization, education and rational tactics.

152. What is the fundamental principle of workers' organization?
It should run parallel with the organization of industry.

153. What form of workers' organization was adapted to the handicraft system of industry?
Workers' guilds.

154. What were the guilds?
Industrial unions. Since the entire product was completed in one shop it was logical to organize all who worked upon it into one union. All shops which produced the same commodity were included in the same guild or industrial union.

155. What form of industry succeeded the handicraft?
Rudimentary machine industry under which the various parts of each commodity were made in different shops running independently of one another. A distinct machine produced each distinct part.

156. What form of workers' organization was adapted to this form of industry?

The craft union.

157. Has the craft union become obsolete?

Yes, because the form of industry to which it corresponded is obsolete.

LESSON XV. EFFECT OF MACHINES ON WORKERS.

158. What is the modern method of production?

The entire commodity is produced by a single machine which takes in the raw material and turns out the finished product. When a commodity consists of many distinct parts the tendency is to produce them all in the same shop and assemble them under the same roof into the finished product.

159. Is this a return to the pre-machine method of production?

Yes, in principle. But the machine replaces the human hand and brain.

160. What form of labor organization is adapted to the modern method of production?

The industrial form, which includes in one union all who work upon the same commodity.

Examples: The masons, carpenters, plumbers, excavators, etc., who work together to produce a building, should be organized in one union. The engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, who produce the commodity called transportation by their common labor should be organized in a single union.

161. What is the logical policy for the separate industrial unions to pursue?

As industry consolidates under the control of the money trust the industrial unions of the workers should obviously consolidate into one big union. Centralized ownership and control of industry require centralized tactics on the part of the workers.

162. What has the machine in industry made possible?

A high standard of living for all mankind.

163. Why?

Because it might make all commodities plentiful and cheap.

164. Has this possiblity been realized?

No. The machine has multiplied commodities and diffused many material comforts among the middle class. But the relative situation of the workers is no better than in the handicraft period and in some respects not so good.

165. What has been the most important effect of the machine upon the workers?

It has massed them together in great cities where they have become class conscious and are becoming self-educated and revolutionary.

LESSON XVI. EFFECT OF MACHINES ON CAPITALISTS.

166. What has been the effect of the machine upon the capitalist owners of industry?

It increased the number of workers employed many times over and therefore immensely increased the profit from exploiting them.

It increased production enormously and therefore immensely increased the profits from the sale of manufactured commodities. This was the case even while competition was in a measure free, as it was in the early days of the machine.

When the capitalist bankers had perfected the process of applying the savings of the workers to obtain control of nature and raw materials they were able to add another enormous annual sum to their profits.

The next logical step of the capitalists was to form monopolies by which they took the control of selling prices into their own hands. Being already able by their ownership of nature and the industries to restrict production at their will, they could now put in force the principle of selling the smallest amount of commodities at the price which would return the maximum profit.

From all this it comes about:

That the capitalists accumulate fortunes unexampled in history, monstrous surpluses of wealth seeking investment anywhere and everywhere throughout the world.

That they produce vast quantities of commodities which the exploited home population cannot buy and which must, therefore, seek markets in all parts of the world.

That the absolute economic power of the capitalists gives them absolute control of politics, so that they can use the power of the political state to protect their investments and conquer foreign markets. This they have done in San Domingo, Haiti, Honduras, China and elsewhere.

LESSON XVII. INDUSTRY AND WAR.

167. What is the relation between industry and war?

With industry organized as a capitalist monopoly and profit as its sole objective the capitalist owners can and will force the political state to go to war whenever it is their interest to do so.

168. For what purposes will the capitalists force the political state to go to war?

To collect foreign debts, to open or conquer foreign markets, to destroy trade rivals, to extinguish revolutionary unrest at home.

169. How are all wars paid for?

By making the exploitation of the workers more complete and pitiless.

170. What then is the effect of war upon the workers' standard of living?

By all wars, whether victorious or not, the workers' standard of living is forced downward.

LESSON XVIII. VALUE AND MONEY.

171. How was wealth defined in the answer to question 1?

Wealth is any object or performance for which human beings will pay.

172. How do people pay for wealth?
With labor power produced either in their own bodies or in the bodies of exploited workers or transformed from the forces of nature in machines.

173. What is the value of an object of wealth?
The value of an object of wealth is the quantity of labor power which men in general customarily pay for it.

174. What is money?
Money is the measure of value.

175. What is the unit of money?
In the United States the unit of money is the gold dollar. Other countries use other units.

176. What is a gold dollar?
A piece of gold of a certain weight and purity coined by the government.

177. What is the value of a gold dollar?
Its value is one dollar, just as the length of a yard stick is one yard.

178. Is the word dollar used in two senses?
Yes. It denotes (1) a piece of coined gold and (2) the value of that coin.

179. What is the use of money in industry?
It represents all wealth and may take the place of all kinds of wealth in business deals.

180. Describe this use of money in other words.
Money is the medium of exchange.

LESSON XIX. BARTER AND CREDIT.

181. What is barter?
Barter is the exchange of commodities for commodities, horses for potatoes, wood for sheep, furniture for wheat and so on.

182. What is the objection to barter?
It is inconvenient and wasteful.

183. Illustrate the advantage of money deals over barter.
Money deals have the same advantage over bar-

ter that algebra has over arithmetic. Money generalizes exchange. It enables traders to buy and sell value in the abstract.

184. Why do capitalists prefer the money system to barter?

For three reasons: (1) They can put money deals through faster than barter and therefore make more separate profits in a day. (2) They can make larger deals and therefore more profit on each deal. (3) They can deal or speculate in imaginary values and thus make profits which would be impossible under the barter method.

185. How are imaginary values represented?

By paper money and other instruments of credit.

186. What is credit?

Credit is abstract value, either real or imaginary.

187. What is abstract value?

Value expressed in symbols or tokens.

188. When is abstract value real?

When it is the measure and symbol of a corresponding amount of wealth actually existing for which the symbols can be exchanged.

189. When is abstract value imaginary?

When it is the measure and symbol of imaginary wealth.

LESSON XX. PAPER MONEY.

190. What is paper money?

Paper money is the measure and symbol of the government's real and imaginary wealth.

191. What is the government's real wealth?

I ts gold and the real wealth which it can extort from the workers by taxation.

192. Does not the government extort wealth from all classes by taxation?

Apparently so. But in the long run all taxes fall on the workers and are paid by lowering their standard of living.

193. What is the government's imaginary wealth?
The excess of what it pretends to be able to extort by taxation over what it actually can extort.

194. When is the government's credit said to be good or high?
A government's credit is said to be good or high when its citizens and the rest of the world treat its imaginary wealth as if it were real.

195. When the government's credit is good what is the value of a paper dollar?
The same as that of a gold dollar.

196. When does the government's credit become impaired?
When people lose confidence in its power to extort wealth by taxation.

197. What then happens to the paper dollar?
It loses part or all of its imaginary value. It is worth less than a gold dollar.

198. What is then said of gold?
Gold is said to be at a premium.

199. What method of profit-making does this afford the money trust?
The method of deflation.

200. What is deflation?
The destruction of imaginary wealth.

201. What is the effect of deflation on paper money?
It takes part of it out of circulation and raises the value of the remainder to par with gold.

202. How does the money trust make its profit?
By lending paper money when it is cheap and forcing payment when it has been made as good as gold.

203. What enables the money trust to do this?
Its control of the political state.

LESSON XXI. CREDIT AND BANKS.

204. What are instruments of credit?

All paper symbols of wealth such as paper money, bank checks, warehouse receipts, promissory notes, bonds, certificates of stock.

205. What is a bank?

A bank is a business house which borrows and lends credit.

206. From whom does the bank borrow credit?

From its depositors.

207. What is meant by a deposit in the bank?

A deposit in the bank is a certain amount of credit or money turned over to the bank by a depositor.

208. For what purpose?

For the depositor's convenience. He can withdraw the deposit in small amounts by checks and use it as he needs it in business deals.

209. Does the depositor deposit real wealth in the bank?

He usually deposits credit which may stand for either real or imaginary wealth.

210. How does the bank pay for the use of the credit which it borrows from depositors?

By the convenience of its check and credit service.

211. What is meant by the bank's credit service?

The loan of credit to its depositors as they require it in business deals.

212. How does the bank make its profits?

By charging interest for the credit it lends.

213. The bank lends the credit which it borrows from its depositors. Does it lend any other credit?

Yes. Many banks are allowed to lend the credit of the government.

214. In what form is the government's credit lent by the banks?

In the form of bank notes, which pass current as paper money.

LESSON XXII. BANK FAILURES.

215. Does the bank lend any other credit besides that of its depositors and the government?
Yes. It lends great quantities of credit symbols representing imaginary wealth.

216. What gives these symbols their value?
The confidence of the public.

217. Is their value therefore real?
No. It is fictitious or imaginary. But it serves in business deals the same as real value as long as public confidence continues unimpaired.

218. When public confidence is impaired what happens?
There is a collapse of credit, usually called a panic.

219. What is destroyed in a panic?
The imaginary wealth which the banks have lent to their customers.

220. What follows?
The depositors demand real money or wealth in place of the imaginary value that has disappeared in the panic.

221. Can the bank satisfy their demand?
No, not as a rule, because it has lent out the depositors' real wealth along with great quantities of imaginary wealth.

222. What is the consequence?
The bank closes its doors, fails or becomes insolvent.

223. Do the depositors lose their money?
They always lose part of it and often the whole.

224. What increases their loss?
The enormous fees paid to lawyers and receivers.

LESSON XXIII. PANICS.

225. What is a further consequence of a collapse of credit?
The failure of all kinds of industrial enterprises which depend upon the banks for credit.

226. What is the effect upon the workers?

They lose their jobs. Unemployment prevails. The standard of living falls.

227. Does the money trust make profit out of a collapse of credit?

Yes, in many different ways. (1) It buys cheap the control of the insolvent banks, starts them up again and thus tightens its hold on the credit of the country and at the same time multiplies its sources of profit. (2) The money trust buys up the wrecked industrial enterprises for little or nothing and thus perfects its control of industry. (3) A collapse of credit affords the money trust a precious opportunity to foreclose mortgages, call loans, force the collection of all sorts of debts at a time when creditors must either sacrifice their property entirely or else sell at a ruinous loss.

228. How does a collapse of credit affect the farmers?

Many of them lose their farms by foreclosures and either sink into the tenant class or drift to the cities. The wholesale destruction of imaginary wealth causes the price of farm produce to fall with that of all other commodities. In other words, many farmers lose their jobs while the standard of living is lowered for them all.

229. A collapse of credit then affects the farmers about the same as it does other workers?

About the same.

230. Is any real wealth destroyed in a collapse of credit?

None whatever. But large quantities of real wealth are transferred from former owners to the money trust.

231. What is the cause of panics?

Panics, like wars, are deliberately contrived by the money trust to increase its profits. The money trust emerges from every panic and every war with its control over nature and industry appreciably increased.

LESSON XXIV. INCOME, PROFIT, EXPENSE.

232. What are the necessary expenses of an industry or business?

Depreciation of plant, rent, interest, cost of raw material, cost of labor power, insurance.

233. From what is the income of an industry or business derived?

From the sale of its product. The business of a worker is to produce labor power from the food he eats. His income is derived from the sale of his labor power. The business of a lawyer is to produce and sell the activity of his brain, which is a species of labor power. The business of a tailor is to produce and sell suits of clothes. The business of the steel trust is to produce and sell the many forms of steel.

234. What is the annual profit of an industry?

The excess of its income over its expenses for the year.

235. Suppose a man invests nothing but his own money in his business and owns the land it occupies, must he still deduct interest and rent from its income in order to ascertain the amount of his profit?

Yes. The interest belongs to him as a capitalist and the rent as a landlord. Profit is what he gets for owning the industry.

236. What then, is profit in general?

It is the return which industry pays to its owners for acting as owners.

237. What is rent?

It is the return which industry pays to the landlord for owning land.

238. What is interest?

It is the return which industry pays to the capitalist for owning capital.

239. Why must depreciation of plant be deducted in computing annual profit?

Because the plant always depreciates with time and use, or even with lack of use.

240. Why must the cost of raw material be deducted in computing profit?

Because no wealth can be produced without consuming raw material. The human body, for example, is a manufactory in which the life force produces labor power by consuming food.

LESSON XXV. THE KINDS OF LABOR.

241. What is the cost of labor power to the employer called?

Wages.

242. Does the cost of human labor power differ in principle from the cost of horse power, or steam power?

No.

243. Can we properly say that the capitalist divides the income of his business with labor?

Not unless we can also say that he divides his income with his horses and steam engines.

244. What forms of labor are employed in industry?

Management, accounting, handicraft, machine tending, salesmanship, engineering, art, professional ability.

245. What form of labor is the best paid?

Management.

246. Why?

Because executive ability is somewhat rare and contributes more to profit making than any other kind of labor power.

247. What other forms of labor power are said to be well paid?

Professional ability and salesmanship.

248. What form of labor sells cheapest on the whole?

Machine tending.

249. Why?

Because it requires little strength or intelligence. As machine industry evolves machine tending can be done more and more by women and children, who are more readily exploited than men.

250. What can be said of the selling price of handicraft labor power?

In some industries the handicrafts are still indispensable and since this sort of ability may be rare it is well paid now and then. The machine tends to eliminate handicraft everywhere, but in some industries it is likely to survive, perhaps forever.

251. What part does accounting play in industry?

The manager would be helpless without accounting, since he would have to apply his ability blindly.

252. What is human engineering?

Human engineering in industry signifies the methods by which the greatest possible quantity of labor power is extorted from the workers for the least possible wage.

253. What name is given to the systems of management introduced by human engineers?

Efficiency systems.

254. What is civil engineering?

Civil engineering signifies the methods by which the forces and materials of nature are made available in industry.

LESSON XXVI. CRAFT AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

255. What is a skilled laborer?

One who has learned a trade or handicraft, as a plumber, a gardener, a carpenter, a blacksmith.

256. How is machine industry tending to eliminate carpenters?

By putting ready made houses on the market.

257. What are ready made houses?

Houses for which the material is so prepared by machinery that the building can be completed by unskilled labor.

258. What seems to be the destiny of nearly all skilled labor?

To be supplanted by machnies.

259. What is the principal purpose of craft unions?
To keep up the selling price of skilled labor by limiting the supply.

260. What is the worst enemy of craft unions?
The progress of machine invention, which embodies one skilled trade after another in the structure of the machine.

261. Can unskilled labor be organized in craft unions?
Obviously not, because unskilled labor has no craft or trade.

262. Is the majority of the working class skilled or unskilled?
The vast majority is unskilled.

263. What form of organization is adapted to unskilled labor?
The industrial form, which pays no attention to particular crafts and regards nothing but the completed product. The development of the industrial labor organization corresponds to the development of machine industry.

LESSON XXVII. PRICE AND MONOPOLY.

264. What is the price of a commodity?
The sum of money it sells for.

265. Are prices determined by competition among sellers?
No. There is little competition among sellers in any important industry except agriculture. There is some competition in the automobile business and traces of it elsewhere.

266. How are prices for the most part determined?
By the monopolies which own the industries.

267. What principle do they follow in fixing prices?
The principle is stated in 111-115.

268. How are prices determined under free competition?
By the law of supply and demand. Increase of supply forces the price downward, increase of demand forces it upward.

269. Does free competition exist at present?

What little is left of it is rapidly disappearing.

270. How is the price of agricultural products determined?

Prices are fixed for agricultural producers by immense monopolies like the beef trust or by immense gambling establishments like the Chicago wheat pit and the Minneapolis chamber of commerce.

For consumers of agricultural products prices are fixed by monopolies like the milling trust, the beef trust, the combination of bakers.

LESSON XXVIII. INTRINSIC AND SITE VALUES OF LAND

271. What is land?

In economics the term land is technically used to signify all the materials and resources of nature such as soil, minerals, water and water power, standing timber.

272. What is the intrinsic value of land?

The intrinsic value of land is the measure of its inherent productive power.

273. What is the site value of land?

The site value of land is the value which it derives from its relative situation.

274. May land have large intrinsic value and at the same time small site value?

Yes. The land of the middle west had great intrinsic or productive value but small site value before the railroads opened eastern markets to its products.

A coal mine in the wilds of Alaska may have immense intrinsic value but hardly any site value.

On the other hand, the rocky farms of New England have great site value because they are near big markets, but their intrinsic value is small because their soil is unproductive.

275. What are the two great uses of land?

(1) As the source of food and raw materials. (2). As the site of buildings and engineering works.

276. What values has land used as the source of food and raw materials?

It has both site value and intrinsic value.

277. Upon what does its intrinsic value depend?

The intrinsic value of a farm depends on the quality of the soil, that of a mine on the richness of the deposits and the ease of mining them, that of water power on the flow of water and the head. And so on.

278. On what does the site value of such land depend?

On the cost of marketing its products. In estimating the cost of marketing we must include distance, railroad monopoly, refrigeration, feed and care of live stock, etc.

LESSON XXIX. CITY LAND. LAND OWNERSHIP.

279. What value has land used for building and engineering sites?

It has only site value.

280. What value is considered in making the price of city land?

Site value only.

281. What gives site value to a city lot?

The number of people who pass it daily, the number who live in its vicinty, the wealth and habits of the neighboring population, the kinds of business done in the same locality.

282. Does the owner of a city lot produce its site value?

No. Its site value is a social product, which is produced by the combined industry and civilization of the inhabitants of the city.

287. To whom, then, should site values in justice belong?

To those who produce them.

284. Let us now consider land used to produce food and raw materials. Who produces its intrinsic value?

The intrinsic value of all mines, soil, water power, etc., is the free gift of evolution, or nature, to the human race.

285. To whom, then, should such intrinsic value in justice belong?

To the whole human race, certainly not to any individual.

286. Who produce the site value of land used for food production and the production of raw materials?

Its site value is produced by the inhabitants who build the markets for its product.

287. Is site value always a social product?

Always.

288. Can it, then, in justice belong to any individual?

It cannot.

289. What is the just and righteous method of land ownership?

There is no just and righteous method of landownership any more than there is a just and righteous method of ownership of the air.

LESSON XXX. ECONOMIC RENT.

290. What is economic rent?

Economic rent is the difference between the rate of profit from a given parcel of land, and the poorest land in actual use for the same purpose.

291. What values are considered in computing economic rent?

Both intrinsic and site values.

292. Specify the economic rent of a coal mine.

The data required are the profits of the given mine and those of the poorest mine actually worked for the market. Subtract the profit rate of the poorest from the profit rate of the mine under consideration. The difference is the economic rent.

293. Specify the economic rent of a farm.

The data required are the profit rate of the given farm and that of the poorest farm actually worked for the market, considering both soil and site. The difference is the economic rent of the farm under consideration.

294. Specify the economic rent of a city lot.

The data required are the profit rate from the lot in question and the poorest site actually used in business. The difference is the economic rent of the lot under consideration.

295. Give another definition of economic rent.

It measures the value which nature and social effort combined confer on land.

LESSON XXXI. TAXES.

296. What is a tax?

A tax is a sum of money levied upon industry by the government.

297. By whom are all taxes ultimately paid?

By the workers, that is, by those who sell their labor power.

298. Are not income, inheritance and profit taxes paid by capitalists?

Only apparently. In the long run all such taxes are extorted from the workers by cutting down their wages.

299. What is a protective tariff?

A protective tariff is a levy upon the workers for the benefit of some privileged group of capitalists.

301. What is the difference in principle between a protective tariff and a cash subsidy?

There is no difference.

302. What are taxes used for?

Nine-tenths of the taxes raised by the United States government are used to pay for past wars and current imperialist enterprises. The remaining one-tenth, or less, is applied to finance the elections of politicians, to subsidize favored groups of capitalists, to support "lame duck" politicians on countless commissions and to pay the salaries of congressmen, judges and other cogs in the political machine. A very minute fraction of the taxes collected by the government is used for imperialist propaganda under the guise of education and for scientific research.

303. What is the character of the scientific research which the government supports?

It is devoted in large measure to the discovery of new weapons and instrumentalities of war, such as new kinds of poison gas.

LESSON XXXII. FRANCHISES.

304. What is a franchise?

A franchise is the grant of the government's taxing power to some privileged individual or group.

For example, a railroad franchise confers taxing power on the owners of the railroad. They collect the tax in their transportation rates.

Another form of franchise confers taxing power upon gas companies, which collect the tax in gas rates.

305. What is a public service commission?

A public service commission is a commission appointed to protect and extend the taxing power conferred by the politicians on street railroads, gas companies, etc.

306. How do the public service commissions in the various states perform this service?

They claim to be the depositaries of the state's police power, which they exercise for the benefit of their capitalist patrons. By current judicial decisions the police power is superior to statute law and constitutions as well as contracts.

LESSON XXXIII. NATIONAL DEBTS.

307. What is a national debt?

A debt incurred by the government in waging war.

308. How are national debts paid?

National debts are always paid by levying on the wages of the workers either directly or indirectly.

309. What is the regular process by which a national debt is built up?

The government borrows credit from the money trust with which to run the war.

310. Why does not the government run the war on its own credit by issuing its promises to pay directly to the people?

There would be no profit to the money trust in that method, and therefore the money trust does not permit it.

311. What promises to pay does the government issue to the money trust?

Interest bearing bonds.

Sometimes the bonds are not issued directly by the government to the money trust, but are first unloaded at par upon the workers and petty bourgeoisie, who are forced to buy by appeals to their patriotism, by lynch law, by imprisonment. When the bonds are safely in the hands of the masses the politicians drive the price down so that their masters in the money trust can buy up the government debt at bargain prices. This method was followed in the great war for democracy.

312. What is the security behind these bonds?

The government's taxing power.

313. What security lies behind the government's paper money?

The government's taxing power. The security is the same as for bonds.

314. Why are bonds considered more "stable" than paper money?

Because all governments pay their debts to the money trust before they pay their debts to the people.

315. In what double capacity does the money trust serve a government at war?

It sells the government warlike supplies on the one hand and on the other lends it the credit with which to buy them.

316. What double profit does the money trust make out of war?

(1) It raises the price of the commodities it sells

by the amount of the credit it lends the government. In this way it makes a profit exactly equal to the amount of the growing national debt.

(2) The money trust also charges the government interest for the use of its credit.

317. What then is the amount of the profit derived by the money trust from every war?

The profit derived by the money trust from every war is equal to the principal of the national debt incurred in that war plus the interest on it.

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The Lumber Industry and Its Workers

CHAPTER 1.

LUMBER IN ITS RELATION TO OTHER INDUSTRIES

FROM the light that science projects into the obscurity of the remote past we have every reason to believe that not only the progress but the very existence of the human race was dependent on timber. The trees provided a refuge for our ape-like ancestors and thus saved them from destruction by the monstrous beasts and reptiles that then inhabited the earth. The first weapon of primitive man was a wooden club. Without wood the discovery of fire, which started man on the road of civilization, would have been impossible. The invention of the wooden bow-and-arrow marks the beginning of another important stage in the advance of the race. In his first rude attempts at agriculture the savage scratched the ground with a pointed stick, which later evolved into the wooden plow. In the early stages of development man lived without agriculture, but it is scarcely conceivable that his existence would ever have been possible without timber.

As the race passed from savagery thru barbarism to civilization wood remained essential to its progress. Even today, without wood and the products of wood, civilization in its present form could not exist. In our daily lives we are constantly dependent on wood. We live in wooden houses, sleep in wooden beds or bunks, sit on wooden chairs, eat at wooden tables, use wooden toothpicks and matches, walk on wooden sidewalks, ride in wooden cars, sail in wooden ships, and finally are put in wooden coffins and hauled to the boneyard in wooden hearses. Policemen enforce the law with wooden clubs, and only too often that same law is the product of wooden heads. The newspapers and books we read and the paper on which we write are made from wood pulp. An endless variety of commodities, both solid and liquid, are stored and transported in wooden boxes and barrels. Wood is extensively used as a fuel, and some idea of its value in that capacity may be gained from the following estimate by the Forest Service, United States Department of Agriculture:

> "In heating value one standard cord of well-seasoned hickory, oak, beech, birch, hard maple, ash, elm, locust or cherry wood is approximately equal to one ton (2,000 pounds) of anthracite coal. However, a cord and a half of soft maple, and two cords of cedar, poplar, or bass wood, are required to give the same amount of heat.
>
> "One cord of mixed wood, well-seasoned, equals in heating value at least one ton of average grade bituminous coal.

"Either as raw material or as part of the tools and machinery, lumber is used in all industries."

In Agriculture the farmer must have lumber to build his dwelling house, barn, granaries, silos, etc. To fence his fields he must have wooden posts; often the entire fence is made of wood. He picks his fruit from a wooden ladder, packs it in wooden boxes, with wood pulp paper, and hauls it to the railroad in a wooden wagon. Wood forms a part of all agricultural tools, implements and machinery. Late statistics show that the present demand for wood for farm implements exceeds 320,000,000 feet a year, and if the wood that goes into agricultural hand tools were added the total would probably exceed 400,000,000 feet.

In the Mining Industry wood is used to timber the mines to prevent them from caving in. Wooden ties support the tracks in and around the mines. Wooden cars transport the coal or ore from the working to the shaft. Shaft houses and other buildings around the mines are built wholly or partly of lumber. In coal mining, timber forms the principal part of tipples, washers, etc. Wood forms part of some of the mining tools and machinery. Without lumber it would be practically impossible to carry on mining.

In the Construction Industry lumber is one of the principal raw materials. Even when the main part of a building is of some other material (such as brick, stone, steel or concrete) lumber is used for floors, ceilings, laths, window frames, doors, and in many other ways. On buildings lumber is used for staging. On concrete work to construct the forms, and for temporary supports. On railroad and general construction work timber is used for bridge building, for culverts, for piling, railroad ties, etc. Wood forms an important part of the machinery of construction, such as derricks, steam shovels, dump cars and the like. Most of the tools used in this industry are part wood. Lumber is used to build the camps which shelter the men and animals employed. If the supply of lumber were cut off it would only be a short time before the entire building industry would be forced to shut down.

The Transportation Industry is literally supported by wood. The 275,000 miles of railroad track in the United States rest on wooden ties. It is estimated that the railroad and electric lines of the country use approximately one hundred and twenty million ties every year. The vast network of telegraph and telephone wires that covers the country is upheld by wooden poles. By far the greater part of the rolling stock is built of lumber.

In Marine Transportation lumber is far from being a thing of the past. A large part of the commerce of the world is still carried in wooden ships. The small boats, scows and barges in the harbors and on the canals and rivers are built almost entirely of wood. Lumber is used for docks and wharves, and where other materials are used they often rest on wooden piling.

General Manufacturing.—How vital lumber is to this industry can be appreciated by quoting a few figures. Fifty-two thousand, or nineteen per cent of the 276,000 manufactur-



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ing establishments in this country, use wood solely or in part as raw material. These 52,000 establishments furnish employment to 1,130,000 wage-earners, or sixteen per cent of the 7,000,000 wage earners in the United States. Whatever goes towards curtailing the supplies of raw forest products to these establishments tends to rupture the continuous employment of a vast army of wage-earners, and thus affects the larger army of their dependents. In a nutshell, one-fifth of all manufacturing establishments and one-sixth of all the wage-earners in the United States are directly dependent for raw material on the product of the lumberjack's labor.

The Printing and Publishing Industry is directly dependent on the product of the forest. Cutting off the supply of pulp wood from which paper is made would completely paralyze this industry, cause the suspension of all newspapers and magazines, stop the printing of books, and throw many thousands out of employment. It is estimated by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce that the annual consumption of wood pulp exceeds 3,000,000 tons, of which one-fifth is imported. The wood-pulp industry produces annually an output valued at over $80,000,000.

These are only a few of the principal uses of wood. Its uses are endless, and extend to every industry and every phase of life. The industrial census of 1913 shows the forests of the United States annually supply over one and a quarter billion dollars' worth of products; employ 735,000 workers; and pay $367,000,000 in wages.

While all other industries depend directly or indirectly on lumber, the lumber industry is also dependent on all others. Agriculture furnishes the food necessary to support the lumber workers, the raw material from which their clothes and shoes are made, and the work animals employed to move the logs.

Mining furnishes the raw material from which axes, saws, steel rails, and logging and sawmill machinery are made. It furnishes most of the fuel to run this machinery, and the oil to lubricate it. Even in its most primitive form logging could not be carried on without the product of the mine.

Construction workers build the sawmills and the roads over which the logs are hauled.

Transportation workers move the logs from forest to mill, and the lumber from mill to customer. They bring the necessary supplies—food, clothing, fuel, etc.—from farm and factory to logging camp and sawmill town.

The manufacturing industry produces logging and sawmill machinery and tools; also stoves, cooking utensils, etc., used by lumber workers, and the clothes and shoes they wear.

No one industry is independent of the others; all are interdependent. The workers in the lumber industry are not only a part of that industry but are also a part of industry as a whole, which is carried on by the workers in the different industries co-operating together. This co-operation is mostly unconscious on the part of the workers, for they are organized by the capitalists to produce for the benefit of the capitalists, and do not control these producing organizations.

Not only are all industries interdependent; that is also true of all countries. Often one country furnishes the raw material and another turns out the finished product. Modern industry is bigger than any one country; it is world-wide, and pays little attention to national boundary lines. It is carried on by means of co-operation (altho unconscious) among the workers in all industries in all parts of the world. For instance, American lumber workers, English marine transport workers, and Chinese construction workers may co-operate to build houses or railroads in China. The Lumber Industry of the United States is greatly affected by transportation facilities by land and water between different parts of the world, and also by the timber supply of other countries.

The following table, compiled by the United States Forest Service, shows the acreage of forests in the principal countries of the world:

Europe.	Acres.
Austria-Hungary	53,000,000
Finland	53,000,000
France	24,000,000
Germany	35,000,000
Norway	17,000,000
Russia in Europe	465,000,000
Sweden	49,000,000
All other	54,000,000
Total Europe	**750,000,000**

Asia.	Acres.
India	149,000,000
Japan	58,000,000
Philippines	49,000,000
Russian Asia	348,000,000
All other	7,000,000
Total Asia	**611,000,000**
Australasia	**133,000,000**

Africa.	Acres.
Central Africa	224,000,000
Madagascar	25,000,000
All other	10,000,000
Total Africa	**259,000,000**

America.	Acres.
Alaska	107,000,000
Canada	799,000,000
Mexico	25,000,000
South America	528,000,000
United States	545,000,000
West Indies	43,000,000
Total America	**2,047,000,000**
Grand Total	**3,800,000,000**

The work of the men in the woods and sawmills is indispensable to society. But owing to their lack of organization they

allow society to condemn them to hard labor for life, and to deny them an opportunity to enjoy the benefits of civilization. The workers operate industry, but get little of the wealth their labor produces. The reason for this is that they do not control industry. Organized in the right way and using scientific tactics, they have the power to stop industry, or to control it and run it for their benefit.

How this can be done will be explained in a later chapter.

CHAPTER 2.

EARLY METHODS OF LOGGING.*

THE evolution of the sawmill is largely due to conditions and demands of the lumber industry in America. The early colonists built and operated sawmills one hundred years before there was one in England. However, the wood-working industry was highly developed in that country long before the first sawmill was erected. So if a sawmill did not always appear in a colony soon after the first settlement, it does not follow that no lumbering was carried on. They had other means of manufacturing the forest products.

The pioneer of the wilderness with axe and wedge could easily supply his few wants in this respect; but in the villages which sprang up at each important trading post there was a demand for building material and ship timber, which the villagers themselves could not supply. Most of them were engaged in better-paying pursuits or professions; hence some labor found employment in manufacturing lumber by hand. The large timbers for house and ship building were hewn out and squared with a broad-axe by men who were experts with this tool. The planks, boards and boat-sides were mostly made by pit-sawing. The latter was a common industry in England; and one reason why that country had no sawmills until after 1768 was because the mobs, always opposed to labor-saving machinery, destroyed the first ones as fast as they were erected, thru fear that the pit-sawyers would be thrown out of employment.

Pit-Sawing.

Pit-sawing was done by two men with a long saw that had cross handles on each end. A stick of timber, hewed square, was placed over a pit, or elevated on trestles. One man stood on top and pulled the saw up while the other stood in the pit below and pulled it down. The workman on top who guided the saw along the chalk-line, and who was supposedly the better man, was called the pit-man. When sawmills were first substituted in this work the saw was held taut on the upward stroke by a springpole overhead, and was worked up and down by a wooden beam attached to a crank on the mill wheel. This wooden beam was called the pitman, and is still known by that name in every saw-mill in the country. Pit-sawing or whip-sawing, as it

* The facts given in this chapter were obtained from an article entitled "A History of the Logging Industry in the State of New York," by Wm. F. Fox, Superintendent of Forests in that state, and a collaborator of the Bureau of Forestry. This article was published in 1902 as Bulletin 34 by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Forestry.



PIT-SAWING

is often called, was not entirely abandoned on the introduction of saw-mills. This old method was still useful in sawing long stuff, because in many mills the carriage was not long enough to saw planks of the desired length.

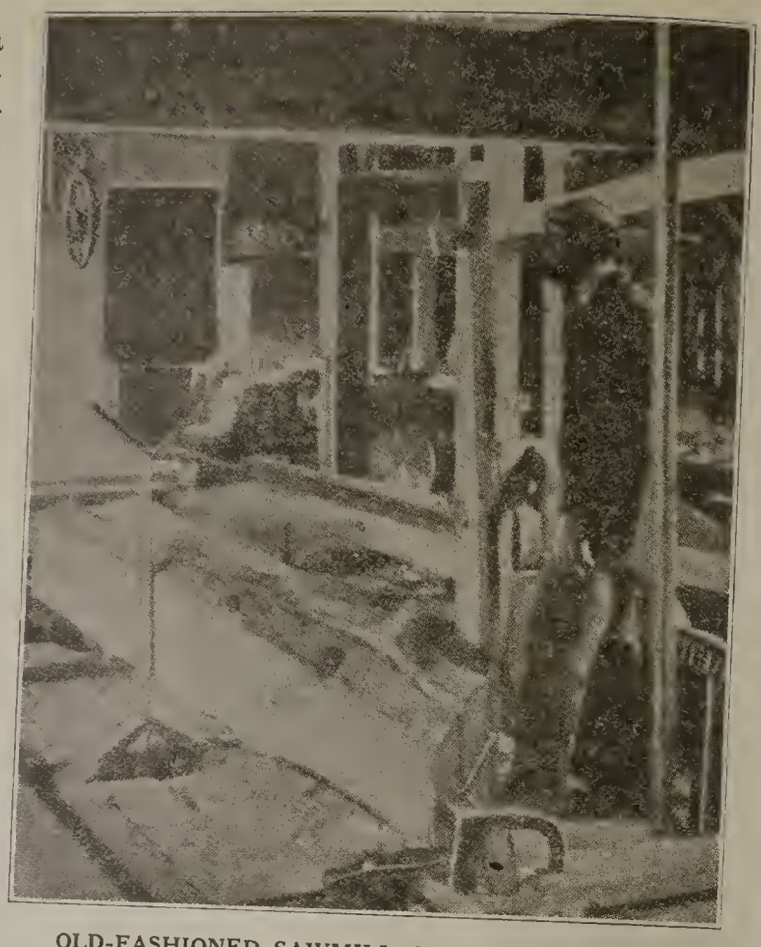
In the Hudson River Valley no settlement was made, nor house erected by white men until 1614. Just when the labor of the settlers first took the form we call lumbering it is impossible to say. In 1623, nine years after the first house was built at New Amsterdam, three sawmills were erected by the Dutch West India Company; and with their erection begins the history of lumbering in the State of New York.

The machinery for these mills, which was shipped from Holland, was constructed to run by water power or by wind-mill. One of them was built on Governor's Island, and was probably operated by wind power; another, which stood on Sawmill Creek, a tributary of the East River, may have used a water wheel. In 1639 the mill on Governor's Island was based at the annual rental of 500 merchantable boards, half oak and half pine.

About the same time, perhaps a little earlier, some sawmills were built at Fort Orange (Albany) or in its immediate vicinity. Andries Corstiaensen, a master millwright, with two sawyers, was sent there from Holland in 1630. Among the settlers at Rensselaerwyck (Troy), in 1630, were Lawrens Lawrenssen and Barent Tomassen, sawyers. In 1636 Barent Pieterse Koeymans joined the colony, and in the fall of 1645 took charge of the Patroon's sawmills, being allowed 150 guilders a year for board and 3 stuyvers for every plank he sawed. In two years this mill cut over 4,000 boards. In 1673 Koeymans bought a large tract of land on the Hudson River, 12 miles south of Albany (the location of the present town of Coeymans), on which there were some desirable mill-sites, and where Cruyn Cornelissen and Hans Jonsen had erected sawmills as early as 1651.

The colonists soon made other settlements in the Hudson Valley, and in 1661 Frans Pietero Clavers built a sawmill on the little stream which runs into the river 2 miles north of Stuyvesant Landing, in what is now the town of Kinderhook, Columbia County. This stream has been known as the Saw Kill ever since. In 1663 a sawmill was built by Jan Barendsen Wemp on

the Poesten Kill, a stream which empties into the Hudson at Troy. As the falls of the Poesten Kill (Puffing or Foaming Creek) furnished a strong water-power, it may be assumed that this mill was driven by a water-wheel.



OLD-FASHIONED SAWMILL, NEW YORK STATE

In a letter to the Lords of Trade, England, dated 2d of January, 1701, the Earl of Bellomont says:

"They have got about 40 sawmills up in this province (the province of New York) which I hear rids more woods and destroys more timber than all the sawmills in New Hampshire. Four saws are the most in New Hampshire that work in one mill, and here is a Dutchman, lately come over, who is an extraordinary artist at these mills. Mr. Livingston told me this last summer he had made him a mill that went with 12 saws. A few such mills will quickly destroy all the woods in the province at a reasonable distance from them."

For the first two hundred years the mills were of rude construction and of small capacity, most of them being limited to a single upright saw. At first this saw was attached directly to the pitman, the blade being steadied by a side pressure from guide blocks. Then an improvement was made by straming the saw between stirrups in a frame or "gate," the pitman being attached to the latter. As the turbine was then unknown, water power was obtained from a single overshot water-wheel.

Many of the first sawmills were built in combination with gristmills, often under the same roof, the power being used to drive them both or singly, as needed.

For the next hundred years after the founding of the colonies at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange (Albany) the settlement of the state was confined to the region of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. The development of the country and growth of the lumber industry were slow compared to the progress which



LOG-DRIVERS WAITING FOR A HEAD OF WATER

succeeded the Revolution. There being no means of transportation except in the river districts, the lumbermen, after supplying local demands, had to depend on the export business, which was confined largely to the English trade. There was a market for large white pine masts and ship-timber, which gave employment to axmen and raftsmen to some extent. But even at the close of the Revolution four-fifths of the state was still an unbroken wilderness, and where the large and populous city of Rochester now stands there was not a house nor a white man to be seen one hundred and twenty years ago. Except in the Hudson and Mohawk counties, settlements and lumbering operations were not commenced earlier than one hundred and fifty years ago, while thruout a very large area nothing was attempted until a much later date. But it is interesting to notice, as at New Amsterdam, how soon the sawmill followed the first cabin, how quickly the lumber industry began in each pioneer settlement, and how closely it was associated with the development of the country.

Primitive Methods.

At the beginning of the last century there was a lack of the tools and labor-saving appliances which are today considered indispensable in the lumber industry. Even the axe of the chopper was homemade—a single bit with a curved hickory handle, the rude handiwork of the nearest blacksmith; for the axe factories were yet to come, and the double-bitted axe had not been

invented. Crosscut saws, which had to be imported from England, were scarce and costly; hence the tree trunks were made into logs by chopping instead of sawing. The millwrights were not much better off for tools. The first mill in Rensselaer County was built in 1792 by a man named Cross who "had no tools but an axe, saw and auger."

Skidways were rarely made, except where a stock of logs was left lying in the woods, the logs being usually hauled direct to the mill. Oxen were used for the most part in logging, the same teams being employed on farm work part of the year; for the lumberman was also a farmer.

There was no river driving then. The great White Pines stood close around the mill itself, and so thickly that the logs were quickly and easily "snaked" there. The old-fashioned sawmill did not require much timber to stock it; hence several years would elapse before the haul became too long to be profitable. Then the lumberman would move his mill into another tract of timber and resume logging. It was not until years later that the lumberman conceived the plan of driving the logs to the mill instead of moving the mill to the logs, and so started the practice of river driving.

Rafting.

The local market of each mill was limited to the distance which the sawed lumber could be transported on wagons over soft, newly built roads; no canals or railroads extended their limits. The greater outside market could be reached only by rafting the product and floating it down to the towns and cities, which were always located on some waterway. For this reason the mills were located on the upper waters of creeks or rivers, which furnished at the same time water power and an outlet to market. Every lumberman was a raftsman as well as a logger and a mill-owner.

Log-Driving.

The beginning of log-driving was co-incident with the sudden increase in the development of the country in the early part of last century. Former primitive methods of hauling logs from forest to mill were no longer adequate to supply the increasing demand. The haul had become too long to be profitable, and there were no canals or railroads in those days. It became necessary for the manufacturers either to move their sawmills up stream or to flood their logs down to the mills. Log-driving on the upper Hudson began about 1813. One of the first drives was from the Brant Lake Tract to the mills at Glen Falls. Others soon followed, and in a few years log-drivers were at work on every large river in the state.

CHAPTER 3.

EVOLUTION OF THE LUMBER INDUSTRY.

Logging.

UP TO the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, science and invention had made slow progress in the lumber industry. The methods and tools employed had changed but little from those used for centuries in Europe. The same was true of all other industries. About this time occurred one of the most important events in human history; an event of tremendous and far-reaching consequences, which has revolutionized industry in all countries: The invention of the steam engine.

In 1782 James Watt patented the double-acting steam engine in England.

In 1804, in Wales, the first locomotive ever run on rails was built by Richard Trevithich.

The same year Col. John Stevens constructed a boat on the Hudson, driven by a Watt engine and having a tubular boiler of his own invention and a twin screw propeller.

The same year Oliver Evans used a steam paddle-wheel boat on the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers.

In 1807 Robert Fulton built the "Clermont" and permanently established steam navigation on the Hudson River between New York and Albany.

In 1811 the "Orleans," of one hundred tons, the first steamboat on the Mississippi, was built at Pittsburgh by Fulton and Livingston. She had a stern wheel and went from Pittsburgh to New Orleans in fourteen days.

By 1830 there were eighty-six steamers on the Hudson River and Long Island Sound, in addition to a large number on the Great Lakes and in the Western waters.

The first steamboat to cross the Atlantic was the American steamer "Savannah," three hundred and eighty tons, in 1819.

In 1826 the first railroad in the United States was built near Quincy, Mass.

It was inevitable that all these events should have a tremendous influence on the lumber industry. By aiding in the development of the country they caused an increased demand for lumber. By demonstrating the practicability of steam as a motive power they hastened its application in the lumber industry.

Soon after the invention of the steam engine, steam began to come into general use as a motive power. In the sawmills it gradually displaced wind power and, to a great extent, water



CLYDE FOUR-SIDE SKID

power. But it was not until long afterwards that it came into use in logging or even, to any great extent, in transporting logs from forest to mill. In the Eastern States, at that time the principal field of logging operations, most of the forests were within reasonable distance of creeks and rivers. The cold winters and heavy snow-fall furnished good sleigh roads over which the logs were hauled to the streams, to be driven to the mills during the spring freshets. In the early days of logging in the Lake States, methods were practically the same. Creeks and rivers carried the logs from forest to mill. But with the logging off of the timber nearest the streams, the lengthening of the sleigh haul, and the increasing demand for lumber caused by the rapid development of the country, other and more efficient means of transportation became necessary. The building of the railroads supplied this need.

The Pacific Railway, the first of the half dozen transcontinental railroads, was completed in 1869, and by that time the Eastern States were fairly well gridironed with railroads.

The successful use of steel-rail logging roads began in 1876, when Scott Gerrish, a logger in Southern Michigan, built a railroad for transporting logs from Lake George to the Muskegon River, down which they were driven to the mill. The number of logging roads increased rapidly, and in 1881 there were seventy-one in operation in Michigan, and five in Wisconsin. In 1910 there were approximately two thousand logging railroads with about 30,000 miles of track in operation in the United States.

The logging railroad was a great advance over previous methods. Altho transporting logs by rail cost more than by water, it was far more reliable. It was not dependent on weather conditions, and it enabled many mills to run all the year around, instead of being shut down half the year for want of logs. Much

timber that could not be profitably logged by the old methods, being too far from a derivable stream, was now made easily accessible.

Further application of steam power to logging soon followed the logging railroad. One of the most successful power loaders was put on the market in 1885, and since that time many forms have been brought out which differ in the manner of locomotion, character of booms and other details, to meet special requirements.

Steam skidding was introduced about the same time as steam loading. The first patent on power skidding machinery in the United States was granted on November 13, 1883, to Horace Butters of Lundington, Michigan, and covered an overhead cableway designed to get logs out of "pot-holes" and swampy places in the white pine forests. Perceiving the possibility of using a machine of this type in the cypress forests of North Carolina, the inventor built some machines which were mounted on scows and floated in the bayous and sloughs. They did not completely solve the loggers' problem, as they were limited in range from seven hundred to eight hundred feet, and consequently could reach only a small part of the timber.



THE LOG-CHUTE

In 1889 William Baptist put a ground system in operation in a Louisiana swamp. It consisted of two large drums and an engine and boiler mounted on a scow from which an endless cable passed out into the forest for a distance of one-half mile. This later developed into the modern "slack rope" system now used on pull boats.

A third method, called the "snaking system," was a later development in the pine forests of the South.

Since that time many improvements have been made and many new devices adopted in power skidding.

In the Eastern States most of the timber is now cut out, and four-fifths of the timber of the Lake States is gone. In these regions practically all the skidding is done by horse power, and for obvious reasons, it is not likely that steam skidding will ever be introduced to any great extent.

The great bulk of the logging in this country is now carried on in the South, the Rocky Mountain and the Pacific Coast States.

In the South the logging railroad is in general use, the rivers in that part of the country not being suitable for log-driving. In some places the skidding is done by horses, mules or oxen, in others by steam. Most of the loading is done by steam.

In the Rocky Mountain Region and in the Cascades there are still a few river drives, but by far the greatest part of the logging is done by railroad. Skidding is done both by horse and steam power. Practically all loading is done by steam.

In some places, principally in the South, specially constructed wagons are used for hauling logs. The pole road and the stringer road are still in use in a few localities, but they are not common, for they cannot compete with the steam logging road in efficiency. In mountainous sections the log-chute is in common use. In some parts of the West logs are transported by flume. In some parts of the Louisiana swamps logs are made into rafts and floated out during the wet season. For falling trees and cutting logs the axe is no longer used except for undercutting. This work is now done with crosscut saws.

In the Pacific Coast States, where the timber grows to a great size, power logging has reached its highest development and, in large operations, is used exclusively. It has entirely replaced the picturesque, many-yoked ox-teams of earlier days. The size and power of the donkey-engines used in moving the logs are being gradually increased. The latest improvements on a large scale are the overhead cableway and high lead. Many different systems and devices are used for skidding and loading. Among the most efficient of these is the Duplex loading donkey.

Big timber logging is highly specialized thruout. The principal species in Oregon and Washington is the Douglas fir, and in California the redwood, some specimens of which are the largest trees in the world. About one-half of the entire remaining timber of the country is in these three states. On account of the size of the timber and the outlook for the future, the new science of logging engineering is being more rapidly developed on the Pacific Coast than in any other section of the United States. In this section the logs are cut the full length of a flat-car, on account of which it is known as the long log country.

The Sawmill.

In the sawmill even greater changes have taken place than in logging. The saw has been the great pioneer in wood-working machinery. It is said this tool was first invented by an



SWINGING-BOOM M'GIFFERT LOADER

ancient Greek. Having found the jaw-bone of a snake, he employed it to cut thru a small piece of wood. By this means he was induced to form a like instrument of iron, that is, to make a saw. The circular saw was the type most commonly used in the Nineteenth Century. It was invented by an Englishman named Miller in 1777. It was not until the Nineteenth Century, however, that it was generally applied, and its great work belongs to that period. The first insertable teeth for this saw were invented by W. Kendal, an American, in 1826.

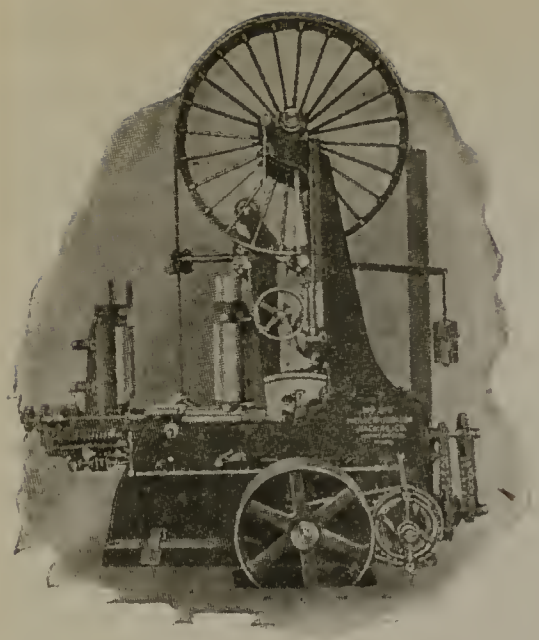
The first type of saw to which mechanical power was applied was the old-fashioned "gate saw," also known as the frame or sash saw. The first improvement on this was known as the "muley" saw. To increase the efficiency of these saws they were arranged in gangs so as to make a number of cuts at one pass of the log. This style was especially used in Europe, but on the up stroke there was no work done, and hence half the time was

lost. This and other difficulties led finally to the adoption of the circular type whose continuous cut and high speed saved much time and greatly increased the output.

Mounted on a portable frame this machine was put to its great work upon the logs of the American forests, and for many years this type of sawmill held sway. An enormous amount of work was done thru its agency. Among its useful accessories were the set works for adjusting the log-holding knees to the position for a new cut; log turners for rotating the log to change the plane of the cut; and the rack and pinion feed by which the saw carriage was run back and forth. Next came the rope feed, by means of which the carriage was drawn back and forth by a rope wrapped around a drum.

The greatest advance in sawmills in recent years has been the steam feed, in which a very long steam cylinder was provided with a piston whose long rod was directly attached to the saw carriage, and the latter moved back and forth with the stroke of the piston. This was also known as the shotgun feed, from the resemblance of the long cylinder to a gun barrel. It was invented by De Witt C. Prescott in 1887. The value of the steam feed was to increase the speed and efficiency of the saw by expediting the movement of its carriage, as many as six boards per minute being cut by its aid from a log of average length. With the modern development of the art, the ease and rapidity of steam action have recommended it for use in most all of the work of the sawmill. The direct application of steam pistons working in cylinder has been utilized for canting, kicking, flipping and rolling the logs, lifting the stack, taking away the boards, etc.

The bandsaw is an endless belt of steel, having teeth formed along one edge and traveling continuously around an upper and lower pulley, with its toothed edge presented to the timber to be cut. A form of bandsaw is found as early as 1808, in a British patent. In 1834 a French patent for a bandsaw was granted to a man named Etiennot. The first United States patent for a bandsaw was granted to B. Barker in 1836. But the bandsaw did not attain its prominence in wood-working machinery until the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century. That it did not find general application at an earlier period was due to the difficulty of securely and accurately joining the ends of the band. For many years the only moderately successful bandsaws were made in France, but expert mechanical skill has so mastered the problem that in recent years the bandsaw has gone to the very front in woodworking machinery. Today it is in service in sizes from a delicate filament used for scroll sawing, to an enormous steel belt fifty feet long, and twelve inches wide, traveling over pulleys eight feet in diameter, making five hundred revolutions per minute and tearing its way thru logs much too large for any circular saw, at the rate of nearly two miles a minute. A modern form of bandsaw with teeth on both its edges cuts in both directions, thus requiring no off-setting mechanism.



IMPROVED BAND RESAW

Other improvements in sawmill machinery are the endless chain for bringing the logs into the mill, and mechanical carriers for lumber and refuse. In addition to these there are the shingle, lath, and slab saws which, using up inferior material, reduce the amount of waste.

Sawmill plants vary greatly in size and output, from the portable plants with a capacity of from five thousand to ten thousand feet B. M. per day, to the immense stationary plants, characteristic of the Lake States, the Southern Pine Region, and the Pacific Northwest, with a capacity of 150,000 to 500,000 per single shift. Portable mills and many of the small stationary mills are still equipped with circular saws.

Planing Machines.

While the saw plays the initial part in shaping the logs into lumber, it is to the planing machine that the refinement of wood-working is due. Its rapidly revolving cutter-head reduces the uneven thickness of the lumber to an exact gauge, and simultaneously imparts the fine smooth surface. The planing machine is organized in different shapes for different uses. When the cutters are straight and arranged horizontally, it is a simple planer. When the cutters are short and arranged to work on the edge of the board, they are known as edgers; when the edges are cut into tongues and grooves, it is called a matching machine; and when the cutters have a curved ornamental contour the planer is known as a moulding machine, and is used for cutting the ornamental contour for house trimmings and various ornamental uses.

The planing machine was one of the many wood-working devices invented by General Bentham. His first machine, patented in England in 1791, was a reciprocating machine, that is, it worked back and forth on the boards to be planed. But in 1793 he patented the rotary form, along with a great variety of other wood-working machinery.

Bramah's planer, patented in England in 1802, was about the first planing machine of the Nineteenth Century. It is known as a transverse planer, the cutters being on the lower surface of a horizontal disc, which is fixed to a vertical revolving shaft, and overhangs the board passing beneath it, the cutters revolving in a plane parallel with the upper surface of the board. The planing machine of Muis, of Glasgow, patented in 1827, was designed

for making boards for flooring, and presented a considerable advance in the art.

With the greater wooded areas of America, the rapid growth of the young republic, and the resourceful spirit of its new civilization, the leading activities in wood-working machinery in the second quarter of the Nineteenth Century were transferred to the United States. A phenomenal growth in this art ensued, many new inventions and improvements being made.

In modern planing machinery the climax of utility is reached in the so-called universal wood-worker. This is the versatile Jack-of-all-work in the planing mill. It planes flat, moulded, rabbeted, or beaded surface; it saws with both the rip and crosscut action; it cuts tongues and grooves; makes mitres, chamfers, wedges, mortices and tenons, and is the general utility machine of the shop.

CHAPTER 4.

PRIVATE MONOPOLY OF NATURAL RESOURCES.

THE only thoro canvass ever made of the amount and ownership of standing timber in the United States was that made in 1910 by the Bureau of Corporations, U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor. The findings of this investigation are given in the report known as "The Lumber Industry, Part 1, Standing Timber." Some extracts from this report follow and they convey some idea of the degree of centralized control that exists in the lumber industry.

Letter of Submittal.

Department of Commerce and Labor,
Bureau of Corporations,
Washington, Feb. 13, 1911.

I have the honor to submit herewith Part 1 of a report on the Lumber Industry of the United States. This part deals with the amount and ownership of standing timber.

The foremost facts shown are:

(1) The concentration of a dominating control of our standing timber in a comparatively few enormous holdings, steadily tending towards a central control of the lumber industry.

(2) Vast speculative purchase and holding of timber land far in advance of any use thereof.

(3) An enormous increase in the value of this diminishing natural resource, with great profits to its owners. This value, by the very nature of standing timber, the holder neither created nor substantially enhances.

These are the underlying facts, of tremendous significance to the public welfare. They are primarily the results of our public land policy, long continued. The laws that represent that policy are still largely operative. The past history and present status of our standing timber drive home upon us the imperative necessity of revising our public policy for the future management of all our remaining natural resources. That history is here outlined.

From Government to Private Ownership.

Only 40 years ago, at least three-fourths of the timber now standing was (it is estimated) publicly owned. Now about four-fifths of it is privately owned. The great bulk of it passed from

Government to private hands thru (a) enormous railroad, canal and wagon road grants by the Federal Government; (b) direct Government sales in unlimited quantities at $1.25 an acre; (c) certain public-land laws, great tracts being assembled in spite of the legal requirements for small holdings. Such laws were wholly inappropriate to forest regions; but, tho vigorously condemned in several public reports, they are still largely in force. In theory, they were intended to distribute the public lands in small tracts as homes for free-holders. In fact, they actually furthered timber concentration in vast holdings. The 1,802 largest holders of timber now own 88,579,000 acres of land, as compared with a vastly wider distribution of public lands in non-timbered agricultural sections.

During this interval, and chiefly in the latter half thereof, the value of standing timber has increased ten-fold, twenty-fold, and even fifty-fold, according to local conditions. The present annual growth is only about one-third of the present annual cut. Replacement by new growth is very slow.

Examples of the increase during this interval are: From $5 to $30 an acre, $7 to $40, $20 to $150, $1 to $13, $4 to $140, $1 to $50. Specific tracts have been sold first for $24,000 and later for $153,000; $10,000 and later $124,000; $240,000 and later $2,500,000; $23,000 and later $500,000; $19,000 and later $1,125,000. These examples illustrate the remarkable profit made by certain individual holders.

What did the Government get for the timber? Of the Southern timber land sold for $1.25 an acre, much is now worth $60 an acre. Large amounts of Douglas fir in Western Washington and Oregon, which the Government gave away, or sold at $2.50 an acre, now range from $100 to $200 an acre. The great redwood belt in California was alienated on similar terms, and some of it is now worth hundreds of dollars an acre. Practically none of the great forests in the public land states was sold by the Government for more than $2.50 an acre. The great increase in value gives grave importance to the concentration of ownership.

The former Chief of Field Service of the General Land Office, H. H. Schwartz, stated officially (1909) that the Timber and Stone Act . . . has resulted in the sale of over 12,000,000 acres of valuable timber lands, of which fully 10,000,000 were transferred to corporate or individual timber-land investors by the entrymen. These lands brought to the people or General Government a gross sum of $30,000,000. At the date of sale they were reasonably worth $240,000,000. The profit of over $200,000,000 went not to the needy settler engaged in subduing the wilderness, but to the wealthy investors. Not over a fractional part of 1 per cent of the timber purchased from the United States under this act is held, consumed, or even cut by the men and women who made the entries.

An effective illustration of what has happened under our land laws appears in the report of the United States Forester for 1910:

An investigation emphasizes the probability that heavily timbered lands, if opened to entry, would pass into the hands of large owners of timber. Of 705,000 acres eliminated from the Olympic National Forest in 1900 and 1901 on the ground that the land was chiefly valuable for agriculture, and that the settlement of the country was being retarded, 523,720 acres passed ultimately into the hands of owners who are holding it purely as a timber speculation. Three companies and two individuals own over 178,000 acres in holdings of from 15,000 to over 80,000 acres each. Of timbered homestead claims on this eliminated area, held by 100 settlers, the total area under actual cultivation is only 570 acres, an average of but 5.7 acres to each claim. It will be seen that the original purpose of the elimination was defeated, and that bona fide settlement was not materially advanced.

Control of the Timber Controls the Whole Industry.

Whatever power over prices may arise from combinations in manufacture and distribution (as distinguished from timber owning), such power is insignificant and transitory compared to the control of the standing timber itself or a dominating part thereof. The Senate and House resolutions, to which this investigation is responsive, ask for the causes of high prices of lumber and the effect of combination upon such prices. The resolutions, therefore, required determination of both the amount and the control of standing timber.

Amount of Standing Timber.

There is now left in continental United States about 2,200 billion board feet of privately owned standing timber, of which 1,747 billion is in the "investigation area" covered in great detail by the Bureau. This area includes the Pacific-Northwest, the Southern Pine Region, and the Lake States, and contains 80 per cent of all the private timber in the country. In addition there are about 539 billion feet in the national forests and about 90 billion feet in other non-private lands. Thus the total amount of standing timber in continental United States is about 2,800 billion board feet. The present annual drain upon the supply of saw timber is about 50 billion feet. At this rate the timber now standing, without allowance for growth or decay, would last only about 55 years.

The present commercial value of the privately owned standing timber in the country, not including the value of the land, is estimated (tho such an estimate must be very rough) as at least $6,000,000,000. Ultimately the consuming public will have to pay such prices for lumber as will give this timber a far greater value.

This is the first comprehensive and methodical investigation of the amount and ownership of our standing timber. It rests on the best information obtainable from records of timber owners

or the knowledge of men in the industry, information which daily forms the basis of actual business dealings. (A physical canvass of the forests was out of the question). The data, collected by field work in about 900 counties, assembled, mapped, checked, and weighed in the office, are reliable within a relatively small margin of error. All figures relate to merchantable saw timber, in term of lumber yield. The unit "board foot" is a foot square and an inch thick.

Concentration of Timber Ownership.

Three vast holdings alone, the greatest in the country, those of the Southern Pacific Company, the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, and the Northern Pacific Railway Company (including their subsidiary companies), together have 238 billion feet, or nearly 11 per cent of all our privately owned timber. They have 14 per cent of that in the "investigation area." With the five next largest, they have over 15 per cent of the total privately owned timber and over 19 per cent of that within the investigation area. Finally, nearly one-half (48 per cent) of the private timber in that area is held by only 195 great holders. The term "holder" covers any single interest—individual, corporate, or group—which is so united as to be under one control.

The Pacific-Northwest.—Five-elevenths of the country's privately owned standing timber is in the Pacific-Northwest (California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana), 1,013 billion feet. One-half of this is now owned by 37 holders; many of these are closely connected. The three largest holders (named above) alone have nearly one-quarter. This section now furnishes only one-sixth of the annual cut. Thus its timber is being largely held for the future, and the large owners there will then be the dominating influence in the industry.

The Southern Pacific Company holding is the greatest in the United States—106 billion feet. This is about 6 per cent of the private timber in the investigation area, and 10 per cent of that in the Pacific-Northwest. It is difficult to give an adequate idea of its immensity. It stretches practically 680 miles along that railroad between Portland and Sacramento. The fastest train over this distance takes 31 hours. During all that time the traveler thereon is passing thru lands a large proportion of which for 30 miles on each side belongs to the railroad, and in almost the entire strip this corporation is the dominating owner of both timber and land.

The second largest holder is the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company (including its subsidiary companies), with 96 billion feet. This does not include further very extensive timber interests of the Weyerhaeuser family and close associates.

These two holdings would supply the 46,584 sawmills in the country for four and two-thirds years. They have one-eleventh of our total private timber.

The third largest, the **Northern Pacific Railway Company,** has 36 billion feet.

These three holdings have enough standing timber to build an ordinary 5 or 6 room frame house for each of the 16,000,000 families in the United States in 1900. If sawed into lumber and placed in cars, their timber would load a train 100,000 miles long.

The holdings of the two railroad companies are government grants, and 80 per cent of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company holding was bought from the Northern Pacific grant. Many other large holdings (here and in other regions) were mainly purchased from some land grant.

Southern Pine Region.—In the Southern Pine Region there are 634 billion feet of privately owned timber. Concentration in total timber is much less than in the Pacific-Northwest. There is, however, a high concentration in the more valuable species, longleaf yellow pine and cypress. Sixty-seven holders own 39 per cent of the longleaf yellow pine, 29 per cent of the cypress, 19 per cent of the shortleaf and loblolly pine, and 11 per cent of the hardwoods.

The Lake States.—In Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan there are 100 billion feet of privately owned timber. In Wisconsin 96 holders have three-fourths of all the timber. In Michigan 113 holders have 66 per cent. In Minnesota 6 holders have 54 per cent of the very valuable white and Norway pine, 16 per cent of the other conifers, and 2 per cent of the hardwoods. Taking all three states, 215 holders have 65 per cent of all the timber.

Effect of Concentration.—Such concentration in standing timber, if permitted to continue and increase, makes probable a final central control of the whole lumber industry. A few strong interests, ultimately holding the bulk of the timber, can set the price of timber and its products. The manager of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association recently said to lumbermen on the Pacific Coast:

> The day of cheap lumber is passing and soon will be gone, but the men who make the money will be those who own timber and can hold it until the supply in other parts of the country is gone. Then they can ask and get their own price.

Certain further factors, not exactly measurable, increase still more the real concentration. First, a further interweaving of interests, corporate and personal, connects a great many holdings which the Bureau has treated as separate; second, there are very large totals of timber so scattered in small tracts thru larger holdings that they are substantially "blocked in" or "controlled" by the larger holders; third, the concentration is much higher in the more valuable species.

General information obtained indicates a very high concentration in timber ownership outside the investigation area.

Policy of Great Holders.—The largest holders are cutting little of their timber. They thus reserve to themselves those incalculable profits which are still to accrue with the growth of the country, the diminishing of timber supply, and the further concentration and control thereof. Many of the very men who are protesting against conservation and the national forest system because of the "tying up" of natural resources, are themselves deliberately tying them up far more effectively for private gain.

The fact that mature timber is thus withheld from use, is clear evidence that great additional profits are expected to accrue thru further increase in value.

Land Monopoly.—Standing timber is not the only question. When the timber has been cut the land remains. There has been created, therefore, not only the frame work of an enormous timber monopoly, but also an equally sinister land concentration in extensive sections. This involves also a great wealth in minerals. The Southern Pacific has 4,318,000 acres in northern California and western Oregon, and, with the Union Pacific, which controls it, millions of acres elsewhere. (The Government, however, is now suing to annul the title to the Southern Pacific lands in Oregon for non-compliance with the terms of the original grants.) The Northern Pacific owns 3,017,000 acres of timber land and millions more of non-timbered land. The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company owns 1,945,000 acres. In Florida five holders have 4,600,000 acres, and the 187 largest timber holders have over 15,800,000 acres, nearly one-half of the land area of the State. In the whole investigation area the 1802 largest holders of timber have together 88,579,000 acres (not including Northern Pacific and Southern Pacific lands in non-timbered regions); which would make an average holding of 49,000 acres or 77 square miles.

Finally, to timber concentration and to land concentration is added, in our most important timber section, a closely connected railroad domination. The formidable possibilities of this combination in the Pacific-Northwest and elsewhere are of the greatest public importance.

The Future.—These are the facts of the lumber business in its most important feature, the natural supply. The paramount consideration remains still to be stated. There are many great combinations in other industries, whose formation is complete. In the lumber industry, on the other hand, the Bureau finds now in the making a combination caused, fundamentally, by a long-standing public policy. The concentration already existing is sufficiently impressive. Still more impressive are the possibilities for the future. In the last 40 years concentration has so proceeded that 195 holders, many interrelated, now have practically one-half of the privately owned timber in the investigation area (which contains 80 per cent of the whole). This formidable

process of concentration, in timber and in land, certainly involves grave future possibilities of impregnable monopolistic conditions, whose far-reaching consequences to society it is now difficult to anticipate fully, or to overestimate.

Such are the past history, present status, and apparent future of our timber resources. The underlying cause is our public-land policy, resulting in enormous loss of wealth to the public, and its monopolization by a few interests. It lies before us now as a forcible object lesson for the future management of all the natural resources still remaining in the hands of the Government.

Very respectfully,

Herbert Knox Smith,

Commissioner of Corporations.

The President.

The "investigation area" is as follows: (1) California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana. (2) The parts of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, east and south of the hardwood forests of the Appalachian Mountains; Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and the southeast corner of Missouri; Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. For ease of reference these three divisions are called the Pacific-Northwest, the Southern Pine Region, and the Lake States, respectively. No canvass has ever been made of the privately owned timber in the United States outside of this area, but it has been roughly estimated by the Forest Service at 450 billion feet. The Forest Service has also estimated the amount of standing timber owned by the Federal Government and by the various States, and that on Indian reservations, at 639 billion feet.

This total of about 2,800 billion feet, it should be repeated, is the total merchantable saw timber only; that is, timber of such size and quality as to be suitable for the use of a sawmill, under present conditions in the industry. It does not include timber suitable only for posts, small poles, and similar purposes, or firewood.

Standing Timber.

As the "letter of submittal" is practically a summary of part 1 of the report, only a few extracts of this report need be given. The following cover the most interesting and important points:

"The result of the Bureau's investigation in the standing timber of the United States may therefore be summarized as follows:

	Billion Feet
Grand total	2,826
Privately owned timber	2,197
In investigation area	1,747
Pacific-Northwest	1,013
Southern Pine Region	634
Lakes States	100

	Billion Feet
Outside of "investigation area"	450
Total owned by Federal Government in National Forests*	539
Total otherwise owned by Fed. Gov't, by States and on Indian reservations*	90

Total Standing Timber in Pacific-Northwest.

(In billions of board feet. Thus 1512.9 is 1,512,900,000,000.)

	Total	Privately Owned	Not Privately Owned. a	
			National Forests	All Others
Pacific-Northwest	1,512.9	1,013.0	440.8	59.1
California	381.4	248.1	114.4	18.9
Oregon	545.8	398.1	135.8	11.9
Washington	391.0	294.6	81.6	14.8
Idaho	129.1	50.4	71.0	7.7
Montana	65.6	21.8	38.0	5.8

"The predominating species of timber in the Pacific-Northwest is Douglas fir, which alone constitutes 52 per cent of the total privately owned. Western pine constitutes 15 per cent and redwood 10 per cent, the three species together aggregating 77 per cent. By far the heaviest stands occur on the Pacific slope west of the Cascades. No other single species contributes as much as 6 per cent. Thus of the 1,013 billion feet of privately owned timber in the entire Pacific-Northwest 867 billion feet (85 per cent) is west of the Cascades in Oregon and Washington, and in California, leaving only 146 billion feet for the eastern portion of this region.

"In the Southern Pine Region the total of 634 billion feet of privately owned timber is distributed as follows:

	Billion Feet		Billion Feet
Louisiana	119.8	Georgia (part)	46.0
Mississippi	95.3	N. Carolina (part)	42.9
Arkansas	78.7	S. Carolina (part)	30.7
Florida	73.9	Virginia (part)	14.5
Texas	66.0	Missouri (part)	9.9
Alabama	56.3		

"The predominating species in this Southern Pine Region is yellow pine, which contributes 384.4 billion feet (232.3 billion feet of longleaf and 152.1 billion feet of short leaf and loblolly to the total of 634 billion feet; cypress 40.4 billion feet; and all hardwoods together, 209.2 billion feet. The hardwoods include the least valuable timber in this region.)

"In the Lake States the total of 100 billion feet of privately owned timber is distributed as follows:

	Billion Feet
Michigan	47.6
Wisconsin	29.2
Minnesota	23.2

"The Lake Region is the least important of the three in quantity of timber, but much of its timber is exceedingly valuable.

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* Estimates furnished by Forest Service.

a. Includes national parks, military reservations, unreserved public lands, Indian reservations, and timberland owned by the states.

Definition of the Term Holder.

"The concentration of ownership shown in this report is a minimum only. Thru the interweaving of interests, the interrelations of the individuals and corporations holding title to the timberland, there is a concentration of control far beyond what is shown by the listing of nominal or legal owners.

"The following are examples of the possibilities and limitations of such combining of interests. The Southern Pacific holding, as stated in this report, is made up of the timber of the Oregon and California Railroad Company subsidiaries of the Southern Pacific Company. Similarly the holding of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company includes not only the timber of that concern, but that of its direct subsidiaries, the Clarke County Timber Company, the Weyerhaeuser Land Company, the Pokegama Sugar Pine Lumber Company, the Pelton-Reid Sugar Pine Company, and the Weyerhaeuser Realty Company. On the other hand, the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company holding does not embrace the interest of the Weyerhaeuser family or their associates in other extensive timber holdings not known to be so controlled that they will be managed as a unit with the holding of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company itself. The holdings of the Northern Pacific Railway Company are chiefly held direct, a relatively small amount being owned by a subsidiary concern, the Northwestern Improvement Company.

Southern Pacific Company Holding.

". . . about 71 billion feet of the Southern Pacific's timber is in Oregon and about 35 billion feet is in California.

The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company's Holding.

". . . most of this timber—nearly 77 billion feet—is in Washington; about 18.7 billion feet is in Oregon, and an insignificant fraction in California. It is chiefly Douglas fir.

". . . It does not include further very extensive timber interests of members of the Weyerhaeuser family and their close associates. This great holding, also, is nearly all being held off the market for the future rise in timber values.

Northern Pacific Holding.

". . . The bulk of this timber is in the State of Washington.

". . . these three immense holdings were virtually made possible by the land grants of the Federal Government to great railroad corporations.

"Under these grants enormous tracts of land were acquired by some of the leading transcontinental railroads. Thus there had been patented to the subsidiaries of the Southern Pacific Company in Oregon and California, up to June 30, 1910, no less than 12,178,000 acres of land, not all timbered, of course—while the Central Pacific Railroad Company, one subsidiary, had se-

cured in the States of Idaho, Nevada, and Utah, 4,878,000. The Union Pacific, which now controls the Southern Pacific, has also secured patent to no less than 19,136,000 acres of land in various States, while there have been patented to the Northern Pacific the enormous total of 32,664,000 acres. This is a total acreage granted to the Northern Pacific and to the several railroads now in the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific system of 68,856,000, or over 107,000 square miles, an area nearly as large as the land area of the six New England States and New York. Furthermore, lands are still being patented in large amounts, especially to the Northern Pacific.

"It is not to be inferred that these railroads still own the acreage noted above as patented to them. In various financial reports and unofficial manuals, however, it is stated that the present land holdings of these railroads are as follows: Union Pacific, 975,128 acres; Southern Pacific, 14,408,217 acres; Northern Pacific, 9,949,985 acres. Within the "investigation area" of the Bureau, however, the timbered acreage of the Southern Pacific reaches the very large total of 3,842,000 acres, not including about 130,000 acres in Texas and Louisiana, in which the Southern Pacific has an interest. The unsold timbered acreage of the Northern Pacific within the investigated area is 3,017,000 acres.

"Practically all the acreage of the Southern Pacific Company was secured thru government land grants. The enormous holding of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, aggregating 1,945,000 acres, is based on the Northern Pacific land grant, no less than four-fifths of it having been bought from the Northern Pacific. In 1900, a single block of 900,000 acres was thus acquired at $6.00 an acre. Further purchases from the Northern Pacific brought up the total thus acquired to about 1,530,000. In the main purchase the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company selected the best part of the Northern Pacific's timber land in western Washington.

"In addition to the very extensive acreage thus sold to the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, the Northern Pacific has sold a vast amount of timber land to a subsidiary of the Amalgamated Copper Company, and smaller yet important tracts to other large companies, in many of which the Weyerhaeuser family and their associates are interested.

"A report by the Forest Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, submitted June 1, 1920, and entitled "Timber Depletion, Lumber Prices, Lumber Exports, and Concentration of Timber Ownership," states that since 1910, by decision of the Federal Courts, the land grant of 2,425,000 acres to the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. in Oregon has reverted to the Government. The Weyerhaeuser Timber Co. has sold approximately 250,000 acres, chiefly to operators, and has itself become a large timber manufacturer. The Northern Pacific Railroad Co. has sold 522,000 acres of timber land in Washington. According to this report the situation as to timber ownership has not changed materially from that reported by the Bureau of Corporations in 1910."

CHAPTER.5.

HOW RICH GRAFTERS GOT POSSESSION OF THE TIMBER LANDS OF THE COUNTRY.

OWING to lack of space it is impossible to deal under this heading with more than a few examples. The history of the crimes committed by big capitalists in getting possession of the natural resources of the country would fill many volumes. The few cases mentioned are only typical examples of the methods by which all the big timber interests acquired their stolen property.

Let Gustavus Myers tell the story in his "History of the Great American Fortunes"—Vol. 3. All the statements made in this work are substantiated by Government records. First comes the case of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company.

The Pacific Quartet.

"During the range of years when the Vanderbilts, Gould, Sage and Blair and various other railroad magnates were hurling themselves upward into the realms of masterful wealth, four other noted capitalists, whose careers were interjoined, were doing likewise in the Far West.

"This group was composed of Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker and Mark Hopkins.

"All four had migrated from the East to California after the discovery of gold on the Pacific Coast. There Huntington carried on a hardware and miners' supply store at Sacramento, and Hopkins became his partner; Crocker was likewise a small merchant, and Stanford was a lawyer. THE FOUR were not able to scrape together a pool of more than an insignificant sum with which to execute what was then considered one of the greatest and most difficult railroad projects of modern times.

"But neither was the project itself of their conception, nor did they have to supply the funds. Years before they took hold of the work as a definite undertaking, the building of Pacific lines had been agitated and urged, and the Government had surveyed feasible routes. Not one of the quartet knew anything of railroad construction, nor had the least fundamental knowledge of how to equip and operate a railroad.

". . . If a man or a set of man could succeed in bribing Congress and the legislatures to donate land grants and advance the funds, it was a very simple matter to hire highly competent civil engineers to survey and build the routes, and employ good executives to run them after they were built.

"Upon organizing the Central Pacific Railroad Company in 1861, the Huntington group could not privately raise more than $195,000, of which amount they themselves put in about $50,000. This sum ridiculously inadequate to build a railroad estimated to cost $25,000,000 was, however enough and more than enough for certain well understood primary operations.

"With it expenses could be defrayed at the centers of legislation; petitions and memorials concocted; advocates paid, and newspapers subsidized. If the trick were well turned, a whole succession of franchises, special laws, land grants and money subsidies would follow. Thus we see that the original capital needed in many capitalist enterprises was not for the actual prosecution of the work, but for the purpose of bribery.

"A more temptingly opportune time for spoliative measures than the period of the Civil War could hardly have been found. Engrossed in the tumultuous upheavals of those convulsive years, the people had neither the patience nor disposition to keep close track of routine enactments in Congress or in the legislatures. At the very beginning of that war the Huntington group organized the Central Pacific Railroad Company, with a capital stock of $8,500,000, nearly the whole of which capital was fictitious, so far as actual investment of money was concerned. At once they directed their energies right to the core of things. Huntington took himself to Washington to lobby in Congress, while Stanford, elected governor of California, busied himself with similar ends at home. No visionaries were they, but practical men who knew how to proceed straightway.

"Stanford's work quickly bore fruit in California; the city of Sacramento was authorized to donate $400,000; Placer County to loan $550,000, and the State of California to hand over $2,100,000. At the same time Huntington was doing surpassing missionary duty in Congress. An act was passed in 1862 by which about $25,000,000 in Government 6-per-cent bonds and about **4,500,000 acres of public lands** were placed at the disposal of the quartet.

"Two years later, at the very time when the Union Pacific coterie were corrupting Congress to get greater land grants and altered laws, Huntington again debauched Congress. **An act was passed doubling the Central Pacific's land grant** and relegating the government's claim on the Central Pacific to the under position of a second mortgage.

"The operations of the quartet were simple enough. Once they had obtained the requisite loans and gifts, they threw aside all pretenses, and openly and vigorously set out to defraud all within reach, not only the Federal Government but also States, counties, cities and investors.

Gross Corruption of Congress.

"The process of corruption and theft was continued in the building of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

"In 1871, Congress chartered the building of the Texas & Pacific Railroad to run from Marshall, Texas, to San Diego, Cal., and presented the company with approximately 18,000,000 acres of public lands on condition that the road was to be completed in ten years; otherwise the land grant was to be declared forfeited. At the same time Congress chartered the Southern Pacific Railroad Company to build a line from El Paso, Texas, to San Francisco, and gave it a gift of about **5,000,000 acres of public lands.** The Texas & Pacific project was owned by a group of capitalists headed by Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad; the Huntington men were at the head of the Southern Pacific Railway Company.

"The next thing the Huntington group did was to force the Eastern capitalists out of the Texas & Pacific Railroad, absorb that line into their own system, and illegally grab the **eighteen million acre land grant** of the Texas and Pacific. Even under the law as it stood the Texas and Pacific was not entitled to the land grant. The House Committee on Judiciary on Aug. 3, 1882, after an investigation, declared that the Texas & Pacific Railroad Company had never completed any part of the route for which the land in New Mexico, Arizona and California was given; that it had never earned the grant; that it did not purpose to build the road for which it was chartered and endowed, and that it was transferring to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company 'all of the rights and titles to the land in question.' The committee on judiciary prepared a resolution declaring the forfeiture of the land grant, and urged its passage by Congress as a joint resolution. It did not pass.

A Summary of Their Plunderings.

"Presenting the general results as nearly as official investigations could ascertain them, this is what Huntington and his associates did: They had received hundreds of millions of dollars in the form of money, bonds and **lands** from Government, States, counties and municipalities. As controllers of the Contract and Finance Company and other construction companies, they had turned over to themselves $142,000,000 in all for ostensible construction work. They had expended at least five million for corrupt political purposes. They had stupendously watered the stock of their railroads and with cumulative proceeds of their thefts had secured control of nineteen distinct railway systems and of steamship lines also. They had by fraud robbed the Government of **many millions of acres of land;** they had defrauded the Government of the bulk of the funds that it had advanced; they refused to pay more than the merest nominal taxation, and they extorted onerous rates for transportation.

"In his message to the California Legislature, in 1869, Governor H. H. Haight had this to say:

" '.....Our land system seems to be mainly formed to facilitate the acquisition of large bodies of land by capitalists or corporations, either as donations or at nominal prices.

"'Numbers who purchased from the State lands sold as swamp or overflowed, find their farms claimed under the railroad grants, and themselves involved in expensive contests before Registers and Land Offices.'

"Among the lands granted to the Central Pacific Railroad Company was the immense stretch of the finest timber land in Oregon and California, mentioned in the previous chapter.

The Northern Pacific Railroad.

"The Northern Pacific Railroad was chartered in 1864. By act of Congress of July 2nd of that year it was given the right of way thru the public domain, the right to take from the public lands material for construction, and an immense area of public lands in Montana, Idaho and other sections of the Northwest. These enormous privileges and grants were given to it at the identical time when the Union Pacific Railroad and other land-grant subsidized railroads were bribing Congress. As we have seen, the Union Pacific Railroad disbursed nearly $436,000 in securing the passage of the act of July 2nd, 1864, increasing the government money subsidy granted to it ,and doubling its land grant. Doubtless the passage of the Northern Pacific Railroad Act was effected by the same means. In all, the Northern Pacific Railroad obtained about 57,000,000 acres of the public domain.

"The Northern Pacific Railroad was, therefore, endowed with a land grant forty miles wide running across the continent, west of the Missouri River. This land grant included vast stretches of the very richest timber lands."

The following additional extracts from the same book throw some light on the plundering of the public domain by other lumber companies.

The Colossal Thefts of Timber.

"The huge fraudulent operations in the theft of timber from the public domain in Minnesota and other States and territories, and the bribery of public officials to connive at those thefts, were another example of the widespread and permeating fraud.

"Congress had passed an explicit act prohibiting depredations on the public timber lands, and providing a penalty for each violation of the law, of a fine not less than triple the value of the timber cut, destroyed or removed, and a term of imprisonment not to exceed twelve months. This law was effectively ignored or evaded by individual lumber capitalists or lumber corporations. In a long report, under orders, to United States Secretary of the Interior Robert McClelland, on February 12, 1854, James B. Estes, U. S. Timber Agent for Iowa, Minnesota and the Western District of Wisconsin, stated that in one Minnesota section alone—the Black River District—more than two hundred million feet of pine had been cut and carried away. 'On

the Black River,' wrote Estes, 'are sixteen lumbering mills, all of which, until the past year, have been supported by logs taken from the public domain.

" 'Upon the Chippewa and Red Cedar or Menominee rivers the same state of waste exists and has been carried on for a number of years. There are also upon these streams and their branches eight sawmills which doubtless cut, as an average, more than two million of feet a year. The amount of timber cut at all of these mills is small compared with the actual waste upon the public lands, as there is now and has been for years a most extensive business of logging carried on to supply the lower markets of the Mississipppi.

" 'Along certain rivers besides those named,' Estes added, there were nineteen sawmills of steam and water power which are engaged in cutting, and doubtless consume, forty or fifty million feet of lumber yearly. In addition to this there has been a large traffic in rafting logs down the Mississippi to the St. Louis and other markets below.'

Bribery of Officers.

"This immense amount of lumber was almost all stolen. Usually the Government timber agents were bribed to wink at this colossal system of fraud, and at other times they were likewise bribed to sell (what they had no legal authority to sell) permission or licenses, for insignificant payment to the Government, to cut timber from the public lands. Estes reported that he had instituted twenty-one indictments against some of these timber trespassers, and that among the number he had caused to be indicted, was Stunton, a former United States Timber Agent, for being accessory to those trespasses, in having sold to individuals permission to cut and waste.

"So intrenched was this system of enormous theft that when one honest Government official attempted to enforce the law, the whole lumber interests sought to discredit him and his aim and bring about his removal.

"Even further: not only did the lumber capitalists systematically seek to thwart the enforcement of the law by honest officials; all of the allied capitalists in the same region, and subsidized newspaper owners and hirelings joined in threatening and often using force to prevent the laws from being executed. This is clearly shown by the report made on Feb. 18, 1854, by I. W. Willard, U. S. Timber Agent for Western Michigan, to United States Secretary of the Interior McClelland. Willard estimated that 'there have been manufactured and shipped from there (the region north of Grand River and Lake Michigan) more than five hundred million feet of lumber within the last ten years, and more than seven-eighths of which was plundered from the public lands.'

Honest Officials Maligned and Prosecuted.

"Willard caused thirty-seven of the trespassers to be indicted. Then he wrote: 'The entire timber interests commenced a systematic war upon me. The newspapers at Chicago, it is believed at the instance of the trespassers, their attorneys and agents contained attacks daily upon the agent, characterizing his conduct as oppressive in the extreme, and the "Chicago Tribune" went so far as to counsel resistance by force. Meetings were held in the lumber regions, attended by lumber merchants from Chicago in some instances, at which violent harangues were made, and resolutions adopted, the temper of which was well calculated to excite a feeling leading to the most dangerous consequences.' In fact, the timber capitalists employed armed gangs to prevent the seizure of stolen lumber, and fleets of lake ships were requisitioned to carry off the lumber by stealth before the government agents could arrive to confiscate it.

"The lumber barons wanted their predacious share of the public domain; thruout certain parts of the West and in the South were far-stretching, magnificent forests covered with the growth of centuries. To want and to get them were the same thing, with a government in power representative of capitalism.

Spoliation on a Great Scale.

"At the behest of the lumber corporations, or of adventurers or politicians who saw a facile way of becoming multi-millionaires by the simple passage of an act, the 'Stone and Timber Act' was passed in 1878 by Congress. An amendment passed in 1892 made frauds still easier. This measure was one of those benevolent-looking laws which, on its face, extended opportunities to the homesteader . . Here was a way open for any individual homesteader to get one hundred and sixty acres of timber land for the low price of $2.50 an acre.

"This law, like the Desert Land Law, it turned out, was filled with cunningly drawn clauses sanctioning the worst forms of spoliation. Entire train loads of people acting in collusion with the land grabbers, were transported by the lumber syndicates into the richest timber regions of the West, supplied with the funds to buy, and then each after having paid $2.50 per acre for one hundred and sixty acres, immediately transferred his or her allotment to the lumber corporations. Thus for $2.50 an acre the lumber syndicates obtained vast tracts of the finest lands worth, at the least, according to Government agents, $100 an acre, at a time, thirty-five years ago, when lumber was not nearly so costly as now.

"Under this one law—the Stone and Timber Act—irrespective of other complaisant laws, not less than $57,000,000 has been stolen in the last seven years alone from the Government, according to a statement made in Congress by Representative Hitchcock of Nebraska on May 5, 1908. He declared that

8,000,000 acres had been sold for $20,000,000 while the Department of the Interior had admitted in writing that the actual aggregate value of the land, at prevailing commercial prices, was $77,000,000. These lands, he asserted, had passed into the hands of the Lumber Trust, and their products were sold to the people of the United States at an advance of seventy per cent. This theft of $57,000,000 simply represented the years from 1901 to 1908; it is probable that the entire thefts for 10,395,689,960 acres, sold during the whole series of years since the Stone and Timber Act was passed, reach a much vaster amount. 'Wealthy speculators and powerful syndicates,' reported Commissioner Sparks, 'covet the public domain and a survey is the first step in the accomplishment of this desire.

" 'Prospectors employed by lumber firms and corporations seek out and report the most valuable timber tracts in California, Oregon, Washington Territory and elsewhere; settlers' applications are manufactured as a basis for survey; contracts are entered into and pushed thru the General Land Office in hot haste; a skeleton survey is made . . entry papers, made perfect in form by competent attorneys, are filed in bulk, and the manipulators enter into possession of the land. . . This has been the course of proceeding heretofore.' "

The following from "The Lumber Industry," Part 2, report by the Bureau of Corporations, July 13, 1914, throws further light on the methods used by some of our "leading citizens"; in plundering the people.

Land Frauds in Redwood Belt.

"That 75 holders own nearly a million and a quarter acres of land indicates an unusually high degree of concentration, when it is considered that it has been attained without the presence in this region of any Federal land grant, such as tended to strengthen the concentration in Northeastern California, Western Oregon, and Southwestern Washington. This seems to have been done chiefly under the Federal land laws despite their initial restriction of 160 acres to the person. A passage from the report of the Public Lands Commission of February 21, 1880, indicates how the spirit of the law was violated:

> " 'The commission visited the redwood-producing portion of the State of California and saw little huts or kennels built of "shakes" that were totally unfit for human habitation and always had been, which were the sole improvements made under the homestead and pre-emption laws, and by means of which large areas of redwood forests, possessing great value, had been taken under pretense of settlement and cultivation, which were the purest fiction, never having any real existence in fact, but of which "due proof" had been made under the laws.
>
> " 'In some sections of timber-bearing country, where there should be, according to the "proofs" made, large

settlements of industrious agriculturists engaged in tilling the soil, a primeval stillness reigns supreme, the solitude heightened and intensified by the grandeur of high mountain peaks, where farms should be according to the proofs made, the mythical agriculturist having departed after making his "final proof" by perjury, which is an unfavorable commentary upon the operation of purely beneficient laws.' "

A much more definite statement covering extensive frauds by which a large timber firm attempted to acquire 100,000 acres of choice red-wood lands in the Humboldt district ,is found in the report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for 1886:

"This case shows that the ramifications of the fraud extended into the General Land Office at Washington, and also shows some of the difficulties encountered by special agents when their discoveries implicate wealthy and influential persons. In 1883, a special agent of this office reported that this company had procured a large number of fraudulent entries, amounting, according to his estimates, to not less than 100,000 acres. The agent's report disclosed the scheme of fraud in all its details, and was supported by specific evidence in many cases. He also informed this office that he had been offered a bribe of $5,000 to suppress the facts and abandon the investigation, which he declined. This agent was subsequently suspended from duty, and afterwards dismissed from the service at the instance, as understood in this office, of great influence brought against him on the Pacific Coast and in Washington.

"A new agent was appointed, who reached his field of operations about the first of January last and entered upon the discharge of his duties. The agents of this company soon discovered his presence and business and attempted to defeat the investigation. Some of the witnesses were spirited out of the country; others were threatened and intimidated; spies were employed to watch and follow the agent and report the names of all persons who conversed with or called upon him; and on one occasion two persons who were about to enter the agent's room at his hotel for the purpose of conferring with him in reference to the entries, were knocked down and dragged away. Notwithstanding this the agent proceeded with his investigation and succeeded in obtaining a large amount of evidence. He found 90 of the entrymen and procured their affidavits as to the frauds and the manner in which they were induced to make the applications and affidavits. This testimony embraced 47 of the patented cases. Several employes of the company gave sworn statements of their connection with the illegal transactions and of facts within their knowledge. Affidavits were also made by citizens of Eureka and other reliable persons, among which were the affidavits of sixteen business men, who were asked to make entry applications in the interest of the company and offered $50 each, but who declined to do so. It

appears that the persons composing this company went to work systematically and on an extensive scale, and to enable them to carry thru their scheme they took into their association several wealthy men who furnished the necessary means. Expert surveyors and men well informed in regard to the character and value of timber were employed to locate and survey the lands. Others were then hired to go upon the streets of Eureka and elsewhere and find persons who could be induced to sign applications for land and transfer their interests to the company, a consideration of $50 being paid for each tract of 160 acres so secured. The company's agent received $5 for each applicant obtained. No effort seems to have been made to keep the matter secret, and all classes of people were approached by agents and principals of the company and asked to sign applications. Sailors were caught while in port and hurried into a saloon or to a certain notary public's office and induced to sign applications and convey the lands to a member of the firm. Farmers were stopped on their way to their homes, and merchants were called from their counters and persuaded to allow their names to be used to obtain title to the lands. The company's agent presented the applications to the Registerer and Receiver in blocks of as many as 25 at one time; paid the fees; had the proper notice published; hired men to make the proofs; paid for the lands and received the duplicate receipts; yet the Registerer and Receiver and some of the special agents appear to have been the only persons in the vicinity who were ignorant of the frauds."

The following is from the same report:

Manner of Acquisition of Timber Lands in Portions of Idaho Questioned.

"A resolution introduced in the House of Representatives in 1910 (H. Res. 807, 61st Cong., 2nd Sess.) charged fraud in the acquisition of public lands by lumber companies in the State of Idaho, and directed a Congressional investigation of the matter. The territory involved was referred to as 'the Marble Creek district in the counties Shoshone, Kootenai, and Nez Perce,' the area covered being given as approximately 14 townships. The proposed resolution alleged, in general, that the Edward Rutledge Lumber Co. and other companies operating in the district had formed an unlawful combination, and were affiliated 'in what is commonly known as the Weyerhaeuser Lumber Syndicate,' and were acting together in fraudulently acquiring title to the public lands referred to, and in manufacturing and disposing of the lumber products of these lands. It further charged that many settlers then living upon these lands were being forcibly and fraudulently interfered with by this alleged syndicate, and that the market value of the white pine timber of this region had been forced down to not more than $5,000 per quarter section,

when the actual value of many quarter sections was $35,000. It also alleged specific acts of fraud, conspiracy and intimidation in acquiring or attempting to acquire these lands. Certain officers and agents of the State of Idaho were involved in the charges.

"The resolution further recited that Northern Pacific Scrip bought by the syndicate was filed on lands already occupied by settlers; that claim jumpers were employed, and contests entered in the local land office. Of the companies referred to in the 'Weyerhaeuser Lumber Syndicate; only two were named, the Edward Rutledge Lumber Co. and the 'Potlatch Association.'

"The resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules, but was never reported out of committee, and no further action was taken."

CHAPTER 6.

RUINOUS MISMANAGEMENT OF STOLEN PROPERTY.

SOME idea of the waste and destruction of the forests of the U. S. can be gained from the following extracts from the report by the Forest Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, June 1, 1920, entitled "Timber Depletion, Lumber Prices, Lumber Exports, and Concentration of Timber Ownership."

"The outstanding facts reported by the Forest Service are:

(1) That three-fifths of the original timber of the United States is gone and that we are using timber four times as fast as we are growing it. The forests remaining are so localized as greatly to reduce their national utility. The bulk of the population and manufacturing industries of the U. S. are dependent upon distant supplies of timber, as the result of the depletion of the principal forest areas east of the Great Plains.

(2) That the depletion of timber is not the sole cause of the recent high prices of forest products, but is an important contributing cause whose effects will increase steadily as depletion continues.

(3) That the fundamental problem is to increase the production of timber by stopping forest devastation.

"The virgin forests of the United States covered 822 million acres. They are now shrunk to one-sixth of that area. All classes of forest land, including culled, burned, and cut over areas. now aggregate 463 million acres, or a little more than one-half of our original forests. Of the forest land remaining and not utilized for farming or any other purpose, approximately 81 million acres have been so severely cut and burned as to become an unproductive waste. This area is equivalent to the combined forests of Germany, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal. Upon an enormous additional area the growth of timber is so small in amount or of such inferior character that its economic value is negligible.

"The merchantable new timber remaining in the United States is estimated roughly at 2,215 billion board feet, something less than three-fourths of which is virgin stumpage. The rest is second growth of relatively inferior quality. About one-half of the timber left is in the three Pacific Coast States, and over 61 per cent is west of the Great Plains. A little over one-fifth of the timber left in the country, or 460 billion board feet, is hardwoods.

"There is now consumed or destroyed annually in the United States 56 billion board feet of material of saw timber size. The

total yearly consumption of all classes of timber is about 26 billion cubic feet. Our depleted forests are growing less than one-fourth of this amount. The United States is not only cutting heavily into its remaining virgin forests every year, but is also using up the smaller material upon which our future supply of saw timber depends, much more rapidly than it is being replaced.

"The two striking effects of timber depletion already apparent are:

(1) The injury to large groups of wood users and to many communities, resulting from the exhaustion of the nearby forest regions from which they were formerly supplied, and

(2) The shortage of timber products of high quality.

"Less than 5 per cent of the virgin forests of New England remain, and the total stand of saw timber in these States is not more than one-eighth of the original stand. New York, once the leading State in lumber production, now manufactures only 30 board feet per capita yearly, altho the requirements of its own population are close to 300 board feet per capita. The present cut of lumber in Pennsylvania is less than the amount consumed in the Pittsburgh district alone. The original pine forests of the Lake States, estimated at 350 billion feet, are now reduced to less than 8 billion feet, and their yearly cut of timber is less than one-eighth of what it used to be. These four densely populated regions, containing themselves very large areas of forest land, are now largely dependent upon timber grown and manufactured elsewhere, and are becoming increasingly dependent upon timber which must be shipped the width of the continent.

"The bulk of the building, lumber and structural timbers used in the Eastern and Central States during the last 15 years was grown in the pine forests of the South. The virgin pine forests of the South Atlantic and Gulf States have been reduced from about 650 billion board feet to about 139 billion feet. The production of yellow pine lumber is now falling off and within ten years will probably not exceed the requirements of the Southern States themselves.

"The United States at one time contained the most extensive temperate zone hardwood forests in the world. One region after another has been cut out. The production of hardwood products on the past scale cannot be long continued. The scarcity of high-grade oak, poplar, ash, hickory, walnut and other standard woods is now placing many American industries in a critical condition.

"The depletion of forest resources is not confined to saw timber. Since 1900, the country has ceased being self-supporting in newsprint paper and now imports two-thirds of the pulp, pulpwood and newsprint which we require. This condition is due in part to timber depletion, in part to failure of the paper industry to expand in our western forest regions as the lumber industry has expanded. In 1919, the production of turpentine and rosin had fallen off 50 per cent. Within ten years the United States will lose its commanding position in the world's market for those

products and may in time be unable to supply its domestic requirements.

...."In March, 1920, average mill prices in the South and West had increased 300 per cent and moreover the prices received in 1914, and average retail prices in the Middle West showed increases ranging from 150 to 200 per cent.

"Obviously these lumber prices bear no relation to the cost of production and distribution. While the costs of production in the lumber industry have at least doubled as compared with 1916, lumber prices have much more than doubled and have become wholly disproportionate to operating costs. Excessive profits have been made in the industry. The division of these profits between manufacture and distribution has varied in accordance with circumstances and the ability of the various elements in the industry to dominate the situation.

"In 1918, our per capita consumption of lumber was about 300 board feet. The homes and industries of the United States require at least 35 billion feet of lumber yearly, aside from enormous quantities of paper and other products of the forests. A reduction of the current supply of lumber below this figure would seriously curtail our economic development. Appreciable increases in lumber imports are not possible except at excessive prices. We cannot afford to cut our per capita use of lumber to one-half or one-third the present amount—to the level of European countries where lumber is an imported luxury. We must produce the great bulk of this timber which we need ourselves, and we have the resources for doing so.

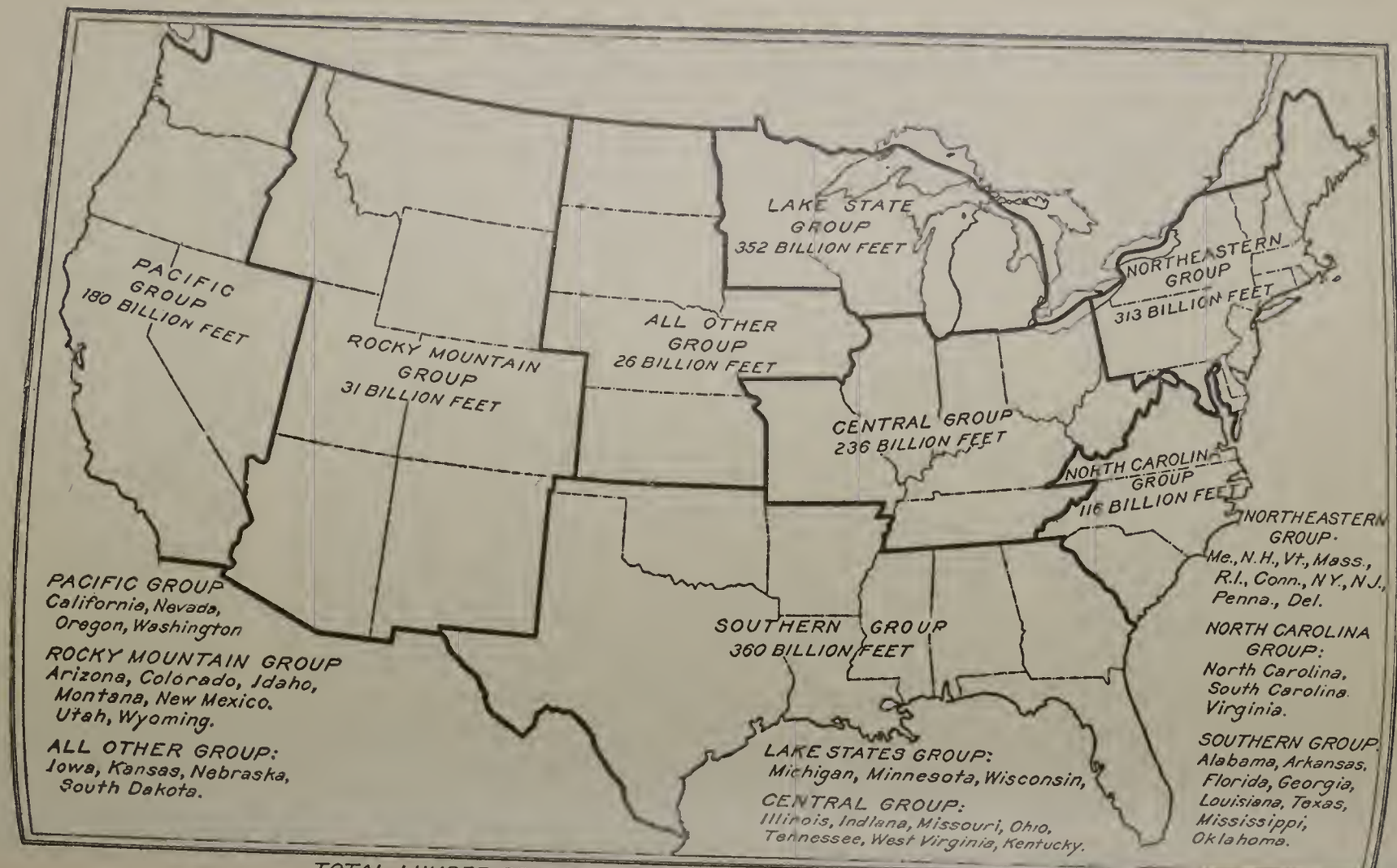
"The solution of the problem presented by forest depletion in the United States is a national policy of reforestation. . . . Depletion has not resulted from the use of forests but from their devastation, from our failure while drawing upon our reservoirs of virgin timber to also use our timber-growing land. If our enormous areas of forest growing land, now idle or largely idle, which are not required for any other economic use, can be restored to timber growth, a future supply of forest products adequate in the main to the needs of the country will be assured.

"There were 27,000 recorded forest fires in 1919, burning a total of 8¼ million acres. During the preceding year, 25,000 fires burned over 10½ million acres of forest land. An additional large acreage was burned each year, of which no record could be obtained."

According to estimates published in "American Forestry," Sept. 1920: "The bulk of the original supplies of yellow pine in the South will be gone in ten years, and within seven years 3,000 manufacturing plants will go out of business."

The following is from an article by Franklin H. Smith, Statistician in Forest Products:

"Going back to the middle of the last century, we can distinctly trace the history of the lumber of the country at ten year intervals by showing the relative importance of the several producing regions. This has been done in Table 1.



TOTAL LUMBER PRODUCTION 1850-1918 IN THE UNITED STATES

TABLE 1.—LUMBER CUT BY GROUPS OF STATES, IN PER CENT OF THE TOTAL.

Groups	1850 P. C.	1860 P. C.	1870 P. C.	1880 P. C.	1890 P. C.	1900 P. C.	1909 P. C.	1918 P. C.
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Northeastern Group	54.8	37.0	37.8	25.8	19.8	16.3	11.7	7.4
Central Group	18.6	21.1	20.0	18.4	13.1	16.1	12.3	7.8
Southern Group	8.5	13.0	6.9	9.7	15.6	24.0	33.3	34.9
North Carolina Pine Group	5.1	4.8	2.5	4.1	4.7	7.7	11.6	8.3
Lake States Group	6.3	13.6	24.4	34.7	34.6	24.9	12.3	10.1
Pacific Group	5.9	6.4	4.0	3.6	8.5	8.3	15.5	26.9
Rocky Mountain Group	0.0	.1	.9	.9	1.1	1.6	2.9	4.4
All Other Groups	.8	4.0	3.5	2.8	2.6	1.1	.4	.2

Northeastern Group.

Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Rhode Island.

North Carolina Pine Group.

North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia.

Rocky Mountain Group.

Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming.

Central Group.

Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, West Virginia.

Lake States Group.

Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin.

All Other.

Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota.

Southern Group.

Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas.

Pacific Group.

California, Nevada, Oregon, Washington.

"Within seventy years three immense regions have been divested of their forest cover to a large extent and the fourth, the Southern Pine Region, has reached its apex of production. No other land was ever more generously blessed with timber, or timber so well adapted to man's needs, as our own great stretch of country. Perhaps it has been the very great abundance of wood on every hand that has caused us as a people to value it lightly and countenance its ruthless destruction by fire and improvident lumbering methods.

"The accompanying outline map of the United States shows the total production for each of the eight general lumber production regions for the period of 1850-1918.

TABLE 2.—ANNUAL CONSUMPTION OF TIMBER IN THE UNITED STATES.

Form Used.	Quantity Produced or Consumed.		Equivalent in Feet. Board Measure.	Cubic Feet of Timber Required to Produce.
Lumber	37,300,000,000	cords	36,663,000,000	10,450,000,000
Fuelwood	110,000,000	ft. B. M.	37,300,000,000	8,168,700,000
Fence posts	900,000,000	posts	4,500,000,000	1,800,000,000
Hewed cross-ties	87,500,000	ties	2,625,000,000	1,050,000,000
Pulpwood	4,550,000	cords	2,548,000,000	532,350,000
Round mine timbers	250,000,000	cu. ft.	1,500,000,000	325,000,000
Shingles	8,850,000,000	shingles	885,000,000	194,700,000
Wood distillation	1,550,000	cords	868,000,000	181,350,000
Tanning extract wood	1,250,000	cords	700,000,000	146,250,000
Veneers	650,000,000	ft logs.	780,000,000	119,600,000
Tight staves	286,000,000	staves	286,000,000	95,238,000
Vehicle stock	300,000,000	ft. B. M.	300,000,000	90,000,000
Slack staves	1,010,000,000	staves	337,000,000	66,660,000
Woodenware	350,000,000	ft. B. M.	350,000,000	56,000,000
Poles	4,250,000	poles	255,000,000	55,250,000
Handles	200,000,000	ft. B. M.	200,000,000	50,000,000
Slack heading	61,000,000	sets	122,000,000	49,471,000
Hewn and rough export	200,000,000	ft. B. M.	200,000,000	45,000,000
Lath	2,375,000,000	lath	475,000,000	35,525,000
Tight heading	21,000,000	sets	84,000,000	34,125,000
Excelsior	200,000	cords	120,000,000	23,400,000
Hoops	333,000,000	hoops	100,000,000	19,647,000
Piling	1,500,000	pieces	90,000,000	19,500,000
Ship building	10,000,000	ft. B. M.	10,000,000	2,190,000
Furniture	10,000,000	ft. B. M.	10,000,000	1,500,000
Total			91,308,000,000	23,611,556,000

"The major demands made annually upon the forests, based upon the latest available statistics, are shown in Table 2. In the first column the volume of production or consumption is expressed by the common unit of measurement; in the second column the equivalent is given in board measure; and in the third column the approximate cubic contents of wood drawn from the forest to produce the products is enumerated.

"The tabulation indicates the annual use of the equivalent of 91 billion board feet of timber for all purposes in the United States. A substantial basis exists in every instance for the figures given and they may be regarded as conservative rather than overdrawn. To produce 91 billion board feet every year requires a yield of 23½ billion cubic feet of timber, a stupendous crop and worthy of the most prodigal nation."

The following extracts are from a report known as **By-Products of the Lumber Industry by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Nov. 15, 1915:**

"The waste of timber in logging, while extremely variable, can be estimated perhaps more definitely. Waste in stumpage occurs by cutting the trees too high and leaving the stumps to rot. Young trees are frequently not protected from falling timber. Immature and defective trees are cut and rejected. Large limbs, tree tops and logged trees are left to waste. Small bodies of timber are often left standing. Trees broken in falling are generally left, as are also short log lengths.

"The conversion of the log into lumber entails some necessary waste in a saw mill. These items have been itemized by Margolin as follows:

Items.	Per Cent of Total Volume	of Log.
Loss of bark	10.0	20.0
Loss due to kerf		13.5
Loss due to edging and trimming		8.7
Slabs		8.7
Loss due to carelessness		
Manufacture		3.5
Loss due to standardizing length and width of boards		1.7
Total	46.1	56.1

"The annual quantity of mill waste in the United States may be roughly estimated at 4,000,000,000 cubic feet of wood.

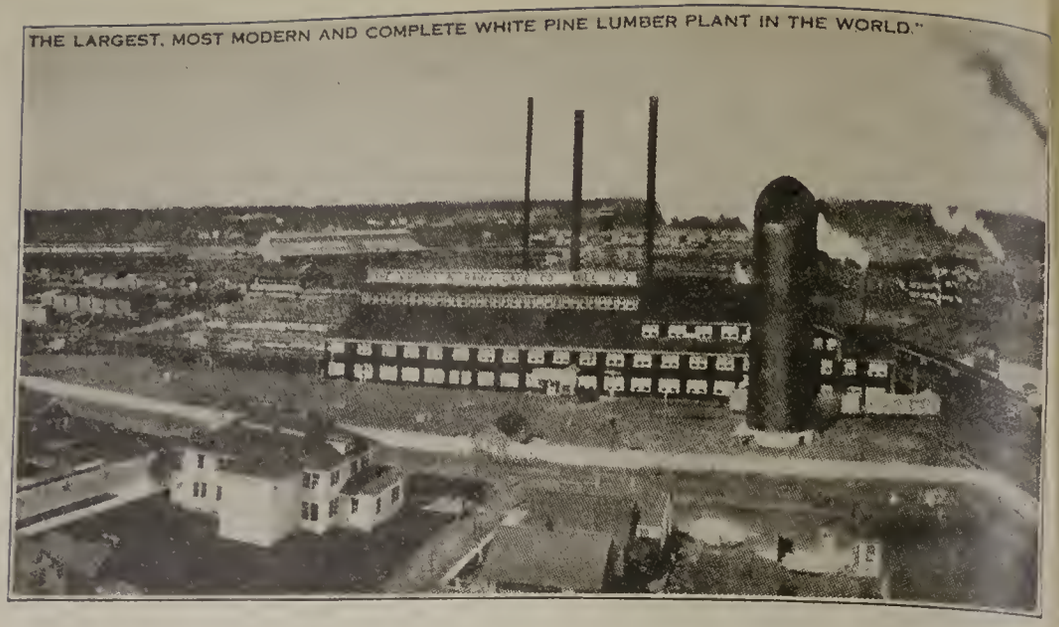
"The relation of the tree in the forest to the lumber derived from it, may be expressed in the statement that an average of only 320 feet of lumber is used for each 1,000 feet that stood in the forest. The possibilities of this shrinkage are aptly expressed in the following quotation:

"If all the wood wasted in the manufacture of yellow pine lumber in 1907 had been steam distilled for the production of wood turpentine, it would have yielded more than the total production of gum turpentine in that year. If all the wood wasted in the manufacture of lumber from spruce, hemlock, poplar and cottonwood in 1907 had been used for papermaking, it would have furnished all the paper made from pulp in that year. If all the wood that went to waste in the manufacture of chestnut lumber in 1907 had been used to make tanning extract, we would have produced twice as much as was produced from the chestnut cordwood used for that purpose. The waste in the manufacture of beech, birch and maple in 1917 was nearly equal to the quantity of these woods cut for distillation. The waste in the manufacture of oak lumber was twice the quantity of all the hardwoods used for distillation."*

The following is from another report known as: **The Export Lumber Trade of the United States,** by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce:

"In many sections sawmill operators contracted to cut parcels of timber within a specified time, timber left on the tract at the expiration of the time limit to be forfeited to the owner of the

*Senate document No. 676, Sixtieth Congress, second session. Vol. 1, PP. 66-67.


THE LARGEST, MOST MODERN AND COMPLETE WHITE PINE LUMBER PLANT IN THE WORLD."

land. It often happened thus that the operator threw the lumber on the market at any price to avoid a greater loss, thereby causing a general decline in prices thruout his section. To meet his competition, other manufacturers had to cut prices, and, to operate at a profit, they also utilized only the best material in the tree, leaving millions of feet of the lower grades in the woods. It has been estimated that in this country only about 40 per cent of the trees is marketed while in Germany, for instance, 96 per cent of the felled tree is utilized.

"The machinery used in American saw and planing mills is well constructed and capable of turning out the product very fast. It may suit the manufacturers at present, when comparatively little value is attributed to the raw material, but in the near future with increasing prices for stumpage, improvement in the type of machinery and in manufacturing methods will become imperative.

"It has been estimated that there is an annual loss exceeding one billion feet in the seasoning of lumber. While this may not be a complete loss in the sense that the lumber cannot be used, it is a drain upon higher quality material and contributes directly to the accumulation of low grade and less usable lumber. By the introduction of proper methods of kiln drying, it should be possible eventually to cut that loss in two."

The forest resources of the United States are being wasted and destroyed. In a few years they will be exhausted and the country will face a lumber famine. This state of affairs is caused by:

Wasteful and destructive methods of logging and of manufacturing.

Forest fires.

Failure to reforest logged off areas.

All these causes have their roots in the profit system.

The capitalists who control the lumber industry are con-

cerned only with profits. They use whatever methods will produce the greatest profits in the shortest time, regardless of how much they waste and destroy.

The principal cause to which forest fires are attributed is carelessness and indifference on the part of the public in cooperating with the authorities to enforce fire prevention laws. In view of the fact that four-fifths of the timber land of the United States is privately owned and that practically all of this was obtained by fraudulent means, it is hardly to be expected that the public will display very great interest in protecting the stolen property of the Lumber Trust.

Re-forestation is not an attractive proposition to profit-mongers. It involves a large outlay at the start. From sixty to one hundred years must elapse after the planting of young trees before they are of saw timber size. Then there is the risk of fire and the possibility of a change in the social order. From the view-point of the capitalist, it is much better to let the Government use the money of the "people" for re-forestation and then, when the timber is ready to be cut, hand it over to the Lumber Trust to sell to the "people" at 100 per cent profit. Besides this, there is every reason to believe that, in the past, the big timber thieves used their influence to prevent re-forestation, in order to increase the value of their own holdings.

CHAPTER 7.

LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY.

OWING to the nature of the industry conditions for loggers differ considerably from those of most workers. Situated in thinly settled forest regions, lumber camps are, to a great extent, cut off from civilization. The resulting conditions are a peculiar mixture of capitalism and feudalism, civilization and barbarism. Each camp is a community by itself—a unit in the industrial empire of the Lumber Trust—and is ruled by a foreman who has the powers of a petty czar. The company not only plays the part of employer but also that of hotel and store keeper. In supplying food and shelter they have a complete monopoly, and are practically free from all restriction which ordinarily apply to hotel and restaurant keepers. Sanitary conditons which prevail in camps would not be tolerated elsewhere; in towns or cities they would be a menace to the health of society, which means the "better classes" or bourgeois element. But the welfare of workers is of no consideration. Intelligent stock breeders feed their cattle and hogs scientifically, and house them in sanitary quarters, for they are articles of value. But wage slaves have no value; consequently they have no protection unless they are organized to protect themselves. In isolated places where the greed of capitalism is unrestricted by considerations of public health and safety, and unchecked by working class organization, conditions fall below the minimum of civilization and can only be described as barbarous. Few of the characteristics that distinguish the present century from the dark ages are found in lumber camps. These camps are monuments to the greed of the lumber barons and the servile submission of the workers.

In the average unorganized camp the food is of the cheap, adulterated variety. The meat runs heavy to sausage and liver. Some years ago government investigation of the packing houses laid bare the inside facts of sausage making. Only meat unfit for any other use goes into sausages. Slunk calves, diseased chunks of meat cut from "lumpy-jawed" cattle, and dead rats, are all ground up together, preserved, colored, and flavored with chemicals, and put up in the form of sausages. In the words of Upton Sinclair in "The Jungle," "There are things that go into sausages in comparison with which a poisoned rat is a tid-bit." The same conditions prevail today. These "foods" are consumed entirely by workers. Their manufacture is highly profitable, so it will continue till the workers themselves put a stop to it.

Soggy hot-cakes and syrup, rancid oleomargarine, cheap imitations labeled jams and jellies, dried or canned fruit, canned



RESULT OF DESTRUCTIVE LOGGING IN DOUGLAS FIR REGION, WHERE NO EFFORT IS MADE TO SECURE A NEW CROP.

peas, canned milk, pies and puddings colored and flavored with chemical poisons, constitute a large part of the bill of fare.

The hot cakes are made with baking powder, the principal ingredient of which is alum. Alum ruins the stomach by hardening its coat, drying up the digestive juices and destroying their active principle. The cheap pickles usually served in camps are also adulterated with alum. The syrup, prunes and other dried fruits are bleached and preserved with sulphurous acid.

Dr. J. C. Olson, Professor of Chemistry at the Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, introduced sulphurous acid into the food of dogs and watched them closely for six months. Then they were chloroformed and cut open and their kidneys placed under the microscope. In every instance the result was the same. The lens revealed the degeneration of the kidney cells. They had broken down. Sulphurous acid was found to be deadly to the kidneys of dogs. It produces equally injurious effects on the human organs. Dr. Wiley after his clinical experiments in the Bureau of Chemistry denounced the use of sulphurous acid as an ingredient of foods and showed by medical and pathological data that it produces serious injury to digestion and health. His findings were reported in circular No. 37, issued by the Department of Agriculture. That circular stated plainly that sulphurous acid in the food adds an immense burden to the kidneys, which cannot fail to result in injury. It impoverishes the blood in respect to the number of red and white corpuscles therein, and in that way is highly injurious.

Cheap jams, jellies and preserves are made from rotten fruits, treated with glucose, sweetened with saccharine (a coal tar product), colored with coal tar dyes, and preserved with tartaric acid, benzoic acid, and phosphoric acid.

Canned pears are adulterated with glucose, cane sugar, copper sulphate and tin.

The lemon pie contains glycerine, glucose, oil of lemon, starch, coal tar dye, benzoate of soda, and wood alcohol.

To disguise the taste of putrid meat and add flavor to tasteless, unpalatable food, tomato catsup and other cheap condiments are provided. Cheap tomato catsup and chili sauce are made from tomato pulp, which the government has repeatedly condemned because it is found to contain millions of bacteria to the cubic centimeter. Ninety million such bacteria have been found in a half teaspoonful. Tomato pulp is a waste product prepared from the skins and cores and sweepings of the canning factory. In its partly decomposed state it is scraped from the floor, put into kegs and treated with an antiseptic to prevent further putrefaction. It then goes into storage to be used as needed in the making of cheap condiments. The Government characterizes such tomato pulp as consisting in whole or in part of a filthy and decomposed vegetable substance. It is made "fit for food" by the introduction of the sacred one-tenth of one per-cent of benzoate of soda.

Ancient cold storage meat is treated with sulphites and saltpetre to give it a fresh color. As much sulphites as can be lifted on the tip of a penknife would cause one to strangle if placed on the tongue. Saltpetre disintegrates the liver and breaks down the kidney cells.

Lack of space forbids mention of the many other chemical poisons used to adulterate the cheap fakes fed to workers in camps, or description of their injurious effects. Old accumulations of packing houses and cold storage plants, too rotten to be disposed of in any other way, are sold cheap to contractors and lumber companies. It is no wonder the average worker is prematurely aged and stiffened at forty, for he is undernourished from lack of essential food elements, and his internal organs are ruined by the chemical poisons in adulterated food.

Cheapness is the main consideration in buying food, and the same is true of hiring cooks. Inferior cooks are cheaper, hence they are more common, and bad food is made still worse by bad cooking.

The bunk-houses are dirty, unsanitary and overcrowded. Men are packed like sardines in double bunks built in two tiers, one above the other. Figure out the number of cubic feet of air space in a bunk-house and divide this by the number of men. In most cases it will be found the amount of air space per man is only a fraction of the minimum specified by government health authorities. In some camps mattresses are provided, but in most the bunks are filled with hay which was put in when the camp was built, and never changed since. Except in some parts of the Northwest, neither sheets nor pillows are furnished, so a man



HOW A SINGLE FIRE CAN DESTROY A MATURE FOREST

comes directly in contact with the blankets, which are seldom or never washed. Men are constantly coming and going, thus many different men use the same blankets during a season. This constitutes an ideal method of spreading disease. If a man has syphilitic sores on his body, the chances are he will leave the infection on the blankets to be caught by those who follow. In the Northwest it used to be the custom to carry blankets, but the strike of 1917 abolished this practice, except in a few localities. Many camps are infested with lice and the only way a man can hold these pests in check is to wash and boil his clothes every week.

No drying rooms are furnished. Wet clothing is hung around the bunk-house stove and the steam and odor from this add to the foulness of the stagnant air. The bunks close to the stove are too hot, while those farthest away are often too cold. A man sleeping next to the stove, where the heat is like that of a sweat-bath, and then going out in a temperature many degrees below zero, is quite sure to catch a severe cold. There being no cuspidors, the custom is to spit on the floor, which at bed time is covered with tobacco juice and slime. This dries, and when the floor is swept, rises and settles all over the blankets. A more efficient means of spreading disease could scarcely be devised. As an aggravation to the insanitary conditions, there are dry, open toilets a few yards from the cook-shacks. In cold weather these are practically harmless, but in summer, swarms of flies carry their filth and infection to every part of the camp. Piles of rotten garbage around the cook-house door furnish an ideal breeding ground for these carriers of disease.

Until a few years ago bath-houses in camps were unheard of and the great majority are still without them. A few dim, smoky

oil lamps make a feeble attempt to light the bunk-house, but their light is so poor that reading is practically impossible. Thus a man is deprived of this means of cultivating his mind or passing the time in his few short hours of leisure.

A man living in these surroundings is reduced to the level of a work animal, and a poor one at that, for it would not pay to keep valuable stock in such a condition. Today there are many thousands of the most useful and necessary workers living in this state of barbarism in the midst of civilization.

The above description applies to the great majority of lumber camps in the United States and Canada. In the Pacific-Northwest, where a large percentage of lumber workers are organized, conditions are much better than the average. Sweeping reforms were brought about by the 1917 strike. Bunk-houses are smaller and less crowded. Sheets and pillows are furnished, and there are bath-houses and drying rooms.

One of the things that distinguishes the present century from the dark ages is modern sanitation. By this means smallpox, bubonic plague, cholera and the black plague of London, which devastated Europe in past centuries, have been stamped out. Modern sanitation has eradicated yellow fever from New Orleans and Havana, and made the Panama Canal Zone a safe and healthy place for white men to live. The Red Cross and other organizations are carrying on campaigns against the modern plagues of tuberculosis and syphilis. In practically all towns and cities spitting on the sidewalk is forbidden. In many States the public drinking cup and the roller towel are outlawed as spreaders of disease.

In all States there are laws providing for sanitary conditions in hotels and rooming houses. The following extracts are from those of Wisconsin:

Rule XI.—Bedding.

(a) All hotels shall hereafter provide each bed, bunk, cot or other sleeping place for the use of transient guests, with white cotton or linen pillow slips, top and under sheets, also mattress, and a reasonably sufficient quantity of bedding.

(b) The top and under sheet to be of sufficient size to completely cover the mattress and fold under on sides and ends. Both sheets after January 1, 1918, must be at least ninety-six inches long after being laundered.

(d) The long top sheet is to be folded back at the head of the bed so as to cover all top coverings at least twelve inches.

(e) All bedding, including mattresses, quilts, blankets, sheets and comforts used in any hotel must be thoroly aired and kept clean. No bedding shall be used which is worn out and unfit for further use. Pillow slips and sheets must be washed and ironed as often as they shall be assigned to a different guest.

There are also laws regulating ventilation, air space, toilets, disposal of garbage, etc.; and prohibiting overcrowding. Surely sanitary conditions are just as necessary in camps as in hotels. Yet, just because they are profitable to a handful of parasites, such conditions as described above are permitted to continue.



MAINE LOGGING CAMP

If the various state boards of health were honest and efficient such disease breeding plague spots would be cleaned up in short order. But no relief can be expected from that source, for boards of health, like other government institutions, are controlled by big business. Sanitary regulations will never be enforced in camps till the workers themselves enforce them by their organized economic power.

On ordinary jobs, when the day's work is done, a man is free to do as he pleases within the limits of the law, to go where he likes and associate with whom he sees fit. Not so in a lumber camp. The lumberjack is at all times under the domination of the "push," who in many cases dictates what he shall say or read and with whom he shall associate. Disobedience in these matters means discharge. In most places visitors suspected of being union men or "agitators" are ordered out of camp. In this way a logging camp forcibly reminds one of a penitentiary.

The lumberjacks' work is hard and dangerous, especially in big timber regions. The annual percentage of men killed and injured is high. For the great majority of lumber workers ten hours is the work day. In addition to this there is often a long walk to and from work. In places where there is a strong percentage of organization, wages compare favorably with those in other industries. Where there is no organization they are usually far below the level of a decent standard of living

Hospital Fee.

Each man is forced to pay a monthly tax varying from $1.00 to $1.25. This is known as a hospital fee and is deducted from the wages. In this way the companies collect many thousands of dollars every month. This money would be sufficient to build and maintain first class hospitals, equipped in the most modern style with the best doctors and nurses. Instead of this, company hospitals are proverbial for their worthlessness. Cheapness and economy are the main considerations, not the welfare of the men who pay for them. The sacred profits of the companies must not be diminished, regardless of how many lumber workers die from lack of medical attention. These hospitals are usually poorly equipped and are not even kept in a sanitary condition. Incompetent doctors and nurses are employed. It is a common occurrence for a man to go to a company hospital suffering from some comparatively slight injury, such as a broken limb, which by proper treatment could be completely cured in a few weeks, only to be turned out a permanent cripple. The hospital tickets state that no treatment will be given except for injury sustained or disease contracted while actually in the employ of the company. On each ticket is a list of diseases for which no treatment will be given, and this list includes all diseases a lumberjack is likely to get. If good hospital accomodation were provided there would be no objection to paying this fee. But as it is, by far the greater part of it is pure and simple graft for the companies, and graft of the meanest and most contemptible kind, for the principal victims are sick and injured men. It is bad enough to rob men of a dollar a month; that is simply robbery. But to contract to furnish a man hospital accomodation and then when he is in desperate need of it to hand him worthless treatment, which results in death or permanent loss of health, is infinitely worse. That is murder; not committed in the height of passion, but cold-blooded and deliberate murder, systematically planned and carried out to increase profits.

Employment Sharks.

Besides the robbery and exploitation of the companies, lumber workers are subjected to the graft of employment agents. These petty parasites infest all cities and towns. Most of them are conscienceless swindlers, and their victims are the unemployed. In many camps hiring is not done on the job, but thru employment agents, and a man cannot go to work unless he brings a ticket from one of these. Grafting foremen frame up with these sharks and, in consideration of a rake-off from the fee, keep hiring and firing, thus running their job on the "three gang system," that is, one gang coming, one working, and the third going back to town to buy more jobs from the employment sharks. In some places employment agents have a practical monopoly of jobs and it is almost impossible to escape paying them tribute. These fakers are notoriously dishonest. They lie



CAMP DINING ROOM

about wages and conditions. Often they send men to places where none are needed, thus not only robbing them of the fee but causing them to lose the fare as well. Foreigners and inexperienced youth are their worst victims. It is practically impossible to obtain legal redress, as the workers they defraud lack the means to prosecute them. Besides, these parasites are a part of the system, they are useful tools of the big lumber companies and receive protection. They are "business men" and tax payers, and "stand in" with the local authorities; migratory workers are considered their legitimate prey.

The great majority of lumberjacks are single men, and those who are married are separated from their families the greater part of the time. This is principally due to economic conditions and the nature of the industry as at present carried on. Separation from the opposite sex is not conducive to physical or mental well-being. The mating instinct is second only to that of self-preservation. Those who are forced to suppress this instinct or satisfy it by visiting prostitutes, practically all of whom are venereally diseased, must pay the penalty nature exacts from all who fail to live in harmony with her laws.

The Sawmill.

Sawmill work is more highly specialized than logging. In this branch of the industry machine production is highly developed. The sawmill worker is a machine tender. His life is a weary, monotonous grind. The day's work consists of a constant repetition of the same motions. In large, modern sawmills the efficiency or speed-up system is reduced to a fine science. The



INTERIOR OF A BUNK-HOUSE

pace is set by machinery speeded up to the limit of human endurance. The amount of skill required is small, speed being the main requisite. This work is exceedingly dangerous and accidents are frequent. Lumber is not the only product of sawmills. There is also a bountiful harvest of cripples. In sawmill centers maimed and mutilated workers are so common they excite no comment. A large percentage of these accidents are preventable, but installing safety devices has no place in schemes of profit making.

The majority of sawmill workers are men with families. The companies prefer these for they are more easily controlled and less apt to organize or strike. A close watch is kept to prevent unionism from gaining a foothold. Stool-pigeons, spies, company suckers and gunmen infest all sawmill towns. The majority of sawmill workers secretly favor unionism, but fear of discharge and the blacklist prevents them from becoming active. In most sawmill towns the companies own everything in sight. The workers live in company houses. Often they are forced to trade at the company's store, and in some places never get out of debt. Many schemes are worked to keep them more effectively in the power of the companies. Some companies do a real estate business as a side line, and sell lots to their employes at so much down, and so much per. If they miss a payment the property reverts to the company and they lose all previous payments. Sometimes workers with families are induced to come from distant places by false promises and glowing accounts of wages and conditions. When they reach the mill-town and find out they have been deceived, they are broke and perhaps in debt to the company, and unable to get away.

In sawmill towns industrial feudalism holds sway. The lumber companies, by reason of their control of industry, hold the whip hand and rule with a rod of iron. Sheriffs and chiefs of police eat out of their hand, and the small business element hastens to do their bidding. Often municipal and county office holders are employes of the company, or economically dependent on it in some way, and thus completely under its control. And as single companies control local officials, and petty governments of town and county, so the combined companies, organized in the Lumber Trust, in conjunction with other big financial and industrial interests, control the state and national governments and constitute themselves the real government. In the words of Woodrow Wilson in "The New Freedom," "the masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States."

The thousands of men who do work in the lumber industry are reduced to a state of economic independence and servitude, kept constantly on the ragged edge of want, and denied opportunity to live as nature intended. The few capitalists who control the industry are possessed of great wealth and power and enabled to live in luxury and extravagance unequaled in the history of the world.

In the days of the ox team and the whip-saw the daily output of lumber was only a few feet per man. But the workers received enough to maintain life and reproduce their kind. They lived a rough and healthy life and their food was the plain and wholesome product of the farm. Notwithstanding vastly increased production, all the modern wage workers get is a bare existence. They are doped and poisoned with the product of the chemical laboratory, speeded up to the limit of endurance, and are worn out and aged when they should be in their prime.

Notwithstanding their immense profits the lumber companies claim they cannot afford to give better wages or conditions. But it is not the greed of the lumber barons that is to blame for conditions. They are in business, not for charitable purposes, but to make profits. It is the ignorance, cowardice and indifference of the workers that gives the Lumber Trust its power and makes possible the oppression from which they suffer. It is the law of nature that the strong rule and the weak are enslaved. **The secret of power is organization. The only force that can break the tyrannical rule of the Lumber Trust is One Big Union of all the workers.**

CHAPTER 8.

ORGANIZATION.

ALL wealth is produced by labor being applied to the natural resources of the earth. Wherever labor and natural resources come together, there industry springs up—a job comes into existence. The wealth produced on the job is divided in two ways. Part goes to the workers in the form of wages and part to the capitalists in the form of profits. The share of each is determined by the amount of control they exert over the job. On every job there are two conflicting interests. The capitalist wants to make the biggest possible profits in the shortest possible time. To accomplish this he must get as much as possible out of the workers and must give them as little as possible. He wants hard work, long hours, low wages, and low running expenses, which make rotten conditions. The workers are on the job to make a living. They want to make as good and as easy a living as they can. To this end they must have short hours, high wages, easy work and good conditions. This conflict of interest is the cause of the struggle that goes on between workers and employers—the class struggle.

In this as in all struggles the side with the most power will win. The secret of power is **organization.** The captalists are few in number. They do no useful work but live as parasites off the labor of the workers. They are entirely unnecessary to the running of industry. They perform no useful function in society. But they are organized, and by virtue of their organized power they control the natural resources of the earth and the machinery of production, and only allow the workers access to them on condition that they can make a profit off their labor.

The workers are absolutely necessary to running industry. They furnish the labor power without which not a wheel would turn. But they do not control their own labor power because only a small percentage are organized. Being forced to deal as individuals with the organized power of the capitalists they are helpless and have to accept whatever conditions the employers see fit to impose on them. On all jobs where the workers are unorganized their standing is little better than that of work animals —or cattle. They only receive enough in the form of wages to enable them to keep in working condition, just as a four-legged beast of burden is fed enough hay and grain to enable him to furnish motive power for his master's wagon. If an individual worker voices a protest he is discharged. This causes no inconvenience to the boss, for it is easy to get another to take his place.

But when the workers begin to organize, a change takes place. When all the workers on a job, or even a fair percentage of them, make demands the boss cannot discharge them without shutting down or seriously crippling his job. Fear of stopping or reducing his profits forces him to make concessions. He will try to compromise. Just how much he will concede depends entirely on the strength of the workers' organization. Where the workers are unorganized there are two contending forces—that of Labor and that of Capital. Unorganized, the workers are powerless and must tamely submit. With organization they gain power and are able to dispute the control of the capitalist. Hence, where the workers are organized, hours, wages and conditions are always better than on unorganized jobs. Provided, of course, the workers' organization is genuine and not a fake, controlled by the bosses.

Workers Organized to Produce.

Organization is the keynote of power and success. Without organization nothing worth while can be accomplished. Even wild animals and birds know enough to organize for mutual protection. By organization and co-operation primitive man was able to overcome the beasts and reptiles of the primeval forest, and rise to civilization. Without the workers being organized to carry on industry, production would stop and the world would go back to savagery.

When a man goes to work in the woods his object is to get wages—money. He wants to make a "stake" and to make it as big, as easily, and as quickly as possible. He cares nothing about the profits of his employer. When a lumber company hires men to work in the woods their object is to make profits, and to that end they must get out logs. They are not concerned with the welfare of the workers. Thus we see there are two distinct objects to be accomplished—that of the workers "organized"—arranged in interdependent groups each co-operating systematically with the other so as to work to the best advantage and produce the greatest results. One set of men fall the trees. Others cut them up into logs. One man acts as hook tender; others set the chokers. A fireman keeps up steam in the boiler, and the engineer runs the donkey. Some load the logs on cars and the railroad crew haul them out of the woods. Some act as riggers, and some as cooks and flunkeys. The whole crew is working together systematically to get out logs—to accomplish the object of the company—and they work successfully. They get out many logs and make big profits for the company because they are organized for that purpose.

Suppose the same number of men were to go into the woods, and instead of working in an organized manner, each one was to work as an individual. Suppose each carried in his own tools, his own food and his own cook-stove; built his own shack, did his own cooking, cut his own roads, and tried to get out logs all by himself. How much headway would they make? We all

know they would accomplish practically nothing. If a boss put men to work that way they would consider him insane. They would not accomplish his object of making profits. Yet that is exactly how the great majority of men go to work to accomplish their own object. Have unorganized men any reason to consider themselves sane? They co-operate systematically to produce wealth for their employers, but not to protect their own interests. Small wonder hours are long, wages low and conditions rotten.

Occasionally we hear of a number of men breaking out of jail, but who ever heard of such a break from a lunatic asylum? It takes organized action to break out of captivity, and it is a well-known fact that lunatics never organize.

Industry Run Entirely by Workers.

The workers in each camp co-operate to get out logs. Each camp is a unit in the producing organization composed of workers and controlled to supply the sawmills. The production and distribution of lumber is carried on by the co-operation of loggers, railroad men and sawmill workers. These producing organizations are composed entirely of workers, either by hand or brain. Foremen, superintendents and general managers are all workers, as well as the men who do the actual manual labor on the job. To the extent that they take part in managing and organizing industry they are useful and necessary, but their remuneration is usually out of proportion to the value of the work they perform. In this way they are subsidized or bribed by the company to prevent them from combining with the other workers to take control of industry. These company officials are known as salaried workers and are usually part workers and part parasites. As a rule the higher officials of a company are also stockholders, and to the extent that they draw dividends they are parasites. The work of a general manager may be worth $10,000 a year, but if he receives a salary of $100,000 a year then he is 10 per cent worker and 90 per cent parasite. If in addition to his salary he draws dividends of $100,000 a year then he is 5 per cent worker and 95 per cent parasite. Besides performing their useful and legitimate function of managing industry these officials, under the present system, play the part of slave-drivers to speed up the workers and produce the greatest possible profits for their masters. They are also used to spy upon the other workers and prevent them from organizing. But altho the workers are divided and some are used in a manner detrimental to the others, the fact remains that industry is run entirely by the workers.

How Industry is Controlled.

Each camp is controlled by a foreman, who in turn is controlled by a walking boss or superintendent. Each department of a sawmill is controlled by a foreman, and control of these is centralized in the hands of the superintendent. Logging and sawmill superintendents are controlled by the general manager

from the head office of the company. The general manager is controlled by the board of directors, the members of which are usually large stockholders; and the board of directors is controlled by the stockholders. Thus industry is run by workers and controlled by parasites. Under the present system all officials, from straw-bosses to general managers, are rated by their ability to grind profits out of the workers.

Hundred Per Cent Parasites.

While a small amount of stock may be held by individuals who are part workers and part parasites, by far the greater part is held, and all control exercised, by one-hundred-percent parasites. For instance, a person may hold millions of dollars worth of stock in the Lumber Trust, but take absolutely no part in the management of the industry. His sole occupation is drawing dividends. He may never even have seen a logging camp or a sawmill. Such people live in million dollar mansions or swell hotels, surrounded by luxury and extravagance. They have residences in different parts of the world, and migrate from one to another with the changing seasons. They travel in palatial steam yachts, luxurious Pullmans and high-priced touring cars.

When the lumber worker is wading thru snow with the thermometer 40 below zero, or slinging heavy rigging thru mud and rain, he may find some comfort in the thought that high-rolling parasites who live off the product of his labor are playing golf at Palm Beach or sailing on the sunny waters of the Mediterranean. Or when trying to sleep in a filthy, insanitary, vermin-infested bunk-house, inhaling the stench of drying socks and the sickening germ-laden odor from the slime-covered floor, it may be an inspiring thought to the "timberbeast" that in a palatial mansion in a land of perpetual summer where the soft night breezes waft the perfume of roses and honeysuckle thru the open windows, tended by liveried lackeys, entertained by the entrancing strains of an all-star orchestra, sated with rare wines and costly foods, and surrounded by amorous, languorous-eyed females, his masters are holding a "brilliant society function." When a lumber worker is unable to keep his family in decency or is condemned thru poverty to a life of "single blessedness," let him ponder the fact that his labor makes it possible for some parastic timber-thief to buy a diamond necklace for his lady friend's lap-dog; and that lack of organization on the part of lumber workers makes this state of affairs possible.

While the old financial pirates who stole the timber lands were men of criminal instincts and anti-social character, it cannot be denied they had shrewdness and ability. But the descendants of these men who inherit their vast wealth, enjoy it without having made the slightest effort to gain it, and wield the enormous power it places in their hands, may be entirely lacking in ability of any kind—may even be degenerates of the Harry Thaw type..

How the Parasites are Organized.

The capitalists are organized, not to produce wealth but to separate the workers from the wealth they produce. They are the robber class. By fraud and violence they have stolen the natural resources and the machinery of production and by fraud and violence they hold the workers in subjection and continue to rob them. In most industries the capitalists are organized into trusts by means of which they reduce competition among themselves to a minimum. Those industries which are not trustified and in which the majority of the employers are small, such as agriculture, are controlled by trusts in other industries on which they are dependent, such as the railroad trust, the packing-house trust, the harvester trust, and the banking trust. These trusts, by controlling transportation, markets, supply of agricultural machinery, and credit, have reduced the farmer to a condition in which he is just as effectually exploited as a wage worker. The various great combinations of capital are all interlinked by means of common ownership of stock and interlocking directorates. While there may be many thousands of stockholders in the different companies which go to make up a trust, the control is centralized into the hands of a very few men who own large blocks of stock. By means of "rigging" the market these trust magnates are able to force the prices of stock down when it suits their purpose to buy, and to put prices up when they are ready to "unload." In this way they loot and plunder the smaller stockholders who are known in Wall Street as "shorn lambs." Another way in which the big stockholders rob the small ones is by forming subsidiary companies. For instance, the controlling stockholders of a railroad often form construction companies, and let contracts to themselves at profiteering prices.

There are many ways in which the interests of different groups of capitalists conflict. Where such is the case the advantage always rests with the biggest capitalists. They can install larger and more expensive machinery, manufacture on a larger scale, produce cheaper and so undersell their competitors till they put them out of business, or force them to sell out at their own terms. Great financial interests which control railroads are also engaged in many other lines of business, such as lumber and mining, and they can stifle competition by withholding cars from their rivals. Big capitalists can maintain the strongest lobbying committees at Washington and are better able to bribe Congress to make them presents of the natural resources of the country. Consequently the control of industry is constantly becoming concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, and in the near future we may expect to see control of the industries of all countries concentrated into the hands of one gigantic world-wide trust.

Altho the interests of capitalists conflict in many ways, and big capitalists prey on small ones, their interests are all identical in maintaining the system by which they rob the workers. On this point they all recognize their community of interest, and

display solidarity. To protect their interests as a class and to hold the workers in subjection they are united in commercial clubs, boards of trade, chambers of commerce and similar organizations of a class nature.

By means of their wealth the capitalists control the government, press, schools, colleges, churches, theatres and moving picture shows. They use these institutions to control the minds of the workers and prevent them from realizing their true position in society. By control of the press and the means of communication, such as telegraph and telephone lines, they suppress news of interest to the workers, or distort and color them to suit their own purposes. By false teaching and cunningly devised propaganda they make the workers think they are free and independent "sovereign citizens," while as a matter of fact, they are dependent for their very existence on permission to toil for a master. By theoretically placing the ballot in the hands of all citizens they lend an appearance of truth to the outworn fallacy of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." By their control of schools and colleges they propagate the lie of "equal opportunity," and teach the economic falsehood that the interests of labor and capital are identical, and the requisites for success are honesty, industry and loyalty to employers. Subsidized churches preach the divine right of property, and counsel meekness, obedience and self-denial. Theatres and moving picture shows ridicule the revolutionary movement, glorify scabs, and show how the chief sucker on the job may rise to affluence by marrying the boss's daughter.

Literature is also prostituted to capitalism. The reading matter dished up to the "public" in the form of "popular novels" and magazine stories is of the cheap and trashy variety. The "heroes" of this intellectual slush are the kind that rise from poverty and win success by being good dogs for their masters and traitors to their fellow workers. The purpose of the detective story is to bluff the workers into submission by creating in their minds an exaggerated idea of the ability of "Sherlock Holmes" and all his scabby tribe, whose intelligence, in actual life, is of the lowest order. Such literary garbage is widely advertised and reviewed, and sold by the car-load, while books and writings dealing with facts are refused publication, or if they do get into print, are limited to a small circulation, being boycotted by the capitalist press.

When fraud and deceit fail to hold the workers in subjection violence is used. The beast of capitalism throws off his cloak of democracy and shows himself in his true colors. The machinery of a servile state is called into action. Anti-labor laws are passed. Injunctions tie up union funds and prohibit workers from striking. Corrupt judges sentence workers to long terms in the penitentiary for the "crime" of being active in the labor movement. Police and detectives frame up on active union men. Mob rule is stirred up by the press. Union halls and offices are raided. Workers are kidnapped, beaten, tarred and feathered, deported and murdered. Private armies of gunmen shoot down

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display solidarity. To protect their interests as a class and to hold the workers in subjection they are united in commercial clubs, boards of trade, chambers of commerce and similar organizations of a class nature.

By means of their wealth the capitalists control the government, press, schools, colleges, churches, theatres and moving picture shows. They use these institutions to control the minds of the workers and prevent them from realizing their true position in society. By control of the press and the means of communication, such as telegraph and telephone lines, they suppress news of interest to the workers, or distort and color them to suit their own purposes. By false teaching and cunningly devised propaganda they make the workers think they are free and independent "sovereign citizens," while as a matter of fact, they are dependent for their very existence on permission to toil for a master. By theoretically placing the ballot in the hands of all citizens they lend an appearance of truth to the outworn fallacy of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." By their control of schools and colleges they propagate the lie of "equal opportunity," and teach the economic falsehood that the interests of labor and capital are identical, and the requisites for success are honesty, industry and loyalty to employers. Subsidized churches preach the divine right of property, and counsel meekness, obedience and self-denial. Theatres and moving picture shows ridicule the revolutionary movement, glorify scabs, and show how the chief sucker on the job may rise to affluence by marrying the boss's daughter.

Literature is also prostituted to capitalism. The reading matter dished up to the "public" in the form of "popular novels" and magazine stories is of the cheap and trashy variety. The "heroes" of this intellectual slush are the kind that rise from poverty and win success by being good dogs for their masters and traitors to their fellow workers. The purpose of the detective story is to bluff the workers into submission by creating in their minds an exaggerated idea of the ability of "Sherlock Holmes" and all his scabby tribe, whose intelligence, in actual life, is of the lowest order. Such literary garbage is widely advertised and reviewed, and sold by the car-load, while books and writings dealing with facts are refused publication, or if they do get into print, are limited to a small circulation, being boycotted by the capitalist press.

When fraud and deceit fail to hold the workers in subjection violence is used. The beast of capitalism throws off his cloak of democracy and shows himself in his true colors. The machinery of a servile state is called into action. Anti-labor laws are passed. Injunctions tie up union funds and prohibit workers from striking. Corrupt judges sentence workers to long terms in the penitentiary for the "crime" of being active in the labor movement. Police and detectives frame up on active union men. Mob rule is stirred up by the press. Union halls and offices are raided. Workers are kidnapped, beaten, tarred and feathered, deported and murdered. Private armies of gunmen shoot down

strikers and rape, torture and murder their wives and children. All who dare to question the right of the ruling plutocracy are hounded and persecuted and terrorism holds sway.

The capitalists have organized the workers to produce wealth. They themselves are organized to rob the workers. And they have organized all society to protect their stolen property and privileges. They are strongly intrenched in power, but this is no reason for discouragement. The capitalists are strong, but not with their own power; they are strong with the power of the workers. Industry is the source of all wealth and of all human power. Only the workers can run industry, for only the workers have the labor power. Therefore all human power comes from the workers. Without workers, capitalists could not exist, but without capitalists workers could live as human beings, instead of existing as beasts of burden as they do today. The power of labor is the greatest in the world, in fact it is the only human power in the world. Without labor to produce food, clothing, shelter and fuel, human life could not exist. Without labor to feed, clothe, equip and transport them, armies could not fight; governments could not function; scientists could not study; professors could not teach, editors could not write. All human activity would come to an end.

Without the power to produce wealth there could be neither financial power, political power, intellectual power, military power, nor any other power. The workers do not control this power because they are not organized for that purpose. Lacking control of their own labor power the workers are reduced to the level of cattle, mere beasts of burden toiling to produce wealth for their masters, whenever their masters see fit to give them permission to toil. Organized in such a way as to control their own labor power the workers can control the world.

To organize means to come to a common understanding as to the end to be accomplished, and then to work systematically together for the attainment of that end. How the workers must organize will be explained in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9.

RIGHT VERSUS WRONG METHODS OF ORGANIZATION.

The Fallacy of Craft Unionism.

AS TO the necessity for working-class organization there can be no question. The point to be decided is: How shall the workers organize? This question is of supreme importance. If the workers allow themselves to be misled and tricked into organizing in a way that will not only fail to free them from wage slavery or even to better their condition, but will put them more thoroly in the power of the industrial masters, much valuable time will be lost and discouragement and despair will result. What is needed is unity of thought and action. Far better no organization at all than a fake form which divides the workers against themselves and misleads them in the interests of the employers.

Such a form of unionism exists today. It is known as craft unionism and is represented by the American Federation of Labor. Craft unionism splits the workers up into as many different unions as there are crafts. Each of these unions is tied up by a separate contract with the employers, and all these contracts expire at different times. In this way united action is rendered impossible. Not only does the A. F. of L. divide the workers in industry but it teaches them the economic lie that the interests of labor and capital are identical. It stands for a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work." This may sound reasonable enough to those ignorant of economics and unacquainted with the real nature of the wage system. In reality it means nothing except that the A. F. of L. puts itself on record as upholding the wage system and condemns the workers to perpetual exploitation. Who can determine what is a fair day's pay? Wages and profits go together. One cannot exist without the other. If a worker admits his wages are fair then he must also admit that his employer's profits are fair. One might as well talk about a fair night's plunder for a burglar. Employers think a fair day's pay is just enough to keep the workers in working condition. Intelligent workers know labor produces all wealth, and they demand the full product of their labor. This would leave no profits for the boss and so would mean the end of the present system which is based on wages and profits.

The workers are organized to produce wealth—not by crafts but by industries. To get out logs the donkey engineer co-operates, not with engineers in other industries, but with fallers, buckers, choker men and all others on the job. In carrying on

industry he is only remotely connected with engineers in other industries. He cannot come to an agreement with engineers in the mining and construction industries as to how many logs are to be got out by the crew with which he works. That agreement can only be made or carried out by the men who make up the logging crew. The stationary engineers are organized in a craft union. Their local union is made up of stationary engineers in all industries in that locality. At their business meetings engineers from the logging industry come together with engineers from all other industries. It is impossible for them to arrive at or carry out an agreement to exert any control over the job, for their union separates them from the other men on the job, with whom they work.

The different local unions of a craft are brought together in so-called international unions. These cut across all industries and bring together a small section of the workers in each industry. It is impossible for workers organized on the craft plan to ever exert any appreciable control over industry because only the workers remotely connected in industry are brought together in the union, and those directly connected in industry are separated and tied up by separate contracts. On one job there may be a dozen or more different unions, each tied up with a separate contract. Thus the men organized by the bosses to work together to produce, are organized in craft unions to prevent their acting together to control. Could any more effective system be devised to keep the workers divided and powerless? Could any arrangement better suit the masters than this Machiavellian policy of "divide and conquer"? The only explanation is that craft union officials are agents of the capitalists and traitors to the workers.

Not all A. F. of L. unions are craft unions. The United Mine Workers, for instance, is not divided on craft lines; but it is organized so as to prevent concerted action by its members. Instead of separating the workers by crafts it separates them by districts. These districts are all tied up by separate contracts expiring at different times. When one district is on strike the rest remain at work. The orders are transferred from the strike district to the others, and in this way one district scabs on another. Often the strikers go to work in other districts, thus scabbing on themselves.

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism.

Revolutionary industrial unionism, as represented by the Industrial Workers of the World, aims to organize the workers according to industry, on the basis of one big union in each industry, without regard to craft or the tools used; all these unions being brought together under one head and all co-operating together towards a common end. The I. W. W. is not only industrial in form but it is revolutionary in character. It is based on the principle that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common" and that "labor is entitled to all it produces." Its aims are three-fold:

(1) To organize the workers in such a way that they can successfully fight their battles and advance their interests in their everyday struggles with capitalists.

(2) To overthrow capitalism and establish in its place a system of Industrial Democracy.

(3) To carry on production after capitalism has been overthrown.

The Job Branch.

The workers are organized by industries to carry on production. The job is the unit of these capitalist-controlled producing organizations. Each job is controlled by a capitalist's agent—a foreman. The object of the workers' organization is to control industry, therefore it must follow the lines of industry, and its unit must be the job branch. At the job branch meetings the workers who work together, come together in conference. At the meeting they can come to an agreement to work in whatever way is most beneficial to themselves. When they go back on the job they can co-operate to carry out this agreement. In case of strike all quit together. The foreman's control is exerted to speed up the workers and get the greatest amount of work done for the least money. Control by the organized workers is exerted to secure for themselves the greatest possible percentage of the wealth they produce. On all organized jobs the workers' control is centralized in a job committee whose function is to see that all legislation passed at the job branch meetings is lived up to.

The Industrial Union.

But little can be gained by organizing on one job if the other jobs in the same industry are unorganized. The workers on each job co-operate with the workers on all other jobs in the same industry to run that industry — for capitalists. Capitalist control of the different jobs in an industry is centralized thru the medium of foremen, superintendents, general managers of companies, and industrial associations of capitalists until it culminates in the trust—or one big union of bosses—that dominates that industry. In the early days when employers were small and unorganized, the workers on one job might have organized and struck successfully. But shutting down one job brings little pressure to bear on a big company that owns many jobs. Even if all the jobs of one company were shut down by strikes it would still be possible for that company to continue to do business by transferring their orders to other companies in the trust. The union must cover the whole industry. But even if the workers on every job were organized their power would be small unless they had some means of coming to a common understanding with the workers on all other jobs so they could act in unity.

Therefore all job branches in an industry must be brought together to form one big industrial union so they can all co-operate to control that industry for themselves. They must have some means of arriving at a common agreement, and must keep in

touch so they can co-operate to carry out that agreement. To this end annual or semi-annual conventions are held, composed of delegates from all branches in the district or industrial union. At these conventions a general agreement is reached as to how the business of the union is to be conducted. The convention is the legislative body of the union, but all legislation passed must be ratified by a referendum vote of the rank and file on the job. As boards of directors are elected at stockholders' meetings to look after the interests of the company, and are responsible to the stockholders, so the executive committees of the union are nominated at the conventions and elected by referendum vote, and are responsible to the membership. The job branches of an industrial union are further kept in touch thru the medium of a weekly bulletin published at industrial union or district headquarters. This bulletin prints the minutes of all job branch meetings so each branch knows what all others are doing at all times.

One Big Union of All Workers.

The workers in each industry are organized to co-operate with the workers in all other industries to carry on industry as a whole. Each industry is dependent on, and linked up with all other industries. The whole complicated system of modern industry is run by capitalist-controlled producing organizations of workers. Control of the whole system culminates by means of interlocking directorates, common ownership of stock, "gentlemen's agreements," etc., in the hands of a ring of great financial and industrial magnates with headquarters in Wall Street. This is the one big union of capitalists who control all industries. The industrial unions of the workers in each industry must be brought together in one big union of the entire working class, so that the workers in each industry may co-operate with the workers in all other industries to control industry as a whole and run it for their own benefit. The connecting link between the different industrial unions in the General Convention of the I. W. W., composed of delegates from each industrial union; and the General Executive Board which is nominated at the General Convention, and elected by referendum vote of the rank and file. The G. E. B. has general supervision over the affairs of the organization between conventions. As in each of the industrial unions the General Convention is the legislative body of the union, but all legislation passed must be ratified by referendum vote of the rank and file.

Industry is world-wide. It pays little attention to national boundary lines. The modern wage worker has neither property nor country. Ties of birth and sentiment which connect him with any particular country are slight and unimportant. It makes little difference to him what country he exists in, but he must have a job. Therefore he follows industry. Capital seeks the most profitable investment. If an American capitalist can invest more profitably in the Krupp works of Germany than in the Steel Trust of the United States he invests in the Krupp works

tho he knows his money may be used to finance the manufacture of submarines to send American sailors to the bottom of the sea. Capitalists often try to cover up their crimes with a cloak of patriotism, but the only patriotism they know is that of the dollar mark. The revolutionary unions of the workers must not confine themselves to geographical divisions or national boundary lines, but must follow the world embracing lines of industry. The workers of all countries co-operate to carry on industry regardless of national boundary lines, and they must organize in the same way to control industry. To promote unity of thought and action among the world's workers, international conventions are held, composed of delegates from the unions of different countries. But as industrial development proceeds industrial lines grow stronger and national lines become relatively less important. It is probable that in the future these conventions will be composed of delegates from the different branches of one great world-wide industrial union.

Revolutionary Tactics.

When the workers are educated to the real nature of the profit system they lose all respect for the masters and their property. They see the capitalists in their true colors as thieves and parasites, and their "sacred" property as plunder. They see state, church, press and university as tools of the exploiters and they look on these institutions with contempt. They understand the identity of interests of all wage-workers and realize the truth of the I. W. W. slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Organized industrially, the workers are in a position to strike at the very heart of capitalism. Even with only a small percentage of workers organized there are many ways in which they can use their economic power for the benefit of their own class, and to weaken capitalism. Railroad men can refuse to transport scabs or material produced by scabs. They can refuse to haul gunmen or soldiers to be used against strikers. They can carry union men free of charge. Union longshoremen can refuse to handle munitions to be used against workers in any part of the world; or to load vessels beyond the safety limit. Union telegraph and telephone operators can fail to transmit messages detrimental to labor. Union printers can refuse to print distorted news, anti-labor editorials or advertisements for scabs. Union cooks and waiters can refuse to serve rotten food to union men or any food to scabs. Union store clerks can sell the best goods to union workers and reserve shoddy clothing and adulterated food for scabs and parasites. Union steel workers can refuse to manufacture armored automobiles, trains or tanks to be used against their class. Union factory workers can refuse to manufacture rifles or ammunition for use against workers. Union food workers can refuse to can rotten or diseased meat or to adulterate food in any way. Union construction workers can refuse to handle scab material, or to build jails or dan-

taken up and subscription lists circulated. This method has never failed. Some of the biggest and most successful strikes ever carried on in the United States have been financed in this way.

There is a universal transfer system between the different industrial unions of the I. W. W. When a worker moves from one industry to another he can transfer from one union to the other without expense or inconvenience.

The I. W. W. is the result of the past experience of the labor movement. It has learned from the mistakes and failures of former organizations. It is a natural result of capitalism. So long as the conditions which produced it remain it cannot be destroyed.

For further information write to Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

CHAPTER 10.

PAST BATTLES OF THE LUMBER WORKERS.

MANY attempts at organization among lumber workers have been made with varying success. The first lumber workers' union of which we have any record was organized at Eureka, Calif., in 1884. Six months later it took out a charter in the Knights of Labor, and soon gained a membership of over two thousand. It had locals in Eureka, Arcata, Freshwater, and several other points in Northern California, and published a weekly paper called "The Western Watchman." One of the principal grievances of the lumber workers was the hospital fee. This union put the company hospital out of commission, and forced the head doctor to leave town for parts unknown. It prevented the rapid reduction of wages, exposed the land steals of the companies, and, four years later, was a factor in reducing the hours of sawmill workers from twelve to ten. After a militant career of about five years this union was broken up by the lumber companies of the Pacific Coast weeding out and blacklisting the most active members.

In 1908 the Western Labor Union, an organization closely allied with the Western Federation of Miners, began to gain a foothold among the lumber workers of Western Montana. In 1905 this organization, which had changed its name to the American Labor Union, was one of the unions which went to make up the I. W. W. By that time it had a considerable membership among the Montana lumber workers, and the union charter hung in many bunk-houses.

In 1907, 1908 and 1909 there were strikes in Western Montana, but these were only partly successful. In some camps in the neighborhood of Missoula the nine-hour day was gained. This section supplied the timber for the mines of Butte, and during the strike of 1908 an appeal was made to the miners to refuse to handle the timbers cut by scabs. This appeal was turned down by the corrupt clique then in control of the union, and that broke the back of the strike.

In order to break up the lumber workers' union and also to save the faces of the miners from the reputation of using scab timbers, the lumber and copper companies made a deal with the A. F. of L., by which the latter was to invade the territory, and form a new "union" among the lumber workers. With the help of the companies the A. F. of L. lined up foremen, scabs, stools and company spotters. Many men joined this so-called union to hold their jobs. This union was completely controlled by the companies and was looked upon as a joke by the workers. How-

ever, it was partly successful in breaking up the existing union which was considerably weakened by the hard struggles it had gone thru.

In 1907 two thousand sawmill workers struck in Portland, Oregon, tying up the lumber industry of that city. A minority were organized in the I. W. W., and these were the leading spirits. The strike lasted about three weeks, but was broken by the scabbing of the A. F. of L., which at that time was maintaining a lumber workers' organization.

Rise and Fall of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers.

The Brotherhood of Timber Workers was organized in Western Louisiana in 1910, and affiliated with the I. W. W. at its convention in April, 1912. At the time of affiliation it had about 5,000 paid-up members and probably 15,000 to 20,000 lumber workers and working farmers who were in arrears on dues, but still claimed membership. The union was the outcome of a great, spontaneous walk-out of all the Southern lumber workers in 1907, which was caused by the Lumber Trust attempting to cut wages heavily and to lengthen hours still more. Everywhere, except in the Lake Charles district of Louisiana, where the I. W. W.'s influence has already begun to make itself felt, the workers took the promise of the Trust that, if they would return to work and not form a labor union, the Trust pledged its "word of honor" to restore the old wages and hours just as soon as "prosperity" came back. This the workers, except in the district mentioned, fell for, but the Lake Charles district resisted and won a partial victory. This heartened the workers somewhat and as prosperity began to return and the Lumber Trust completely forgot its pledge, the workers and farmers, as soon as it began to organize, rushed to the Brotherhood in mass. Frightened at the success of the Brotherhood, the Trust resolved on desperate remedies and, in July, 1911, declared a lockout in all the largest sawmills of Western Louisiana and Eastern Texas. This lockout lasted over seven months, during which time between 5,000 and 7,000 of the most active union workers, white and colored, were blacklisted out of the lumber district and thousands of families were reduced to living on three meals of cornbread and molasses a day. Thinking this frightful punishment had sufficiently cowed the workers and farmers, the Trust began to re-open its mills in the early part of 1912, offering, however, a little higher wages and about a ten-hour day.

But this did not satisfy the workers, and they insisted on the full union demands of 75c. a thousand for cutting logs and of a minimum wage for common labor of $3.00 a day for a nine-hour day, together with reforms in the method of collecting and handling insurance and doctor's fees, which the workers demanded be turned over to their own committees to be managed by and for the workers. They further demanded reduced rents and commissary prices.

The Trust refused these demands and began a more violent campaign against the Brotherhood and used the blacklist more viciously than ever. But still the workers fought on. But all this failed to smash the union, and so, on July 7th, 1912, the "riot" at Grabo, Louisiana, was provoked. This "riot," which the chief organ of the National Lumber Trust boasted "was brought about to finish the union," resulted in the arrest of 58 members of the Brotherhood, including their organizer, A. L. Emerson, all of whom were "tried" at Lake Charles, La., in the autumn of 1912 and all unanimously acquitted on the first, or trial ballot, of the jury.

The Brotherhood still fought on, but by this time, the trial having taken all the resources and funds of the union, all the most active men had been driven into the mill at Merryville, La., which belonged to the Santa Fe railroad gang, but which had, under its old general manager, recognized and dealt with the union. The old manager was removed; the new one began the discharge of all union men, and this resulted in the last great strike of the Southern lumber workers. This strike lasted seven months, during which time the workers and farmers kept the mill shut down totally for five months and partially for two months more.

Furious at the resistance of the workers and farmers, the Trust turned a mob, called the "Good Citizens' League," loose on the now exhausted workers, which beat up and deported from the town all officers, organizers and most active men. The governor of Louisiana, of course, refused to interfere with this campaign of violence on the part of the Trust, and this practically ended the work of the Brotherhood.

The last strike occured at Sweet Home Front, La., in the autumn of 1913, when the woodsmen walked out against the Iron Mountain Lumber Co. which spent $40,000 to break it. After this strike was lost, or rather just after the Merryville strike, the trust began a campaign of raising wages a little, shortening hours, putting rent and insurance collections on a weekly basis, with a weekly payday, etc., brought in the Y. M. C. A. to do "social welfare work" and, coupling these concessions with a threat to fire any and all men who still stood by the union, succeeded in breaking its power at last.

However, many of the blacklisted men, who were, of course, the cream of the Brotherhood, went over into Texas, Oklahoma and other States and there exerted a powerful influence on the A. F. of L. and Railway Brotherhoods and Oil Field Workers' Union; so, from the workers' standpoint, it was once again proven that "no strike is ever lost," for they had undoubtedly bettered conditions for all the workers over a wide section of the South. Moreover, the "Old Guard" is still watched and feared.

Wonderful solidarity was displayed in these strikes, the workers, time after time, literally dividing their last crust with one another, and the farmers killing the last calf they had in the woods to feed the strikers. The Brotherhood is dispersed,

but its spirit still lives and a greater and more powerful union will in the end rise from the ashes of the old.

In the spring of 1912 a strike broke out in the sawmills of Aberdeen, Hoquiam, and Raymond, Washington, against the ten-hour day and the low wages. The demands were for an eight-hour day with a minimum wage of $2.50. A small percentage of the mill workers were members of the I. W. W. and these played a leading part in the strike. Many of the loggers of Western Washington struck in sympathy, and for some weeks a bitter struggle was waged. This strike was characterized by the usual lawless violence of the Lumber Trust. Many strikers were jailed on trumped-up charges. Others were dragged from their beds at night, murderously assaulted, and deported in automobiles. The strike lasted about five weeks and was partly successful. An increase in wages of about fifty cents a day was gained in the mills. The loggers gained the same wage increase and forced the companies to furnish springs and mattresses and clean up the camps.

In 1913 there were a number of other strikes in the lumber industry. Early in the spring a strike started in the Coos Bay Country, Oregon. There was also a strike in Montana, principally effective around Missoula, caused by an attempt to force a return to ten-hour day. In Western Washington there was a partial strike of loggers. In Minnesota many sawmill workers struck. Some gains were made by these strikes. In Montana a return to the ten-hour day was prevented. In other places some wage increases were gained, and food and camp conditions improved.

These strikes taught the workers something of the power of organization. The greed and brutality of the Lumber Trust showed the necessity for united action. Experience with the A. F. of L. demonstrated the futility of craft union scabbery, and showed its labor fakers in their true colors as traitors to the workers. It was plainly evident that only One Big Union could successfully lock horns with the Lumber Trust. The I. W. W. maintained lumber workers' locals in the principal cities of the Northwest, and carried on its propaganda by holding meetings and distributing literature. Slowly but surely the One Big Union idea took hold in the minds of the workers of camp and mill. In 1916 a strong drive was made to organize the lumber workers of the Northwest. It met with immediate success, and by the spring of 1917 thousands of lumber workers were lined up in the I. W. W.

In March, 1917, Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500 (now 120) was launched, with a membership of about ten thousand. A strike was voted for the summer, and demands were drawn up, principal of which was the eight-hour day. In June the strike started and quickly spread to all parts of Eastern Washington, Idaho and Montana. Three weeks later it spread to Western Washington. Some of the sawmill crews joined in the general walkout. In a few weeks practically every sawmill in Washington, Idaho and Montana had to shut down for want

of logs. Strike camps were formed and a system of pickets was organized to cover the whole strike zone. Owing to the extent of the strike, the great number of men involved, and the vigilance of the pickets the most strenuous efforts of the companies were unavailing to recruit enough scabs even to make a show of keeping up production.

Never before had the lumber barons been confronted by such a situation. They were at a loss how to meet it. Their fury knew no bounds; but it was impotent fury. Every method formerly successful in breaking strikes was tried and failed. Thugs and gunmen infested all the camps and lost no opportunity to harass and annoy the strikers. Spies and stools attempted to cause dissension and disruption within the ranks. Police and sheriffs jailed strikers by the hundred. The press carried on a daily campaign of lies, slander and abuse. The editorial prostitutes worked overtime concocting stories calculated to deceive and discourage the strikers. It was constantly reported that the strike was broken and that the strikers were returning to work. Stories were printed that the strike was instigated by German agents and financed by German gold to obstruct the United States in the war. Mob law was stirred up, union halls were raided and furniture and supplies destroyed. In some places strikers were beaten up and run out of town. In Troy, Montana, a striker was burned to death in jail.

But in spite of all this violence, persecution and abuse, the men stuck to the picket lines. When pickets were arrested others took their places. Jails held no terrors for the striking lumberjacks, for jails could be no worse than the camps they had left. The vindictive ferocity of the Lumber Trust was met by stiff-necked, sullen resistance on the part of the strikers and a bitter labor war was the result.

The Lumber Trust governor of Idaho made a tour of all the strike camps in that state, appealing to the patriotism of the strikers and trying to convince them that it was their duty to work for the industrial kaisers of the Lumber Trust at starvation wages and under inhuman conditions in order to expedite the war against the political autocracy of the German kaiser. The logic of this reasoning did not impress the strikers very deeply for it was well known that the lumber barons' hypocritical pretensions of patriotism were only a cloak to cover their own crimes. They had fastened themselves like leeches at the throat of the government and were profiteering on a scale before unheard of.

But brute force and not logic is what the Lumber Trust has always relied on to hold its employes in subjection. As soon as the governor had taken his departure the sheriff and his deputies would raid the camp and arrest the most active of the strikers. All over the strike district hundreds of men were lying in the filthy jails and every day added to the number of arrests. When the jails would hold no more, "bull-pens" were built at several points and these were filled with strikers and guarded by armed

thugs. To enumerate all the instances of violence and lawlessness practiced on unarmed strikers by Lumber Trust gunmen and subservient officers of the law would fill volumes. But all this hounding, persecuting, beating and jailing could not break the strike or crush the spirit of the strikers. Logs can not be got out with clubs and guns. The lumber industry remained paralyzed.

But as the strike progressed it became increasingly evident that, notwithstanding the solidarity and determination of the strikers, the tactics employed were bound to end in failure. The fallacy of long strikes off the job had been demonstrated many times in other industries. It was impossible to raise sufficient funds to support the strike indefinitely. By staying away from the job they left it open to scabs, and it would only be a matter of time before the companies would recruit enough of these degenerates to run the camps again. With the most active strikers in jail and starvation staring the rest in the face, every day made it harder to maintain a solid front. The longer the strike lasted the blacker the outlook became for the strikers and inevitable failure and defeat faced them in the end.

On the other hand, by transferring the strike to the job, and using the tactics long advocated by the I. W. W., the situation would be reversed and failure would be impossible. Many of the strikers had been opposed to a long-drawn-out strike from the start, and had advocated an early return to the job and the use of the job strike. They pointed out that the object of a strike is to reduce the profits of the boss, and that this can be done just as effectively and with far less effort by the use of job tactics. Poor work for poor pay is the quickest and easiest way to bring the parasites to time. With the job strike, instead of starving on the picket line, the strikers would be eating three squares a day at the expense of the boss and drawing their pay besides. These tactics would eliminate the scabs, for if any were on the job when the strikers returned they would undoubtedly find it unpleasant to make a long stay. After considerable discussion it was decided to use the job strike.

About the middle of September the movement back to the job started. The strikers' return was hailed by the press as a victory for the Lumber Trust. Far from being such, it was only the beginning of a new and far more effective form of strike. The tactics employed to break the strike, instead of discouraging the strikers, had only aroused their fighting spirit. Their minds were freed from any illusions they may have had about the "identity of interests" between labor and capital, "constitutional rights," "equality before the law" and all similar high-sounding but meaningless bunk. They were smarting under a burning sense of injustice. The mask of hypocrisy had been torn off and press, courts, legislatures, officers of the law, and politicians were plainly shown to be nothing but the tools of big business. They had learned from experience that a workingman has no rights under capitalism except such as his organized power can maintain.

When the strikers returned to the job, instead of doing a day's work as formerly they would "hoosier up," that is, work like "greenhorns" who had never seen the woods before. Perhaps they would refuse to work more than eight hours, or perhaps they would stay on the job ten hours for a few days, killing time. When they had a few days' pay earned they would agree to quit at the end of eight hours. At four o'clock, the prearranged signal being given, all would quit and go to camp. The usual result was that the whole crew would be fired. In a few days the boss would get a new crew and they would use the same tactics. In the meantime the first crew was repeating the performance in other camps. When a boss had a crew he got practically no work out of them, and what little he did get was done in a way that was the reverse of profitable. With a little practice the job strikers became experts in inefficiency. A foreman always thought he had the worst crew in the world until he got the next. The only men doing any real work were the cooks and flunkeys who were kept on the jump trying to satisfy the sharpened appetites of the strikers.

In most camps the job strike was varied at times by the intermittent strike, the men walking off the job without notice and going to work in other camps. This added to the confusion of the bosses as they never knew what to expect. Never before had these tactics been used on such an extensive scale in the United States. The companies could not meet them. All over the Northwest the lumber industry was in a state of disorganization and confusion. There was no hope of breaking this kind of strike by starvation; much against their will the companies were forced to run the commissary department of the strike. It was no longer necessary to call on the working class to contribute their hard-earned dollars. Job strikes are not financed by the workers but by the companies against which they are directed.

With the strikers on the picket line the "authorities" could arrest and jail them. But the job strikers were practically safe from arrest, for it was impossible to arrest them all, and there was no way of telling which were the most active. In a few cases men thought to be the leading spirits were arrested in the camps, but this only added fuel to the flames of discontent and resentment, and its effect on the production of logs was anything but encouraging to the companies.

It might be supposed that under these circumstances the companies would resort to a general lockout; but they were unable to do this, as there was an active demand for lumber at the time and their reserve supply was exhausted, owing to the long strike off the job.

This state of affairs lasted all winter. If the lumber barons had any hopes the men would tire of the job strike they were doomed to disappointment, for these tactics can be used for an indefinite length of time.

Shortly after the strike was transferred to the job the government placed Colonel Disque, with headquarters in Portland,

in charge of the production of spruce which was needed in large quantities for the manufacture of airplanes. Altho spruce production was little affected by the strike, the lumber companies purposely held it back to discredit the strikers and make it appear they were striking against the government, and to force the government to aid in breaking the strike.

With the object of breaking up and displacing the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, Colonel Disque started the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen. This organization was simply a strike-breaking tool for the plunder patriots and its "loyalty" was only a cloak for scabbery.

Colonel Disque put soldiers to work in the camps, ostensibly to aid in spruce production; but as soldiers were placed in many camps where not a stick of spruce was produced, it is evident the real object was to break the strike, and to further the profiteering schemes of favored lumber companies by supplying them with cheap labor. The companies took advantage of the position of these soldiers to exploit them to the limit. They paid them practically no wages, and kept them in a state of chronic starvation, the food being unfit to eat. If they rebelled it was mutiny. Naturally they used the only available weapon—the slow-down system.

Colonel Disque and the lumber barons finally began to realize they were up against a method of fighting in which they were hopelessly outclassed. Every method formerly successful in breaking strikes had been tried and failed. There remained only one thing to do—concede the eight-hour day. March 1, 1918, after official announcement by Colonel Disque on behalf of the lumber barons, the eight-hour day was recognized in the lumber industry of the Northwest.

This was one of the most successful strikes in the history of the labor movement. The efficacy of the tactics used is further emphasized by the fact that it was directed against one of the most powerful combinations of capital in the world. Two hours had been cut from the work day. Wages had been raised. Bath houses, wash houses and drying rooms had been installed. The companies were forced to furnish bedding. Old-fashioned, insanitary bunk-houses were displaced by small, clean, well-lighted and ventilated ones. Instead of bunks filled with dirty hay, beds, clean mattresses, blankets, sheets and pillows changed weekly were furnished. The food was improved a hundred per cent. In short, practically all demands were won.

The lumber barons claimed they had granted these concessions "voluntarily" "for patriotic reasons." In reality, they had granted nothing. All they had done was to bow to the inevitable, and officially recognize the eight-hour day after the lumber workers had taken it by direct action. The L. L. L. L. also claimed credit for the victory. This was the joke of the season. A skunk might as well claim credit for the perfume of a flower garden, after having failed to pollute it. At the present writing there is scarcely a trace left of the L. L. L. L. The last feeble

squeal heard from this conglomeration of boss-lovers was when they went on record in Portland as favoring a reduction of wages.

Soon after the 1917 strike the piece-work or "gyppo" system was introduced. This proved very injurious to unionism. In October, 1919, a strike started at Fernwood, Idaho, caused by a raise of twenty-five cents a day in the price of board and a charge of one dollar a week for blankets. This strike slowly spread over the short log country of Eastern Washington, Idaho and Western Montana. At this time there were many piece workers and most of these failed to join the strike. Consequently the tie-up was not complete and the strike was a failure. After this strike most of the active union men were refused work or were allowed only to work by the piece. This caused a great increase in gyppoing. Piece-work and organization do not mix. Wherever the gyppo system gets a foothold union activity falls off.

ANOTHER A. F. OF L. FIASCO

In the summer of 1920 the sawmill workers of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan went on strike for the eight-hour day. A considerable percentage were members of the International Timber Workers' Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L. Most were induced to join by false promises of financial support, and misleading statements by officials

The I. W. W. loyally supported the strike and worked for its success in every way possible. After having been on strike nearly two months the I. T. U. members were ordered back to work by their officials, and returned to the sawmills having gained absolutely nothing.

At the present time the outlook in the lumber industry is good. It has been proved beyond all question what can be accomplished by the right kind of organization, and the sentiment for industrial unionism is steadily growing. The principal obstacle is the gyppo or piece-work system. This has proved to be the most dangerous and insidious scheme ever introduced to break strikes and destroy unionism. Its effect is to make a man a capitalistic-minded scissorbill and cause him to lose interest in the union.

However, there is no occasion for discouragement. Gyppoing is only one of the obstacles that must be met and overcome. Like most of the evils that afflict the human race, it has its roots in ignorance. There is every reason to believe that, with the right kind of education and the organization taking a consistent stand, this form of scabbery can be abolished.

CHAPTER 11.

HOW THE WORKERS CAN MANAGE INDUSTRY.

THE objection is sometimes raised to the I. W. W. program of industrial democracy, that industry could not run unless financed by capitalists, and that without bosses to employ them workers could not exist. These objectors do not understand the difference between capital and capitalists. Capital means "stored up labor power," or "wealth that is used to produce more wealth." Wealth is "nature's material adapted by labor to suit the needs of man." The machinery of production, such as sawmills, steel plants, factories, mining machinery, railroads, is capital. The money used to buy raw material and to pay wages is also capital. The former is known as fixed capital and the latter as circulating capital. Capital is necessary to carry on production. If all capital were destroyed, industry would stop. The great majority in civilized countries would die from cold and hunger. The few survivors would eke out a precarious existence by the crude and primitive methods of the prehistoric savage. The race would slowly and laboriously have to rebuild civilization, a task which would probably take centuries.

Labor is the creator of capital, and existed before capital; but without capital, labor could produce only on a very limited scale. On the other hand, capital without labor could produce nothing. The I. W. W. does not propose to abolish capital. What it does propose is to abolish capitalists. A capitalist is one who owns capital and lives off profits produced by workers. Capital is necessary to society; but the private ownership of capital is not necessary; on the contrary, it is responsible for most of the evils from which society suffers today. If all capitalists were to pass out of existence industry would go on as usual, for it is run entirely by workers. With a system of industrial democracy capital will still exist but it will be owned and controlled by the useful members of society instead of by a parasite class.

Each job will be run by the workers as at present. But instead of being controlled by a foreman representing capitalists, it will be controlled by a foreman elected by and responsible to the workers, and subject to removal at any time he fails to function properly. Everyone familiar with industry knows that on the average job there are men just as capable as the foreman, and usually much more so. As a rule foremen do not get their jobs on account of superior ability as workmen, but because of their willingness to do the dirty work of the capitalists and to put the interest of their employers before that of their fellow workers. The workers will elect the most efficient man as fore-

man and will back him up with their full co-operation, for it will be to their interest to have the job run so as to produce the maximum of results with the minimum of efforts. Under capitalism the interests of the workers and employers are diametrically opposed. It is to the interest of the workers to do as little as possible. They do not care whether the job is run efficiently or not so long as they get their wages. Much is said and written about efficiency, but the profit system, by causing conflicting interests on every job, makes real efficiency impossible. With industrial democracy the interests of all will be identical and harmonious co-operation will result. Peace, prosperity and efficiency will take the place of the present system of graft, robbery, incompetence and fraud.

Under capitalism, control of camps and sawmills is centralized thru foremen, superintendents, general managers, boards of directors, and lumbermen's associations until it culminates in the Lumber Trust. Under a system of industrial democracy, control of the lumber industry, instead of centering in the hands of parasites and their tools, will center in workers' committees culminating in the general executive committee of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union. The industrial unions of workers will have played their part in overthrowing capitalism and will have taken on their new functions of carrying on industry.

With the abolition of the profit system, management of all industries will be greatly simplified. Under capitalism a vast amount of energy is wasted in disposing of the finished product. Even in trustified industries there is still considerable competition. The sales department is an indispensable part of every company. High salaried salesmen are employed and much money is spent for advertising. With industrial democracy all this waste will be eliminated. Systematic production and distribution will displace the haphazard methods of capitalism.

In order that the industry may be run more easily and efficiently, it is probable that the country will be divided into several lumber districts corresponding to the different lumber regions.

Control of each district will center in a district executive committee, which will be elected by a vote of all lumber workers in the district. The district committees will be responsible to the rank and file and can be removed at any time by referendum vote. Running the industry by districts instead of by companies will eliminate a vast amount of inefficiency and waste. Expenses of accounting will be greatly reduced. Instead of a separate accounting system for each of the many companies in a district, one will suffice for the whole district. Under capitalism it often happens that when a mill runs out of logs it shuts down, altho there may be others within a short distance, belonging to different companies, with more logs than they can use. Under industrial democracy no mills will run short, for logs will be distributed to the best advantage among all mills in the district. The district executive committeee will know how much lumber

and forest products of all kinds are produced in each camp and mill. They will know how much is needed in all other industries in the district; and it will be their business to see that the local demand is supplied as far as timber resources of the district permit.

The function of the general executive committee of the industrial union will be to exercise a general supervision over the industry as a whole. They will keep track of production of lumber and all forest products, and the demand for these from other industries. They will know how much is produced and consumed in each district. Orders from districts where demand is greater than supply will be placed to the best advantage among other districts. The G. E. C. will probably be divided into several departments, such as the Bureau of Production, Bureau of Distribution, Bureau of Forestry, Bureau of Statistics, Bureau in charge of the Forest Products Laboratory, etc. Methods used in different parts of the world, for logging and manufacturing lumber and by-products of all kinds, will be studied and the most efficient and economical adopted. Working methods will be judged from the viewpoint of the best possible service consistent with the safety and welfare of the lumber workers and the conservation of the timberlands. Dangerous and wasteful methods will be discarded.

Expert timber cruisers will ascertain the amount of standing timber in all parts of the country, and means will be devised to use it to the best advantage. Scientific re-forestation will be carried on with a view to making each district supply as much as possible of its own demand. Logged-off lands near the great centers of population, which are not put to any other economic use, will be re-forested so as to supply the demand with the minimum of transportation. Skilled foresters will determine the species best suited to soil and climate of different sections. Forest product laboratories will ascertain what woods are best suited to different uses, and how by-products can be used to the best advantage.

Destruction of forests by fire and insects will be reduced to a minimum. The natural resources of the country will belong to all the workers and it will be to the interest of all to prevent destruction of their own property. There will be no timber thieves to start fires to drive homesteaders off the land, to put rivals out of business or to secure logging permits on government reserves. The present fire prevention system will be improved and extended. Airplanes, wireless telegraphy, the telegraph, telephone and all the most efficient and modern devices for detecting, reporting, and fighting fire will be used.

With the waste and destruction of capitalism eliminated, it is probable that two or three hours of work a day will be sufficient to supply the needs of society. With short hours and improved methods of transportation, it will no longer be necessary for loggers to live in camps. In thinly settled forest regions, villages can be built, ten or twenty miles apart. Passenger trains

can be run into the woods to take the loggers to and from work. If any prefer to live in camp they will be perfectly free to do so, and camps will be built and run for the health and comfort of the workers. But any man who so desires will be free to have a home of his own.

All industries are interdependent. One cannot run without all others. Therefore control of all industries must be centralized. There must be a means by which the workers in each industry are kept in touch with those in all other industries. To this end all industrial unions are brought together under the head of the One Big Union of all the workers. At the General Convention of this One Big Union, the delegates from all industrials unions meet on a common ground. Each delegate is instructed by the rank and file of the union he represents. They compare notes, interchange ideas, adjust differences and settle disputes between the different industrial unions; they devise ways and means and lay plans by which they can co-operate to the best advantage to run industry as a whole. The general convention is the legislative body of the One Big Union. But all legislation passed must be ratified by referendum vote of the rank and file. The general executive board is the executive body. This is composed of representatives from each industrial union. The function of the G. E. B. is to exercise general supervision over the affairs of all industries between conventions, and to see that all legislation passed at the convention is carried out. It is not to be supposed that the G. E. B. is endowed with autocratic powers or can dictate to the industrial unions. It is simply a committee to carry out the will of the rank and file as expressed by referendum. Its members can be removed at any time by referendum vote of the membership. Each industrial union will run its own affairs without interference from the G. E. B. so long as it lives up to the constitution of the One Big Union. The G. E. B. will only act in case of disputes between industrial unions or violation of the constitution. It will bear the same relation to industry as a whole as the general executive committee bears to an industrial union.

GOVERNMENT.

The objection is often made to the I. W. W. that it does not believe in government. This is a mistake. The I. W. W. believes in the most efficient form of government possible. Some revolutionists object to the word government on the ground that it implies a governing class and a class that is governed. The word government is used here in the sense of self-government, or administration of their own affairs by the workers. Carrying on industry is the most important of all human activities. for without the industries civilized society could not exist. Therefore the most important function of government is to see that industry is carried on in such a way that the greatest possible benefit to all the people will result. To be efficient, a government must be con-

stituted on the basis of industrial, instead of local representation, for only those who work in and understand the industries, are competent to legislate concerning them. It is true that under industrial democracy none but workers could be elected. But if these workers were elected on the basis of geographic division without regard to the industries in which they worked, it would be impossible to secure a balanced representation from all industries. Too many would be elected from some industries; others would not be represented at all. All industries work together to carry on production, so all industries must be represented in legislation concerning production.

The job is the unit of production, therefore the job branch must be the unit of government. On all matters concerning that job alone, the job branch will have all full power to legislate. Matterns concerning the members of one industrial union in one district alone will be handled by the district council of that industrial union. In cities and districts there will be general industrial district councils composed of delegates representing all job branches of all industrial unions in the district. Their function will be to deal with matters that concern the members of all industrial unions in that district alone. Matters that concern all the members of an industrial union will be legislated on by the general convention of that industrial union. Legislation concerning all industrial unions, or society as a whole, will be passed by the general convention of the One Big Union of all workers. The present government of the United States is a government by the big capitalists who control industry. Regardless of whatever theoretical forms of government may exist it is inevitable that those who control industry will be the real government because, by-controlling industry, they control the source of all human power. Under industrial democracy the government will be of the workers, by the workers, and for the workers. It will also be a government by those who control industry, for the workers will control industry. That is the only system under which a genuine democratic government is possible. The following is a rough parallel between the present capitalist government and that of the future industrial democracy. A small job corresponds to a town or village, a large plant to a city, and its different shops to the city wards. The job branch meeting corresponds to the town meeting, the job committee to the board of aldermen, and its chairman to the mayor. The industrial union corresponds to the State, the industrial union convention to the State legislature, and the chairman of the general executive committee to the governor. The One Big Union of all workers corresponds to the nation, the General Executive Board to the cabinet and and its chairman to the president. An international convention composed of delegates representing workers' unions of different countries would correspond to the capitalist League of Nations.

THE MONEY QUESTION.

When Industrial democracy is firmly established there will be no need of money. With the waste of capitalism abolished, and with the improvement of machinery, the material necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter and fuel—will be produced in such great abundance that they will be as plentiful as water. Every worker will take what he needs, just as everyone drinks enough water to satisfy his thirst. In all cities, towns, villages, and at convenient places in the rural districts there will be store-houses filled with everything necessary to supply man's material wants. With improved systems of communciation and distribution a telephone call will bring whatever is needed. Proof that a worker is doing his share in production will entitle him to what he needs. This will be a simple matter. No complicated system of accounting will be necessary. For instance, each worker might have a due book. Every day he worked, a stamp could be affixed. By simply showing a paid-up card, he could take what he needed. The old, the immature, and the sick will not be required to work. If a healthy man of working age refuses to work he will starve. There will be no incentive to take more than is needed. A man might use two or three suits of clothes, but more would only be an incumbrance. He could not sell them, for no one would buy when clothes could be obtained free at the public store-house. Some will take more than others, for the needs of all are not alike. A man with a large family requires more than a single man. Some drink more than others at public drinking fountains, but no one objects, for there is enough for all. Greed for gain is a mental disease caused by the insecurity of capitalism. In a free society it will soon disappear.

Many things now considered luxuries will be in common use. There is no reason why every worker could not have an automobile if he so desired. Such luxuries as only satisfy a perverted passion for vulgar display will be no longer produced. Public buildings will embody the highest skill of architects and mechanics, but such things as million dollar mansions for private individuals will be unknown. Idleness and extravagance, today looked up to as marks of distinction, will be frowned on as evidence of degeneracy. Such things as cannot be within reach of all who want them will not be produced for private use. If a man wanted a house with fifty rooms he could not have it. But no sane man would want such a house, for no man could use fifty rooms. At the convention of the One Big Union—the legislative body of society, which will probably be in session the greater part of the time—it will be decided how many hours a day and how many days a year it will be necessary to work. When a worker puts in the required number of days he will be free to do as he pleases the rest of the time. If a worker desires a long vacation he can pay his card up ahead by working extra shifts. If he wants to travel, he will not have to ride the rods or take a tie pass; a paid-up card will entitle him to transportation by boat, train or airplaine to any part of the world.

But how about visiting countries still under capitalism? There will be no such countries. The world is not big enough for capitalism and industrial democracy to exist at the same time. Between these two systems there is a fight to a finish. If one country alone established industrial democracy it would be crushed by the economic blockade. The different countries of the world are closely interlinked by industry and commerce. One is dependent one the other for coal, food, raw material, and manufactured products. Most countries would be confronted with a shut-down of industry and consequent starvation if isolated from the others. Italy would face a coal famine; England a food famine; Germany would run out of food and raw material. Russia is dependent on the outside world for locomotives, agricultural machinery and manufactured goods of many kinds. The Russian workers, helped by the economic power of the workers in other countries, have succeeded in fighting off the military power of the world capitalism; but economic pressure has forced them to compromise, and capitalism has been re-established in Russia. The forces that make for revolution are at work in all countries. There is every reason to believe that capitalism will soon receive its deathblow in some of the most powerful countries in the world. It will then be crushed in the remaining countries by internal revolution, backed by the economic power of the industrial democracies.

When the workers of all countries take over industry it is probable that national boundary lines will disappear. Armies will be disbanded and navies will go to the scrap pile. Under capitalism all wars are caused by competing groups of capitalists struggling for possession of foreign markets in which to dispose of the wealth plundered from the workers. Wages are only sufficient to buy back a fraction of the wealth produced. Consequently a surplus piles up, factories shut down, and we have panics, unemployment and wars. With the workers getting the full product of their labor no surplus will piled up for the benefit of parasites; there will be free interchange of products among all parts of the world, and all incentive to war will have disappeared.

In this chapter it has been the aim of the writer briefly to outline a practical plan by which industry can be run without capitalists, and to show that industrial democracy is not only possible but is the only logical and reasonable system. It is impossible to say how the future society will be run in all its details; but it is quite easy to show how everything can be done and to answer any objection that might be raised. The examples given are merely tentative. It is only attempted to give a general idea of how the workers can control industry and govern themselves; no doubt much better ways will be devised when the time comes.

CONCLUSION.

The object of this pamphlet is to impress on all lumber workers the necessity for job organization. The organized lumber workers are fighting the common enemy. Organized and unorganized alike are benefited by their struggle. No man worthy of the name wants to lie down while others fight his battles. The most valuable asset of the Lumber Trust is the ignorance, cowardice, indifference and inertia of the workers. These are what give the timber thieves their power and enable them to resist the militant minority. There is no neutral ground. A worker who will not do his share in the work of organization is, to all intents and purposes, a scab. True, he may never have actually worked as a strike-breaker, but if all workers failed to organize there never would be any strikes.

By industrial organization alone can the power of capitalism be broken and economic freedom gained. With "big business" the real government, the futility of political action is evident. The worthlessness of the ballot box has been proven many times in the past. So long as control of industry remains in the hands of the capitalists, armed insurrection is suicidal. The workers have no military organization, no arms nor the training to use them. The American "red army" would be slaughtered like sheep by the highly developed machinery of war in the hands of the capitalists and their tools. The power of the workers is neither political nor military, but industrial. By organizing industrially we strike at the very root of capitalist power—control of industry.

Organization implies action. Every man must do his part. There is a vast difference between an organized body of men and a herd of deadheads with cards in their suitcases. Let no one imagine he is keeping up his end by simply taking out a card and paying his dues, or that by paying dues he is hiring someone to do his fighting for him. To get those things that make life worth living some effort is necessary. Intelligent, organized effort alone can win. To get concerted action, meetings must be held on the job. There is nothing to lose and everything to gain. Far better not to live at all than to crawl tnru life as a meek, humble, servile and submissive work animal, whose only ambition is to sell his labor power for a lousy bunk and rotten, adulterated food. Let every man demonstrate his fitness to survive by doing his part in the fight for INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

"Life is strife for every man,
For every son of thunder.
Then be a lion, not a lamb,
And don't be trampled under."

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

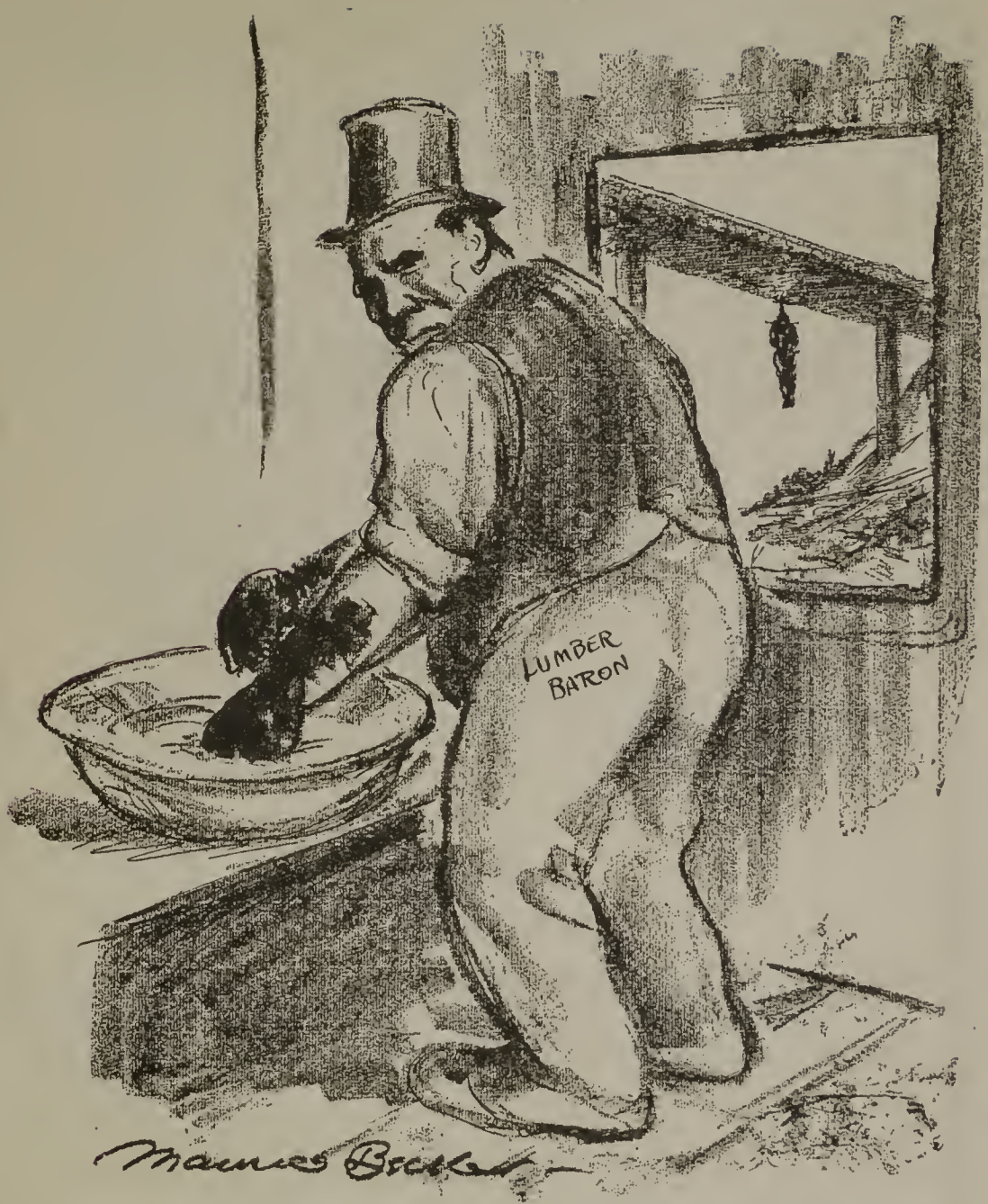
We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.





The Lumber Barons are fat with profits and their hands are smeared with the blood of workers.

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The I. W. W. has excercised its strongest hold in those Industries and communities where employers have most resisted the trade union movement, and where some form of protest against unjust treatment was inevitable."

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THE I. W. W.

Excerpts from Court Records, Reports of Government Investigators and Noted Economists:

"When the British Labor Party asks for representative government in industry, those who do not ignore the request give it serious attention. When the I. W. W. echoes the sentiment in the phrase, 'Let the workers run the industry,' the editors are thrown into a panic, the business world views the I. W. W. menace with aggravated alarm, and the more reactionary employers hysterically clamor to have these criminal anarchists shot at sunrise."—Paul F. Brissenden.

Paul F. Brissenden, Ph.D., a graduate of the University of California, a former special agent of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, and at present a member of the Department of Labor, at Washington, D. C., is the author of a book which is just off the press. This book, entitled "The I. W. W., a Study of American Syndicalism," contains over 400 pages and is edited by the faculty of political science of the Columbia University. In the introduction to this book, we find the following:

"The current picture is of a motley horde of hoboes and unskilled laborers who will not work and whose philosophy is simply of sabotage and the violent overthrow of 'capitalism' and whose actions conform to that philosophy. This appears to be about what the more reactionary business interests would like to have the people believe about the Industrial Workers of the World. If, and to the extent that these reactionary employing interests can induce the public not only to believe this about the I. W. W., but also to believe that this picture applies

as well to all labor organizations, they will to this extent ally the public with them and against labor.

"The negative or destructive items in the I. W. W. program are deliberately misconstrued and are then stretched out and made to constitute the whole of I. W. W.ism. In reality they are only a minor part of the creed. There are immense possibilities of a constructive sort in the theoretic basis of the I. W. W., but the press has done its best to prevent the public from knowing it. . . . The Wobblies would have 'capitalism' (the monarchic and oligarchic control of industry) supplanted by economic democracy just as political despotism has been supplanted by political democracy in nearly all civilized states. When the British Labor Party asks for representative government in industry, those who do not ignore the request give it serious attention. When the I. W. W. echoes the sentiment in the phrase, 'Let the workers run the industry,' the editors are thrown into a panic, the business world views the I. W. W. menace with aggravated alarm, and the more reactionary employers hysterically clamor to have these criminal anarchists shot at sunrise."

The President's Mediation Commission, appointed by the President in the fall of 1917 to effect settlements of labor disputes and unrest in the West, submitted its report to the President on January 9th, 1918. The members of the commission were William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, chairman; Felix Frankfurter, Secretary and Counsel; Ernest P. Marsh, Verner Z. Reed, Jackson L. Spangler and John H. Walker.

THE VERDICT OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEDIATION COMMISSION

The commission, whose inquiry was chiefly concerned with strikes and unrest in western countries, in which the I. W. W. was a conspicuous factor, concluded:

(8) It is, then, to uncorrected specific evils and the absence of a healthy spirit between capital and labor, due partly to these evils and partly to an unsound industrial structure, that we must attribute industrial difficulties which we have experienced during the war. Sinister influences and extremist doctrine may have availed themselves of these conditions; they certainly have not created them.

(9) In fact, the overwhelming mass of the laboring population is in no sense disloyal. . . . With the exception of the sacrifices of the men in the armed service, the greatest sacrifices have come from those at the lower rung of the industrial ladder. Wage increase responds last to the needs of this class of labor, and their meager returns are hardly adequate, in view of the increased cost of living, to maintain even their meager standard of life. It is upon them the war pressure has borne most severely. Labor at heart is as devoted to the purposes of the government in the prosecution of this war as any other part of society. If labor's enthusiasm is less vocal, and its feelings here and there tepid, we will find the explanation in some of the conditions of the industrial environment in which labor is placed and which in many instances is its nearest contact with the activities of the war.

(a) Too often there is a glaring inconsistency between our democratic purposes in this war abroad and the autocratic conduct of some of those guiding industry at home. This inconsistency is emphasized by such episodes as the Bisbee deportations.

(b) Personal bitterness and more intense industrial strife inevitably result when the claim of loyalty is falsely resorted to by employers and their sympathizers as a means of defeating sincere claims for social justice, even though such claims be asserted in time of war.

(c) So long as profiteering is not comprehensively prevented to the full extent that governmental action can prevent it, just so long will a sense of in-

equality disturb the fullest devotion of labor's contribution to the war.

Says the President's Commission of the practical application of the I. W. W. theory of sabotage:

"Membership in the I. W. W. by no means implies belief in or understanding of its philosophy. To a majority of the members it is a bond of growing fellowship. According to the estimates of conservative students of the phenomenon a very small percentage of the I. W. W. are really understanding followers of subversive doctrine. The I. W. W. is seeking results by dramatizing evils and by romantic promises of relief. The hold of the I. W. W. is riveted instead of weakened by unimaginative opposition on the part of employers to the correction of real grievances —an opposition based upon academic fear that granting just demands will lead to unjust demands. The greatest difficulty in the industry is the tenacity of old habits of individualism. The co-operative spirit is only just beginning."

6. Repressive dealing with manifestations of labor unrest is the source of much bitterness, turns radical labor leaders into martyrs and thus increases their following, and, worst of all, in the minds of the workers tends to implicate the government as a partisan in an economic conflict. The problem is a delicate and difficult one. There is no doubt, however, that the Bisbee and Jerome deportations, the Everett incident, the Little hanging, and similar acts of violence against workers have had a very harmful effect upon labor both in the United States and in some of the allied countries. Such incidents are attempts to deal with symptoms rather than causes. The I. W. W. has exercised its strongest hold in those industries and communities where employers have most resisted the trade union movement and where some form of protest against unjust treatment was inevitable.

THE REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The report of the Secretary of Labor (Fifth Annual, 1917), sets forth the record of labor disputes in the period between the declaration of war (April 6) and October 25, 1917. The report states that "the number of labor disputes calling for government mediation increased suddenly and enormously with the beginning of the war."

An examination of the record of the 521 disputes handled by the department in the war period to October 25 (281 strikes, 212 controversies, and 28 lockouts), shows that **only three out of the total of 521 involved the I. W. W. in any way** (copper miners, Arizona, mine workers, Butte, Montana, and shipyard workers, Washington. In both the mine workers' strikes an A. F. of L. union was involved besides —the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union). **All the others occurred in industries either unorganized, or organized in unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. or the so-called "conservative" international unions.** (Fifth Annual Report, Secretary of Labor, pp. 41-49, 60.)

A comparison of the reports of the Department of Labor also shows a larger proportion of labor controversies involving the I. W. W. in the years preceding our entry into the war than in the six months following it. The I. W. W. were comparatively quiet during that period.—Editors.

"PLAYING WITH DYNAMITE"

(Editorial in the "Public," Nov. 16, 1917)

"Professional detectives and well meaning assistant prosecutors of the Department of Justice should not be given a free hand in handling the I. W. W. situation. There is evidence that they are as ignorant of American sociology as were the advisers of Louis XVI of French sociology. And they are aided and abetted in their ignorance by an equally ignorant press, so that nothing but approving comment follows the most stupid and dangerous tactics.

"The situation in this country with respect to unskilled and unorganized labor is full of dynamite. Every trade union leader knows it. The President knows it. It is the dynamite engendered by the existence of a large class conscious of injustice, burning with resentment, and wholly without organization through which to express itself. The I. W. W. does not represent it in any authorized way. But it comes nearer being its spokesman than any other organization. Members of the I. W. W. or men who have been profoundly influenced by their propaganda may be found in every unorganized labor force in the country. The I. W. W. is not an organization so much as it is a spirit and a vocabulary. And because no strike or audible protest follows the various assaults on I. W. W. leaders, let us not be too sure that their influence is negligible, that the department's policy and that of the mobs that get encouragement from this policy is not breeding a slow, dangerous, smoldering resentment.

"An instant retaliation would be far less dangerous, much easier to handle, than a spirit that may at some critical juncture in the future flare out in a strike of steel workers or slaughterhouse workers or miners or oil refiners. No one knows about this. Perhaps the government can imprison or mobs horsewhip every laborer in the country who sympathizes with the I. W. W., and our unorganized, unskilled, exploited wage earners will take it lying down. Perhaps they will not. But the situation should not be handled by men who have never read, let alone pondered, the government reports that show that hardly more than half of the male adult wage earners in the United States earn enough in a year to support a family in decency and comfort. The I. W. W. leaders now in jail know these reports by heart.

"The real crime of Haywood and most of the rest was the conducting of an aggressive propaganda and strike program on behalf of the laborers who are interested solely in obtaining better conditions of life

and labor. But that feeling has been manipulated and organized by men whose economic interests, whose right to exploit their fellows without let or hindrance, have been interfered with, and properly, by I. W. W. agitation. In so far as the I. W. W. stand as spokesmen and representatives of the most exploited class of American labor, they must be handled by men who are something more than outraged patriots, with a patriotism that coincides with a belief in their right to exploit others. No one knows to what degree they do stand, and least of all the detectives and prosecutors of the Department of Justice. These assume too readily that they can dispose of the whole problem by putting a few men in jail.

"But to assault the I. W. W. as a whole is to assault the only spokesman and to suppress the only articulation possessed by a class of wage workers on which several or our most vital basic industries are utterly dependent—a class numbering many millions of men. . . . ."

Carlton H. Parker, of Seattle, Wash. As we go to press we learn of the death at Seattle of Prof. Parker, due in large part to overwork, not only in his administrative duties as dean of the School of Business Administration of the University of Washington, but also as special agent of the War Department in dealing with the I. W. W. situation in the lumber industry of the northwest. Prof. Parker in his earlier work in California and Washington, made a special study of labor problems.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE I. W. W.

By Carlton H. Parker

The I. W. W. is a symptom of a distressing industrial status. For the moment the relation of its activities to our war preparation has befogged its economic origins, but all purposeful thinking about even the I. W. W.'s attitude towards the war must begin with a full and careful consideration of these origins.

All the famous revolutionary movements of history gained their cause for being from some intimate and unendurable oppression and their behavior in revolt reflected the degree of their suffering. The chartist and early trade union riots in England, the revolution of 1789 in France, the Nihilists' killing in Russia, the bitter attacks on the railroads by the Grangers of the Northwest, the extremes into which the Anti-Saloon League propaganda has evolved, are a small part of the long revolt catalogue of which the I. W. W. is the last entry. Each one of these movements had its natural psycho-political antecedents and much of the new history is devoted to a careful describing and revaluation of them.

At some later and less hysterical date the I. W. W. phenomenon will be dispassionately dissected in somewhat the following way:

(1) There were in 1910 in the United States some 10,400,000 unskilled male workers. Of these some 3,500,000 moved, by discharge or quitting, so regularly from one work town to another that they could be called migratory labor. Because of this unstable migratory life this class of labor lost the conventional relationship to women and child life, lost its voting franchise, lost its habit of common comfort or dignity, and gradually became consciously a social class with fewer legal or social rights than are conventionally ascribed to Americans. The cost of this experience was aggravated by the ability and habituation of this migratory class to read about and appreciate the higher social and economic life enjoyed by the American middle class.

(2) The unskilled labor class itself experienced a life not markedly more satisfying than the migratories. One fourth of the adult fathers of their families earned less than $400 a year, one-half earned less than $600. The minimum cost of decent living for a family was approximately $800. Unemployment, destitutions and uncared-for sickness was a monotonous familiarity to them.

(3) The to-be-expected revolt against this social condition was conditioned and colored by the disillusionment touching justice and industrial democracy and the personal and intimate indignities and sufferings experienced by the migratories. The revolt organization of the migratories, called the I. W. W., failing most naturally to live up to the elevated legal and contract-respecting standards of the more comfortable trade union world, was visited by severe middle class censure and legal persecution.

This sketch is fairly complete and within current facts. No one doubts the full propriety of the government in suppressing ruthlessly any interference by the I. W. W. with the war preparation. All patriots should just as vehemently protest against the suppression of the normal economic protest-activities of the I. W. W. There will be neither permanent peace nor prosperity in our country till the revolt basis of the I. W. W. is removed. And until that is done the I. W. W. remains an unfortunately valuable symptom of a diseased industrialism.

PATRIOTISM AND THE I. W. W.

"A reasonable deduction from the industrial facts would be that the American labor class is not participating in the kind of patriotic fervor that is in vogue among the upper middle class. It is not sufficient to say that their wage demands occupy their attention. Coupled with this ancient interest is a set of traditional and complicating forces which determine the attitude of labor. The recital of the war profits in steel, in copper, in foods, in medicines, does not fall on an ordinarily receptive audience. It falls on the minds of a labor class with a long cherished background of suspicion."

And further, Prof. Parker quotes an I. W. W. on the lack of enthusiasm for the war—expressing a point of view not uncommon in the Northwest:

"You ask me why the I. W. W. is not patriotic to the United States. If you were a bum without a blanket; if you had left your wife and kids when you

went West for a job, and had never located them since; if your job never kept you long enough in one place to qualify you to vote; if you slept in a lousy, sour bunk house, and ate food just as rotten as they could give you and get by with it; if deputy sheriffs shot your cooking pans full of holes and spilled your grub on the ground; if your wages were lowered on you when the bosses thought they had you down; if there was one law for Ford, Suhr and Mooney and another for Harry Thaw; if every person who represented law and order and the nation beat you up, railroaded you to jail, and the good Christian people cheered and told them to go to it, how in hell do you expect a man to be patriotic? This war is a business man's war and we don't see why we should go out and get shot in order to save the lovely state of affairs that we now enjoy."

But contrast with this the attitude of the I. W. W. longshoremen in the East, a well paid, decently treated group of men, at least on the Philadelphia docks. The following statement by their local secretary has been verified by personal investigation:

"The members of the Marine Transport Workers (an I. W. W. organization) have been loading and unloading trans-atlantic steamers in the port of Philadelphia since May, 1913. There are about 3,000 men doing this work night and day and there has never been an accident since we have been organized.

"The American Line and the Atlantic Transport Line work is done by non-union labor, **with the exception of the powder work, which is done by our men. These lines are the only lines that have transported troops from here since the war.** This work consists of general cargo, powder, munitions of all kinds, and cattle. Never to my knowledge since this country entered the war has this organization obstructed the government in any way."

Members of this union are working now on practically all the Eastern docks and on board troop and munition ships, without the slightest question as to

their loyalty. In their hall at Philadelphia they have an honor list of Liberty Bond buyers with 162 names (March, 1918), and are collecting data for a service flag.—Editors.

"As an organization we have handled ore and munitions. The fact is that every pound of munitions in the Philadelphia Navy Yard is handled by members of this organzation, and munitions carried out of New York harbor are carried out by members of this organization. There is coming a day of accounting to place this organization in its true light before the public."—George F. Vanderveer, General Counsel for the I. W. W., statement in court, January, 1918.

Further light is thrown on the attitude of the I. W. W. to the war by the following paragraphs from a public statement issued by the Seattle branches of the organization:

"There are employers, great and small, who are taking advantage of present conditions to vent their animosity against the I. W. W. and other organizations of labor, and are disguising their brutality under the cloak of patriotism.

"The I. W. W. is a labor union. It has no hatred for the workers of any nationality, but it most distinctly is not pro-German. Thousands of I. W. W. members registered, were drafted and are now in the training camps; others proclaimed themselves to be conscientious objectors and are paying the penalty for having taken that stand; some did not register at all; this is the record of practically all organizations, religious, political and economic.

"I. W. W. speakers and the I. W. W. press have been careful to confine their efforts entirely to the work of education and organization along industrial lines, and any opinion expressed that is at variance with that policy is an individual matter.

The Charge of Pro-Germanism

After a considerable press campaign to identify

the I. W. W. and German propaganda, the newspapers carried last summer a semi-official denial in the form of statements from the Department of Justice.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Times sent the following despatch on July 16, carried on Tuesday, July 17, under these heads:

Doubt Teutons Paid Agitators of I. W. W.

Federal Agents Fail to Verify Rumor of German Financing of Western Strikes.

"Washington, July 16.—Reports that the activities of Industrial Workers of the World in the West recently had been financed by German gold have failed of substantiation after an exhaustive investigation by agents of the Department of Justice.

"Officials said today they believed that nearly all the German money in this country had been located, and that virtually none of it has been used in that way.

"Reports from various parts of the West today told of arrests of members of the I. W. W. under the President's alien enemy proclamation. It was said, however, that the percentage of German sympathizers found in the organization was believed to be no higher than that in many other organizations."

There is obviously a sincere effort to put the case right from the I. W. W. standpoint in this statement recently issued officially by an I. W. W. organization:

"To the Public, and Particularly to Working Men and Women:

"The I. W. W. wishes to warn society in general that, despite the lying statements in the capitalist press regarding this organization, society has nothing whatever to fear from the I. W. W. We wish you to understand that the I. W. W. has no intention of resorting to violence in any form in retaliation for the numerous outrages perpetrated on our members throughout the country.

"There is nothing destructive in the policies or tactics of the I. W. W.; in fact, our policy is to

elevate, not to tear down. The history of the labor movement will show that the I. W. W. has never used violence in their strikes or struggles for better conditions and more of the good things of life. The I. W. W. has been accused of every act of violence imaginable. Our members have been murdered, beaten, thrown in jail, subject to every abuse that the master class could hire thugs to do. And, always remember that the excuse for so doing was the crimes that the I. W. W. was supposed to be going to do, not for crimes or acts committed, but for crimes that the I. W. W. was supposed to do in the future. Tulsa, Okla., and Aberdeen, S. D., are good examples of the hysterical condition that society has been wrought up to by the lying statements and insidious rumors of the capitalists' tools and the press. Don't believe them."

Robert W. Bruere, of New York City, writer and lecturer. Mr. Bruere accompanied the President's Mediation Commission on its recent trip through the West to get first hand facts about the industrial situation. He went as special correspondent for the New York Evening Post, where his articles have been published under the head, "Following the Trail of the I. W. W." Mr. Bruere was a former teacher at the University of Chicago, and later executive of one of the largest agencies of charitable relief in New York. He was an advisor to the unions in the cloak and suit strike in New York City in 1916. The quotations are all from his recent articles in the New York Evening Post.

Robert Bruere quotes this significant statement made to him by lumber operators in Washington in the fall of 1917:

"In discussing the situation with me, certain large lumber operators said in effect: Every large labor organization like the I. W. W. in this state will draw to itself a certain small percentage, say 2 per cent, of irresponsible men. The proportion of such men aligned with the I. W. W. is about the same that we find in our own business organizations. But in war—

and a strike is war—anything is fair. We have fought the I. W. W. as we would have fought any attempt of the A. F. of L. unions to control the workers in our camps. And, of course, we have taken advantage of the general prejudice against them as an unpatriotic organization to beat their strike. To bring the charge of violence against the I. W. W. as an organization is not only wrong in the face of the facts, but it is unsound and short-sighted business policy. And as for the charge that they will not enter into time agreements, while it is true of them, it is equally true of us. We have been consistently opposed to collective agreements and we are opposed to the recognition of any labor organization now."—Robert Bruere.

John Graham Brooks, of Cambridge, Mass., economist, author and lecturer; former lecturer at Harvard, University of Chicago, and University of California; former expert for the United States Department of Labor; Honorary President of the National Consumers' League; author of "American Syndicalism, the I. W. W." (1913), "The Social Unrest" (1903), etc., etc.

What They Want

"The rebelling spirit of the I. W. W. is at least a wholesome disquieter of this sleep. If we add to this its own awakening appeal to the more unfavored labor in which its propaganda is carried on, we are merely recognizing forces that are useful until a wiser way is found to do their work. This we have not yet found, neither have we greatly and searchingly tried to find it. So many are our social inhumanities that the rudest upsetting will do us good if the shock of it forces us to do our duties.

"With much of the motive of the I. W. W. we may also sympathize. The goal at which they aim is one from which every parasitic and unfair privilege shall be cut out. I asked one of the best of them 'What ultimately do you want?' "I want a world," he said, "in which every man shall get exactly what he earns

and all he earns—a world in which no man can live on the labor of another."

"It is not conceivable that any radical person should deny the justice and reasonableness of that ideal. Every step toward it is a step nearer a decent and more self-respecting society."—John Graham Brooks.

"To associate the I. W. W. with a ruffian clutching a smoking bomb is a silliness that need not detain us. It is true that no revolutionary movement is without its criminals. They were ubiquitous in our War of the Revolution. The followed the wake of Garibaldi, and Mazzini was never free from them. They were among the English Charists, and never have been absent from Ireland's long struggle for self rule. The I. W. W. will not escape from this common destiny. It will attract to itself many extremely frail human creatures, but the movement as a whole is not to be condemned by these adherents or by the shabby device of using panicky terms like anarchist."—John Graham Brooks.

John A. Fitch, of New York City, industrial editor of the "Survey" since 1912, formerly connected with the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Are the I. W. W. Entitled to a Fair Trial?

"'Equality before the law' is a much quoted phrase supposed to sum up America's principles and practice. Is there a provision anywhere in our charter law allowing the police to suspend the rules in the case of 'agitators', 'disturbers', or 'anarchists'? Are there people in America whose beliefs and manner of living are so repugnant to popular ideals that they may be said to have no rights that any good citizen is bound to respect. If it is generally believed that a negative answer may unhesitatingly be given to these questions it is pertinent to consider a little recent history concerning that new and revolutionary organization, the I. W. W.

"Against this body are arrayed the forces of present day society. It is denounced by the press, thun-

dered at by the pulpit, and anathematized by the spokesmen of the business world.

"There is an opposition that thinks it sees in the philosophy underlying the movement not constructive change but class war and ruin, and so resists the organization's advance. But this resistance is by legitimate means, for if these people see peril in this new philosophy, they believe there is greater peril in setting aside the law to suit the convenience of those in authority.

"There is another opposition—and today it seems to be the larger and stronger—that regards the I. W. W. as a peril that must be resisted to the end. But this element, partly through ignorance, partly through the excitement of fear, and partly through a consciousness of illegitimately acquired possessions, is willing that the organization be repressed even illegally and with flagrant disregard of the constitutional rights of the individual."—John A. Fitch, in the "Survey."

Testimony of the peaceful character of the great I. W. W. strike is given in the following account of the Paterson silk workers' strike in 1913.—John A. Fitch, in the "Survey."

"There have been during the strike more than 1,000 arrests of strikers, and yet I have the word of the chief of police of Paterson that, considering numbers and duration, this is one of most peaceful strikes on record. No silk worker desiring to return to work, the chief told me on May 22, has ever needed police protection against the pickets, and there has not been a single case of assault on a 'scab', by a striker that has come to the knowledge of the police."

George P. West, of New York City, associate editor of the "Public," formerly publicity director of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations; author of the commission's report on the Colorado strike; formerly special writer for the San Francisco "Bulletin" on the Lawrence strike, the California hop riots and the San Diego free speech fight, in all of which he made an intimate study of the I. W. W.

2. The Employer's Attitude

We have, in that situation, the background for what occurred in the summer of 1917. Preaching doctrines that seemed startling enough during the peace times, the I. W. W., at the first sign that its members would join in the universal demand for more wages, fell an easy prey to reactionary employers, who could now rely, not only on the peace time prejudice which the I. W. W. had created against themselves, but on the intense popular feeling so easy to stir up against any group that could be placed in the position of disloyal obstructionists.

I. W. W. doctrines have not changed. For twelve years the federal government has left them free to preach their philosophy from coast to coast. **But on the outbreak of the war it became easy for interested employers to place those doctrines in a new light—a light that gave them the appearance of rank treason. The mistake made by many is in taking too seriously the admittedly wild and foolish utterances of a few leaders who do not adequately represent the rank and file, who merely want a square deal.**

3. Violence Against the Workers

The first open violence came in July with the Bisbee, Arizona, deportations by the copper companies. Miners on strike were rounded up at the point of revolvers and rifles, herded in a corral, loaded into box cars and transported to the middle of a desert in an adjoining state. More than 400 of them bought Liberty bonds; large numbers had registered for the draft. Many were married and had children. When finally released, they found their way back to their homes barred by armed men, acting with no authority save the arbitrary power of the great copper mining corporations. The agents of these corporations had seized the local telegraph and telephone stations and censored out going dispatches. They held kangaroo court and passed judg-

ment on who should be permitted to remain in the district, who should be forcibly ejected, and who should be permitted to enter from without. This condition continued in defiance of the protest of the governor of the state.

The President's commission, after a full investigation, reported that all these illegal acts were without justification either in law or in fact, as the striking miners had kept the peace and showed no evidence that they intended to break it. On the contrary, they had met and resolved to return to work provided the government would take over the operation of the mines.

More specifically, the President's Commission charged the mining corporations and their agents with specific violation of the federal statutes in interfering with interstate communications and obstructing registered men from reporting for examination for the draft. It brought these violations of the law to the attention of Attorney General Gregory at Washington. What action did his department take? **To date (March, 1918), Mr. Gregory has made not a single arrest and not one of the perpetrators of the Bisbee crimes have been indicted.** On the contrary, a high official of one of the copper companies, himself directly concerned in the deportations, has been commissioned a major in the army, and another has been appointed to a high position in the Red Cross.

Other flagrant instances during the war of organized violence against the I. W. W. by employing interests, with little or no attempt by public officials to bring the defenders to justice, have been:

(1) The hanging of Frank H. Little at Butte, Mont., on August 1. Little was a member of the executive board of the I. W. W., and was in Butte acting as a strike leader. He was taken from his bed at 3 a. m. by a band of masked men, dragged to the outskirts of the city, and hung to a railroad trestle.

(2) The whippings and outrages at Red Lodge, Mont., committed on workers suspected of being members of the I. W. W. by organized representatives of the employers, who held their mock court and inquisitions in the court house, and committed the outrages in the court house basement.

(3) The whipping, tarring and feathering of seventeen I. W. W. prisoners at Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 9, who were taken from the police by a masked band of "Knights of Liberty," in an endeavor to break up the I. W. W. organization of the oil workers.

(4) The arrests by the militia of hundreds of I. W. W. workers in Washington, without warrants or declaration of martial law, followed by their illegal detention for long periods without charges or trial.

(5) Various outrages on individual members of the I. W. W. committed by organized interests, in several instances assisted by public officials, in the places as widely separated as Aberdeen, S. D., Franklin, N. J. and Klamath Falls, Oregon.

Harold Callender, of Detroit, Michigan, a writer on the "Detroit News," formerly with the "Kansas City Star." Mr. Callender made a personal investigation into the labor situation during the war in industries where the I. W. W. is strong. The investigation was made for "Labor's National Defense Council," of which Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, former chairman of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, is the head. The quotations are from the pamphlet report made by Mr. Callender.

2. Its Organization

"The Industrial Workers have an organization that is national and embraces a dozen great industries. It is not very compact; it cannot be, dealing with men to whom a home is an impossible luxury, men

who are made migratory by their work. The membership fluctuates widely, but has been increasing steadily. It is something like a bank account, deposits and withdrawals offsetting each other, but not varying that greatly. Its members come and go, joining during a strike but dropping out afterward. It is difficult for the officers themselves to tell what the membership is at a particular time.

"There are eleven industrial unions, with others in process of formation: Marine Transport Workers' Union No. 100 (Atlantic Coast), Metal and Machinery Workers, Agricultural Workers, Lumber Workers, Construction Workers (composed mostly of laborers on railroads and the comparatively unskilled in similar industries), Railway Workers (embracing men employed in any way in transportation), Marine Transport Workers' Union No. 700 (Pacific Coast), Metal Mine Workers, Coal Miners, Textile Workers. A union of domestic servants has been started on the Pacific Coast.

"The Industrial Workers operate chiefly among the unskilled and immigrant workers whom the trade union does not reach. They organize the men who dig tunnels and lay railroad ties and fell trees in the forests—the most poorly paid and ill treated. They speak for those whom a shortsighted society ignores; theirs is a voice from the bottom. And it is answered with military stockades!"—Harold Callender.

Their Philosophy

The whole revolutionary philosophy of the I. W. W. is summed up in the "Preamble" to their constitution. Here are the class struggle, the relation to syndicalism, to the craft unions of the A. F. of L., and the ideal of a world wide union of the workers abolishing the competitive industrial system.

I. W. W. Preamble

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The I. W. W. Position on "Booze"

"Any officer or employee of any part of the Industrial Workers of the World seen in public in a state of intoxication shall, upon sufficient proof, be at once removed from his position by the proper authority having jurisdiction over such officer or employee, and upon conviction, shall not be eligible to hold office in any part of the organization for two years thereafter."

Send 10 cents and get a copy of the I. W. W. Constitution and By-Laws and see for yourself what the I. W. W. stands for. Address General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

TESTIMONY OF A FEW OF THE WITNESSES IN THE CASE OF THE UNITED STATES VS. WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, ET AL., DEALING WITH CHARGES OF DESTRUCTION IN WHEAT FIELDS, FORESTS, MILLS, ETC.

Ernest P. Marsh, a witness called on behalf of the defendants, and being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Vanderveer.

Q. Your name is Ernest P. Marsh?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Marsh?

A. At Washington, D. C. at the present time.

Q. And what is your present position?

A. I am a member of the the President's mediation commission and an official in the department of labor.

Q. Where did you live before you took up your official residence in Washington, D. C.?

A. My office was in the city of Seattle, Washington; my home in Everett, Washington.

Q. How long have you lived in the state of Washington?

A. Since 1889.

Q. Married man?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What official business did you have with organized labor in 1917?

A. I was the president of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

Q. And had you any connection, Mr. Marsh, with the State Council for Defense in the state of Washington?

A. I was a member.

Q. Appointed by whom?

A. By Governor Lister.

Q. About what time?

A. Shortly after the declaration of war; possibly within a fortnight, I would not be positive.

Q. You were at that time still president of the State Federation of Labor?

A. I was.

Q. And a member of the State Council for Defense?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. After the strike actually commenced, what, if any, further efforts, Mr. Marsh, were made to effect an adjustment of the strike issues?

A. Efforts were made continually by the State Council of Defense. May I interject at this point, Mr. Attorney—

Q. Yes, sure; I wish you to explain this situation fully.

A. (Continued) That the International Union of Shingle Weavers had held a special convention in the city of Seattle on June 30, and at that session voted for an immediate strike, and upon my personal request that the State Council of Defense be given further time to attempt to bring the parties together, the strike was held off two weeks to July 15. After the strike was called on June 15, for a period of

weeks the State Council of Defense worked steadily in an attempt to bring both parties together, using the State Council as the medium, going back and forth between the parties, to effect an adjustment.

Q. What was the outcome of those efforts?

A. Fruitless.

Q. Do you know of any recommendation made by the war department or Secretary Baker, or by the state officials?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Regarding any of the issues involved in the strike?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Please tell the jury, Mr. Marsh.

A. Secretary of War Baker sent a personal telegram to the operators urging them, as a war measure, to make sure the production of the spruce needed in the airplane program, that they grant the basic eight-hour day in that industry.

Q. What response did he receive from the operators?

A. The operators expressed a feeling of regret that they could not comply with the secretary's wishes, but refused to comply.

Q. Refused to do it. Did they at any time during the pendency of that strike express a willingness to observe his wishes?

A. They did not.

Q. Respect his wishes? What, if anything, was left undone by the strikers or their representatives to effect an adjustment of the issue?

A. Nothing.

Q. What, if anything, was done by the employers to effect an adjustment?

A. Nothing. Speaking for the employers as an industry; individual employers did, but they were not strong enough.

Q. Did the State Council of Defense ever investigate conditions in the logging camps, or any other of the camps in the state of Washington?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And about when, Mr. Marsh?

A. Sometime in June, 1917.

Q. Will you please tell this jury—you were a part?—you were in on that investigation?

A. I was.

Q. Tell the jury what you found to be the condition in the camps.

A. I might say, Mr. Attorney, that there was a strike in the logging camps operated by the Balfour-Guthrie people and by the Cascade Lumber Company in the Cascade district, Kittitas county. These logging concerns had contracts to furnish lumber from which 50 per cent of the box shooks needed to pack the fruit output of both the Wenatchee and Yakima valleys; strikes were called in the camps of the companies named by the Industrial Workers of the World. Production was greatly curtailed. There was a fear on the part of the fruit producers that their fruit would be very largely wasted at a time when the food supply was concerning everyone, and it was necessary to get the maximum production of these logging camps.

Mr. Blaine, who was chairman of the Public Service Commission of the state of Washington, made a personal investigation at the request of the governor, later the State Council of Defense appointed a sub committee of five, of which I was a member.

This committee made an investigation, held hearings in the cities of Cle Ellum, Ellensburg and North Yakima. We heard something like sixty-five witnesses; they were all classes of people. We heard the operators and the superintendents of the logging camps and city and county officials, the men who were on strike, officials of the I. W. W., and men who were on strike who did not belong to the I. W. W.

We made a personal excursion into the logging camps, through the bunk houses operated by these companies.

The Industrial Workers of the World had asked, I believe, for an eight-hour day, with ten hours' pay.

$3 a day wage scale, and better sanitary conditions, better bunk house conditions, and sanitary conditions in general. We found in some of these camps that the sanitary conditions—

Q. Pardon me; just let me interrupt. I will ask you if the International Brotherhood of Timber Workers had not also demanded better camp conditions?

A. They had; they had. We found in some of the camps visited the bunkhouses were particularly obnoxious, very filthy, illy ventilated; we found in others that every apparent attempt was being made by the operators to better the conditions, sleeping conditions in the bunk houses, to make them as sanitary and wholesome as they could; but, taking it by and large, we found the conditions bad and badly in need of remedy.

Q. So that the demand for improvement seemed to be justified?

A. Absolutely.

Q. How did you investigate as a member of the State Council for Defense, the commission of acts of violence or destruction, or sabotage, as somebody has called it, on the part of the Industrial Workers of the World?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you find any instances where those charges were sustained?

A. Charges were made before the commission by fruit-growers and by others, but they were not substantiated. They were individual charges, and we could not prove either their truth or their falsity.

Q. Mr. Marsh, did you investigate the attitude of the working people, whether the members of the I. W. W., members of the A. F. of L., or men unattached to any organization, with reference to war at that time?

A. We did.

Q. What did you find by their attitude?

A. We found the feeling of labor, generally, whether it was as you say, holding membership in the Industrial Workers, the American Federation of Labor, or unattached, opposed on principle, to war.

Q. Did the attitude of the I. W. W., insofar as you could determine, differ from that of the other labor elements?

A. I think not; more vehemently expressed, I might say.

E. F. Blaine, called as a witness on behalf of the defendants, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Vanderveer.

Q. It is very difficult to hear here, Mr. Blaine, so you will have use for all your voice. Your name is E. F. Blaine?

A. It is.

Q. Where do you live?

A. Seattle.

Q. How long have you lived in the state of Washington?

A. Since 1884.

Q. 1884?

A. Yes.

Q. That is thirty-four years?

A. Thirty-four years.

Q. And in what business are you engaged?

A. I am a lawyer by profession.

Q. And in what outside business?

A. Well, I have had a more or less general business.

Q. Are you connected with the Denning Renton Clay Company?

A. I was for a while with the Denning Clay Company.

Q. Are you still?

A. I am not.

Q. How long were you connected with that, Mr. Blaine?

A. Oh, eight or nine years, I think it was, until we sold out.

Q. How many men did it employ?

A. From two or three hundred.

Q. Two to three hundred? Have you also been connected with the development of irrigation enterprises in the state of Washington?

A. I have.

Q. What enterprises?

A. With the Washington Irrigation Company in the Yakima valley.

Q. What is the extent of that project?

A. Why, we handle between thirty and forty thousand acres of land.

Q. What, if any, official positions have you held during the past year, 1917?

A. For a little over—the last two years I have been chairman of the Public Service Commission of the state of Washington.

Q. And what is that commission, what is the general scope of its work?

A. It has charge of the railroads; that is, the regulation of rates, facilities, street car lines, gas companies, water companies, steamboats, telephone and telegraph.

Q. Power companies?

A. And also a grain department.

Q. Power companies?

A. There is some doubt whether we have any—

Q. Irrigation companies?

A. Yes, irrigation companies, where they are renting water.

Q. Now did you, in pursuance of the governor's request, make an investigation into labor conditions in the eastern part of the state?

A. I did.

Q. What was the nature of the investigation you made and how did you conduct it?

A. I went into it as thoroughly as my time would permit.

Q. Well, did you do it personally?

A. Personally.

Q. And if so, how?

A. I went personally. I visited the different communities where there was trouble and in some instances I talked first with the operators and later I would go and talk with the strikers. Sometimes I would go first to the strikers and afterwards to the operators.

Q. Did you also interview members of the I. W. W. in jail as well as in the camps?

A. That was later on after they were in jail; when I first—

Q. Whereabouts did you—

A. When I first went they were not in jail.

Q. Whereabouts did you interview members of the I. W. W. in jail?

A. When I started that work I interviewed them at North Yakima.

Q. About how many there?

A. Well, I think in the neighborhood of ninety or a hundred there; I don't know as I ever counted them.

Q. Yes?

A. But, I judge from the number—

Q. What percentage of them did you interview?

A. All of them at North Yakima.

Q. Where else, Mr. Blaine?

A. At Ellensburg.

Q. About how many there?

A. I think there were over a hundred at Ellensburg.

Q. How many of those did you interview?

A. All of them.

Q. Where else?

A. At Wenatchee.

Q. About how many there?

A. Well, it is my recollection now in the neighborhood of sixty or seventy.

Q. Sixty to seventy?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you interview all of them?

A. I did not.

Q. At any other point did you interview these men?

A. Not in jail.

Q. Well, now, you said you would go to the employers and employes, wherever there were labor difficulties pending, and consult both of them. About how many different camps did you visit in that way?

A. Well, I visited the camp at Odessa, both where work was going on, and the strikers' camp. I visited the camp—

Q. How many men did you interview there?

A. There were not many there; they were pretty near all gone out of that place, but I visited those who were there camping.

Q. Some I. W. W.'s there?

A. They were all I. W. W's.

Q. Where else did you say?

A. At North Yakima I investigated the strike situation there, and at Cle Ellun.

Q. That was Porter Brothers' strike?

A. That was Porter Brothers' strike.

Q. How many men did you interview there?

A. Well, it is hard for me to say. I had my conference with them in their hall when they were coming and going. I cannot tell you how many I did talk with, but I interviewed pretty thoroughly the strike committee at that point.

Q. And at what other points?

A. At Cle Ellum, down on the river.

Q. As we go along, I would like to—

A. Down at the river, the camp at the river, and the camp back in the mountains or hills.

Q. About how many men do you think were in those two camps?

A. Well, there it is hard to tell again. I visited these men at their hall and they were coming and going at their hall. I talked more or less with the strike committee, although everybody was talking—quite a good many were talking besides the strike committee.

Q. And was there any other point where you investigated the men in the camps, employers and employes?

A. No; I did not have opportunity at Cle Ellum to investigate the camp conditions.

Q. Did you investigate camp conditions at these other points where you also talked to employers and employes? I mean, inspect the bunk houses and inspect the conditions around the camp?

A. Well, wherever I went into the camp I inspected the conditions of the camp.

Q. I will ask you whether you had any previous opportunity to acquaint yourself with conditions in the logging camps and in the construction camps around that part of the country?

A. I have been more or less familiar with the camp conditions and construction camp conditions in Washington from almost the first time I went there.

Q. Now let me ask you briefly, because the matter has some importance in this case, what did you observe from your personal inspection of the camps, whether in 1917 or previous years, what you observed about the condition of the construction camps and the logging camps, the bunk houses, the facilities furnished the men?

A. I found the food—the raw food—good. There was at time I found complaint that it was not properly prepared. I found up at Odessa that they wished hot food instead of cold food at the middle of the day. I found the bunk houses generally bad.

Q. In what way bad?

A. The bunks were—well, it depended. Some of the bunks were in cars, railroad cars, and they were illy ventilated, and the cots were in bad condition;

the mattresses were made up of excelsior, oft-times was matty, uneven, and the blankets as a rule were dirty.

Q. These are construction camps?

A. Construction camps. In the logging camp at Cle Ellum I found down the river a sort of improvised camp made out of wooden planks for a floor, some side boards, above that a tent, and the bunks were built in with boards and the bedding there.

Q. Any springs?

A. The bedding there was poor.

Q. Any springs?

A. I think, as I recollect, there were no springs down there; it was the old-fashioned bunk.

Q. Now of the construction camps investigated by yourself or these men under your employ, how many did you find to be free from vermin, lice, bed bugs and things of that sort?

A. The railroad camps all had vermin.

Q. How many of them, what percentage of them?

A. I think they all had vermin.

Q. Did you investigate into the question whether or not the I. W. W. had practiced sabotage in the sense of destroying or damaging property and had committed or incited acts of violence in the state of Washington?

A. I did.

Q. And what did you find about it?

A. Their declarations everywhere to me was that they were not practicing sabotage or destruction of property; that is, sabotage, so far as it relates to the destruction of property.

Q. Were you ever able to discover a single case where members of the I. W. W. had done such things?

A. Well, our investigation was confined more particularly to the strike period—during the strike period.

Q. Well, I am speaking of the strike period.

A. Of the strike period I was unable to find any destruction of property.

Q. You were unable to discover any?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you question these men about their belief in sabotage and what it meant and about their conception of the way to conduct the strike?

A. Why, I think I discussed every phase of their propaganda, not with one man, but during the whole period of my investigation, I went into every phase of their association.

Q. Did you question them as to their belief in the abstract in destroying or damaging property or committing acts of violence?

A. Well, they tried to explain their literature to me. I called their attention to certain things in their songs, certain things in a little treatise upon sabotage, I think it was, I don't remember all this literature now, and they were putting a construction upon it, and I informed them that I believed the people had concluded that it meant direct action, regardless of what they might have thought or their interpretation of it; that it had that meaning to the people, and probably the press had aided the people in giving a certain construction to their literature, and I said to them—I don't know as I ought to say what I said to them—but I said they ought to withdraw that literature, stop it, that it had at least a double—it was capable of a double construction.

Q. Of being misunderstood?

A. Being misunderstood.

Q. Well, what had they said to you about their interpretation of it, which varied with the interpretation the press had made throughout the state?

A. Well, they tried to show me that it was innocent; that it did not mean direct action. I thought the use of the cat with its claws, while the cat had nine lives, as they contended, I thought that the people had drawn the conclusion from that that it meant direct action.

Q. Well, were they frank in their manner toward you?

A. There was only one man that refused to answer our questions, just one. The others were open in their expressions, and there was no hesitation at all, except in one instance.

Q. Members of it; did you question members of the I. W. W. either in jail or in the camps about their attitude toward war, Mr. Blaine?

A. When in jail I questioned them very closely in regard to their attitude towards the war.

Q. Will you tell the jury, please, what, if anything, they told you about that?

A. I questioned them very closely; when I say I questioned them, I want it to be understood that Mr. Henderson joined me in the questions.

Q. You were both attorneys?

A. We were both attorneys and we both plied them with questions. Our first visits, we inquired of them about registration and the action of the order as to registration. They said that the order had taken no action upon registration; it was left to each individual as to whether he should register.

Q. And among the men whom you met and interviewed in the jails or camps, how many did you find who had not registered?

A. Not many.

Q. Any more than you found among other classes of people, working people, for instance?

A. Well, that would only be an impression. I am not very familiar on the outside; of course, I know newspapers, reports, and so forth—

Q. What did you find to be their attitude toward war in general?

A. I think they are against war on general principles.

Excerpt from the above-mentioned report of the Public Service Commission of the state of Washington, of which Mr. E. F. Blaine was chairman:

"The governor requested me to go into Eastern Washington early last summer and investigate industrial conditions.

"So far as I was able to discover, there had been no acts of violence on the part of the I. W. W.'s. In talking with them in their halls and in their camps where they were living, they made it very clear to me that this was going to be a folded-arm strike, and that they did not intend to use violence.

"Now, we have tried to trace destruction of property to the I. W. W.'s all summer, and we failed. There were some places, some things that at first looked bad, but investigations revealed that there was not much to it. We could not fix any responsibility upon them."

R. J. Whitaker, called as a witness in behalf of the defendants, having first been sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Vanderveer.

Q. Your name is R. J. Whitaker?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Whitaker?

A. At Missoula, Montana.

Q. How long have you lived in Missoula?

A. Thirty-two years, nearly.

Q. Do you have a farm near Missoula?

A. I have, sir.

Q. How far from Missoula?

A. About two or three miles south.

Q. How big a place have you?

A. 640 acres.

Q. You have a section there?

A. Yes, sir. It is a little short; a road, and one thing or another, but it was 640.

Q. Have you held public office in that county?

A. I have.

Q. When did you leave public office?

A. I was sheriff there in 1915 and 1916.

Q. Up to January, 1917?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you done your own threshing, sometimes?

A. Yes; I have done my own threshing for about seventeen years, and my neighbors' as well.

Q. Own your own machine?

A. I do.

Q. How long each year have you been engaged in threshing about that part of the country?

A. Well, it depends. Sometimes it is only two or three or four weeks, and sometimes it is three or four months, according to the crops.

Q. How large a place is Missoula?

A. Well, I believe they estimate it at fifteen or sixteen thousand people.

Q. What position does it occupy commercially in Western Montana?

A. Why, it is the center; it is the commercial center of Western Montana, outside of Butte.

Q. During the harvest and threshing season do you get some migratory laborers in that section?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they come into Missoula?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you come in contact with them in past years?

A. I have.

Q. About when did you first observe evidence of the I. W. W. in and around that section?

A. Oh, ten or twelve years ago, I guess.

Q. Have you noticed an increase in the numbers from year to year?

A. There seem to be getting more of them all the time, yes.

Q. Now, in the course of your experience and your work threshing for yourself and your neighbors, have you had occasion to employ members of the I. W. W.?

A. Why, yes, we employed them the same as anybody else.

Q. Did they throw pitchforks through your machines, or iron or rocks?

A. No.

Q. Ever set your machines afire?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any such thing ever happening in your country around there?

A. I never heard of a case, no.

Q. Did they ever destroy property or raise hell?

A. Not that I ever heard of, only in the newspapers. The newspapers were full of it.

Q. Did you ever hear any agitation among the I. W. W., its members or officers, against the draft?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Have you had occasion, as sheriff, to go into the logging camps?

A. I have.

Q. Around Missoula?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you some time, yourself, been engaged in logging operations?

A. I have.

Q. About when and how long?

A. The last contract I had in the lumber business was in 1907, the year that the Milwaukee railroad was built.

Q. Now, how recently have you been through those camps? Some other camps?

A. Well, while I was sheriff I was down there probably two or three times a month.

Q. On some official business?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Go into the bunk houses?

A. I have, yes.

Q. Tell the jury briefly what kind of an institution it is.

A. A bunk house is a long building, probably seventy-five to 100 feet long. I never measured the length, and it is apparently sixteen boards cut in half, for the walls. They may be eight feet or may

be nine feet. They are twenty to twenty-five feet wide. They are covered with tar paper, or this black felt paper, whatever it is. There is generally one stove in there; one large stove. The bunks are double decker bunks, with a little alley between, facing each other, and there is a long alley down the center. There was no appearance of springs or mattresses in there and the boys used to apparently get hay or straw from somewhere to put on the hard boards to sleep on. I used to make it a practice, if I wanted men down there, or had papers to serve on a man, I would go in there after they quit at night, when they had come in from the woods, because it would be a long walk, maybe several miles in these big lumber camps, to find a man, except I got there at the time he would come in from work. I have gone in there on cold nights when they have been sweating, wet through, hanging up their socks and their wet clothing over this one stove. It was not a fit place for a human being to have to live in. In the summer time it would be terrible hot. That black paper would draw the heat, and it was almost like an oven. There was no bath house and no dry house that I saw. I have been in several of those camps.

Q. Any shower baths at all, or any bathing facilities?

A. I didn't see any. I don't think so.

Q. What kind of an odor, what was the condition of the air in there from those clothes?

A. Well, you can imagine yourself what it can be when those men came in sweating and wet, drying their clothes in there. It is foul. I do not believe the dairy inspector would allow us to keep our dairy cows in the same kind of an atmosphere.

Q. I see you wear a button on the lapel of your coat. What does that signify?

A. I have two boys in the war; two volunteers.

Q. Where are they?

A. One has been in France since October or November last year. He is driving a truck, a munition

truck. The other one has been over at the Hawaiian islands, the Schofield barracks, until six weeks ago, when they brought him back to Camp Bird, or Camp Lewis.

Q. Did you ever have any connection whatever with the men who conducted fire fighting there for the government?

A. Yes; I hired horses to them, pack horses and saddle horses.

Q. Was last year rather a bad year?

A. Yes, last year was a very dry year. There were a great many fires.

Q. There was a strike on in the woods last year, Mr. Whitaker; I think you know that, don't you?

A. Yes, sir; there was.

Q. Did any members of the I. W. W. come to you during the summer any time and speak to you about making certain provisions to maintain order in the town?

A. There were, yes.

Q. Who was it came to you?

A. It was one of their members there, a big tall fellow; I think his name is Smith.

Q. Arthur Smith.

A. I think so; I see him here in town.

Q. What did he say to you?

A. He just told me that I had been sheriff, and he thought I might know some way whereby they could get the saloons closed up in case the strike came off. And I told him what to do. I told him what means would have to be employed to make it work.

Q. What was the reason he had for suggesting that the saloons ought to be closed?

A. Well, he told me that the boys would all have money and that he did not want them getting drunk and fighting their battles over the bar and getting into trouble. He thought there might be 1,500 or 2,000 of them there, and it might give trouble.

Q. Now, did the boys come to town?

A. Yes, sir; they were coming in very fast for a while there.

Q. Was there any disorder among them?

A. Not that I know of. They seemed to go out right away on the government fire service.

Q. On the fire fighting?

A. Yes, sir.

C. O. Carlson, called a witness on behalf of the defendants, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Venderveer.

Q. State your name, please.

A. C. O. Carlson.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Carlson?

A. Minot, North Dakota.

Q. How long in the vicinity of Minot?

A. Since 1904.

Q. In what business have you been engaged there, Mr. Carlson?

A. Farming and threshing.

Q. Did you have a farm there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you have that farm?

A. It is my homestead. I filed on it in 1901.

Q. Have you operated threshing machines?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And do you yet?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many?

A. I operate two machines at the present time, or will this fall.

Q. How long have you been operating machines?

A. Since 1905.

Q. Have you had occasion to employ members of the Industrial Workers of the World?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many years have you employed them?

A. The first that I know of that I had any employed was in 1913.

Q. Did any of them destroy any of your property or damage any of your property, or try to burn any of your machines or any grain or anything?

A. No, sir.

Q. How many men, I. W. W.'s altogether, did you or do you think you employed that year on your two rigs?

Mr. Nebeker: Did you have two rigs that year?

A. Yes, sir. I don't know if I could answer that right off hand because I had some that I even didn't know had cards. I found out later they had cards, but I probably had a dozen.

Mr. Vanderveer:

Q. A dozen?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In 1914, about how many did you employ?

A. Well, I had about the same amount, I think.

Q. About a dozen.

A. Yes, I would think so.

Q. In 1915 and 1916?

A. In 1915 I don't think I had quite so many.

Q. In 1916?

A. I don't know that I had any in 1916.

Q. Now, where would you employ these I. W. W.'s; in 1917 you did not run a rig, did you?

A. Yes, I did; but I used some home help in 1917, on account of the light crops.

Q. What quality of service have the I. W. W. members given you in that work?

A. They have given me just as good quality or what was better than the average man I could pick up.

Q. Have they ever destroyed property, or tried to, or damaged it for you?

Mr. Nebeker: This is a repetition. I object to it.

The Court: He just stated a moment ago that they did not.

Mr. Vanderveer: He testified that they did not in 1913. That is all I asked him about. Seven men in 1913.

The Court: All the time?

A. They never did.

Mr. Vanderveer: Now, have you heard of their doing such things in that community, anywhere around there?

A. I have heard lots, but I have never found a man they done it for him.

Q. Where have you heard it?

A. Well, you hear that over—you hear that out west every now and then.

Q. In the papers, you mean?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, I mean have you ever heard of a case or knew a man who claimed that that had happened to him?

A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. One other question: How would you farmers in North Dakota harvest your crops if the people who travel from the South to the North and from the East to the West did not come through there?

A. We would not harvest them.

Mr. Vanderveer: That is all.

Ira E. Worly, called as a witness on behalf of the defendants, having first been duly sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Vanderveer.

Q. You will have to speak pretty loudly here on account of the noise outside. What is your name?

A. Ira E. Worly.

Q. How old are you?

A. I will be 42 years old tomorrow.

Q. Where do you live?

A. I live in Plentywood, Montana.

Q. How long have you been farming?

A. Well, practically all my life; I was born on a farm.

Q. Now, from 1913 to 1616, do I understand you were farming in Montana?

A. In 1912 I went there, the spring of 1912, and I started threshing that fall.

Q. I see.

A. I operated a threshing machine from 1912 to 1916.

Q. You farmed and threshed four seasons?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Five seasons.

A. 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915 and 1916.

Q. Did you have your own rig?

A. I did.

Q. And about how long did the threshing season last in Montana?

A. Well, it lasted from thirty-two to sixty-five days.

Q. You employ I. W. W.'s during any of those years?

A. I think I employed them every year.

Q. Well, now, how would the numbers run from one year to another, increase or decrease, or remain more or less constant?

A. Well, the different years I employed a different number of men, of course, because the longer the threshing season, why the greater number of shifts, the greater number of changes was made.

Q. And what, in your opinion, would be the max-

imum number of I. W. W's you employed during any threshing season?

A. Oh, probably fifteen or twenty.

Q. What?

A. Probably fifteen or twenty during the season.

Q. Probably fifteen or twenty during the season?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, what kind of service did they give you, Mr. Worly, in Montana?

A. Just as good as any of the rest of them did.

Q. As good as anybody else did?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any trouble with them?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did they ever throw hoe downs or pitch forks or scrap iron or rocks into your machine?

A. They never have.

Q. Ever set fire to your machine?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. You have had machines catch fire, have you?

A. I have.

Q. In what part of the country?

A. Montana.

Q. Do you know the cause of it?

A. I do.

Q. What was it?

A. Hot box and sparks from the engine.

Q. Under normal conditions, ordinary crop conditions, what percentage of work is done by outside help?

A. Well, I don't exactly know. I would estimate somewhere around 40 or 50 per cent.

Q. Yes, and during 1915 and '16 and '17, can you estimate what percentage of that help was of that outside element, members of the I. W. W.?

A. Well, I certainly cannot estimate exactly or anything near, because while I know there was a certain amount of I. W. W's in there, I do not—

Q. What percentage of your crews were?

A. Well, probably a fifth, one-fifth, somewheres around there; a fifth to a fourth, or up as high as a third.

Q. Is that all?

A. Maybe a little heavier.

Q. Now, during 1917, in your travels about your county there, did you hear of any depredations committed by the I. W. W.'s?

A. No, sir.

Q. Throwing rocks or iron or matches or anything in threshing machines?

A. No, sir; nothing like that occurred to my knowledge in Sheridan county; that is the locality where I come from.



THE PREAMBLE

Of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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THE I. W. W. PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

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One Big Union

Social relations are the reflex of the grouping of industrial possessions. The owners of all resources and means of wealth form a class of their own; the owners of labor power as their only possession in the market, another. Political, judicial, educational and other institutions are only the mirror of the prevailing system of ownership in the resources and means of production.

One class owns and controls the necessaries, to-wit: the economic resources of the world. That class, for its own protection and perpetuation in power, subjects all other institutions to their prevailing class interests. Conversely, there is a class that strives to change the foundation of the industrial arrangement. The workers realize that immediately following the change these social relations will also be shifted; institutions deriving their support and sustenance from the class in power will be made to conform to new conditions after the overthrow of the previously existing industrial system.

Social structures collapse as a result of ever recurring changes in their economic foundation. But the new structure is not a ready-made product of each of the epochs of reconstruction. An historic process of evolution reaches a climax in a revolutionary upheaval. Achievements of preceding epochs are always utilized in the constructive work of a never-resting, always advancing civilization.

Decaying elements render nourishment to Mother Earth for the generation of new species and structures. Nothing is lost in the reciprocal process of nature. Precisely so in social systems. Achievements of social and

industrial evolutions are always preserved after a revolutionary climax removes all obstacles to further developments. Only the class previously dominating the policies and actions of the social institutions is supplanted by the revolutionary change; one form of ownership in the means of life is shifted to another class.

Capitalist ownership of industries had its origin in the unfolding of conditions which hastened the downfall of the feudal age, and the advent of another class to power.

Co-operative control of industries by all engaged in the process of production must build its foundation on the highly perfected form and methods of production, and upon the conditions which accelerate the passing away of the capitalist system of ownership in the instruments of production and distribution.

The feudal lords had to surrender their sceptre to the ascending bourgeoisie, better known today as the capitalist class. The latter, at the outset, had in view only the free development of all forces of production, in an era of unrestricted competition between individuals. When, over a century ago, the change was consummated by revolutions, the instruments of production were more equally distributed. They were in possession of a multitude of the victorious capitalists, who owned small enterprises. Most people would expect that in such a competitive system as was then established, every one would have a chance to rise to a superior station in life. The instruments of production were not highly developed. Handicraft in the operation of small machines, or in the use of tools, still predominated. Small capital only was required in starting the manufacture of things for small margins of profits.

This epoch, beginning with the revolution of the "Third Estate" in France, found its counterpart in the revolution of the American people against British semi-feudalistic rule. Since then the forms, methods and yield of production have rapidly developed in one direction, in every industrially advanced country.

The means of production were centralized ever more in fewer and fewer hands. With the centralization of the means of production and distribution, the agencies protecting the interests in power also grew proportionately. Gradually all elements that obscured the lines of cleavage between the producers of wealth and the class that expropriated all economic resources of the world are eliminated.

The manufacturers of yore exist only in small communities. They depend, however, more or less on the good will of those who permit them to exist by supplying them with the raw products for production, or those who own the transportation facilities by which the products are transported into the markets.

In this process of transformation other things can be observed. Social relations are shifting with the change in the forms and in the ownership of the means of production. Social strata are fiercely struggling for their conservation, in vain. There is no escape from the irretrievable result of these rapid changes in industrial possessions and arrangements.

The howls of freaks, the frantic appeals and clamors of reformers will not in the least affect the course of events. The destructive battles of trades unions, divided up in factions and sections that find their traditional base in the middle ages, will not turn back the wheel that rolls on with irresistible force.

The outcry, so often heard before, redounds in vociferous strength again: A revolution! "A revolution is needed to change these conditions." It is a cry of despondency. Not only heard from Socialists. They at least propose some way of consummating their program of a revolution. But the middle-class is more frantic in its wailings of despair. In their band wagon they are lining up a large following of workers. Millions are made to believe that an impending struggle against predatory wealth will have as object the restoration of by-gone conditions, or the

enforcement of restrictive measures for curbing further concentration of industries.

But the workers are not, and should not be concerned in the hopeless struggles of a decaying element of society. They have an historic mission to perform, a mission that they will carry out despite the promises held out to them that a restoration of past conditions would accrue to their benefit also.

They begin to realize that in the constructive work for the future they have to learn the facts of past evolutions and revolutions. And from these facts expressed in theories they find the guide for the course that they have to pursue in their struggle for the possessions of the earth, and the goods that they alone have created. That growing portion of the working class are building on the rockbed of historic facts, and the structure to be erected follows the plan that

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism"—"the army of production must be organized. By organizing industrially the workers are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Some definite conclusion must be drawn from the previously established premises. It is the heritage of the working class to utilize to the fullest extent the great achievements of the preceding and existing processes and methods of production, for the benefit of all useful members of society.

In its advent to power and supremacy the present economic master class succeeded another that decayed in the process of evolution. This mastery of the present owners of the economic resources will also give way and pave the way for successors. The workers, conscious of their mission, must recognize the fact that the industries are developing to the highest state of perfection, and will be ready for operation under a new arrangement of things, namely after the class

now in possession and control of them have gone the way of decay under the pressure of the advancing force of a new civilization. But it is imperative to arrange the human forces of production for the operation of the vast resources and implements of production under a system wherein commodities will be made for use alone. To build and to arrange correctly, and for lasting purposes, the constructors of a further developed industrial structure must possess a thorough knowledge of the material, and of organizations destined to accomplish the task. The architects must know the proper grouping of each component part and cell in the composition of industrial combinations, so that, when harmony in the industrial relationship of mankind is established, it will be reflected in the harmonious social, political, judicial, and ethical institutions of a new age.

We repeat: Industrial and social systems are not ready-made products. In their changes from one stage to another they derive their propelling forces from the achievements and accomplishments of each preceding epoch. In its onward course to a further advanced system, society is going to utilize all that present day society has evolved and constructed. This the workers must know, and then they will also learn the intricate, interdependent arrangements of the component parts of the whole industrial system. Equipped with this knowledge, they will be able to construct and form their own industrial organizations, the frame-structure of the new society, accordingly. By learning the social relations and understanding their source, they can profit and prepare to change the industrial structure of society, which as a matter of course, will determine also the changes in the social and political character of the system which is bound to be inaugurated. And this is the problem. The working class, as the promoter and supporter of a higher standard of social relations and interrelations,

must be equipped with the knowledge, must construct the organizations, by which the cause of social classes can be removed. Industrial inequality is the source of all other inequality in human society. The change in the ownership of the essentials of life will bring automatically, so to say, the change in the intercourse and the associations, and also in the institutions for the promotion of these things, between the human beings upon the globe.

Good will, revolutionary will-power, determination, courage are valuable assets in the struggle for the change. But they are like the water on the millwheels, unconscious of the great service that they are rendering. To convert force and power into useful operation requires intelligence. And that intelligence must guide us to use the accumulated force for a defined purpose. That purpose, as it seems to be agreed, is to form a new social, or rather industrial structure within the shell of the old. To accomplish this the advocates, the militants for the new, must know to what extent the present factors in industrial development have organized and systematized industrial production. When this is fully understood, this may also explain the subsequent domination of industrial possession over the political, social and other agencies in present day and previously existing societies.

The workers of the world, conscious of their historic mission, will learn to avoid the mistakes they would make should they depend on other forces than their own for the solution of the world's problem. Agencies and institutions deriving their lease of existence from the industrial masters of today can not be looked to for support. They may feign being in favor of radical changes in the effects—they will, however, strenuously and violently oppose any attempt at destroying the base, or the cause.

The working class alone is interested in the removal of industrial inequality, and that can only be

accomplished by a revolution of the industrial system. The workers, in their collectivity, must take over and operate all the essential industrial institutions, the means of production and distribution, for the well-being of all the human elements comprising the international nation of wealth-producers.

No destruction, no waste, no return into barbarism! A higher plan of civilization is to be achieved. When the workers understand how the industrial system of today has developed, how one industrial pursuit dovetails into another, and all comprise an inseparable whole, they will not wantonly destroy what generations of industrial and social forces have brought forth. The workers will utilize the knowledge of ages to build and to plant on a solid rockbed the foundation of a new industrial and social system.

The foundation must be firm and solid. The revolutionary climax, after an incessant course of evolutionary processes by which forms and methods undergo changes, will eliminate forever the cause for the industrial division of society into two hostile camps. Harmonious relations of mankind in all their material affairs will evolve out of the change in the control and ownership in industrial resources of the world.

That accomplished, the men and women, all members of society in equal enjoyment of all the good things and comforts of life, will be the arbiters of their own destinies in a free society.

We present, with this introduction, to all our comrades in battle and strife, a portrait of industrial combinations.

Analysis of the Arrangement of Industries

The Chart Explained in Detail.

The main object of this explanation to the chart is to show how industries are grouped together in a scientific order.

Production begins with the exploitation of the natural resources of the earth. Labor is applied to extract the material that nature has stored up or generated. Production continues with the transportation of these products, mostly raw material, or fuel-matter, to the centers of manufacture and commerce. The construction of places of shelter for a man and things, the building of agencies of communication, are functions of another industrial branch of the system. We observe, finally, how the care-taking, the education, the providing for public convenience, fall to the functions of another department in the interdependent processes of industrial life.

In presenting this plan of organization of industries, as it exists today, we have in mind only the object before explained. The workers, forced by capitalist ownership of the means of production to do service in all these industries, must organize themselves in their proper places in the industries in which they are engaged. Every worker who studies this map will find where he will fit in when the industries are organized for the control of the workers through industrial organization.

Of course, it is the ultimate purpose of this arrangement that every worker shall have equal rights,

and equal duties also, with all others in the management of the industry in which he or she serves in the process of production.

But the other purpose, equally important, is *to organize the workers in such a way that all the members of the organization in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making the injury to one the injury to all.*

Of course, this can only be accomplished when the workers organize on industrial lines. That is to say, the workers of any one plant or industry must be members of one and the same organization—no craft division lines. The capitalist institutions are today organized on exactly the same lines. The industries as they are grouped today, dovetailing into each other, furnish to the workers the basis for the construction of their organization for the struggles of today for better living conditions, and for the supervision and the management of industries in an industrial commonwealth of workers and producers.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS IS PART OF PRODUCTION.

All natural resources of the soil, mines and water receive their first value when labor is applied to turn the products into useful things.

But all of these products have more social value when they are transported to places of manufacture and commerce, where they are transformed and converted into commodities for exchange.

The life of human beings will not consist of common drudgery alone when all the good things created are enjoyed by the workers.

For all purposes, present and the future, the functions of the public service institutions have to be defined, and people engaged in their maintenance must

be given a place in the industrial organization; the same as those who take care of the sick and disabled. Those who render other social and public service should know they are engaged in useful occupation, although most of the institutions in which they serve today are prostituted for the protection of capitalist interests.

For all functions combined, the industries are arranged on the general plan presented on the map, as follows:

1. The Department of Agriculture, Land, Fisheries and Water Products.
2. The Department of Mining.
3. The Department of Transportation and Communication.
4. The Department of Manufacture and General Production.
5. The Department of Construction.
6. The Department of Public Service.

The departments again have their subdivisions. As it is proposed that the workers organize in accordance with the industries in which they are engaged in service, it is essential that a general term be applied. This will make it easier to understand that each of these industrial subdivisions constitutes for itself a sub-organization of workers, in which they will be able to govern affairs that appertain to that industry alone.

Each of these subdivisions would comprise the workers organized in an Industrial Union, which, however would not be separate and distinct from all others, as the term "division" would imply. (We have looked in vain for an expression that would convey the proper meaning.)

It is impossible, at this stage, to eliminate entirely the terms now used to designate certain functions that sets of workers perform in each industry. But it should be distinctly understood that this is not to imply that these craft-groups in industries will organize, as has been the case heretofore, in separate craft-unions, or

according to the tools that each set of workers use. That would mean dividing-up under another name. A worker in an industry will be assigned to the organization representing the product or products of that industry. Each sub-branch of the general industrial union is modeled accordingly.

When the workers engaged in a particular industrial production organize industrially, all are subject to the same rules governing the affairs of each industry. But certain fundamental rules and principles governing all component parts of the "one big union of workers" cannot be infringed upon by any of its component parts without doing injury to the whole organic body.

Still another point to be made clear: *The process of production does not cease until the finished product reaches the consumer. All workers engaged in the process of distribution are members of the same industrial union, or Department Organization in which the makers of the commodity are organized.*

Of course, the railroad and water-transportation workers will be in the Transportation Department, although it might be said that they also are engaged in the process of distribution. But here is the difference. They only transport goods to other localities or countries, and the real distribution process for use and consumption takes place after finished commodities have reached the merchant.

For instance: A salesman or clerk in a shoe store would be a member of the organization, or a branch thereof, in which are organized all workers engaged in the shoe industry. A teamster delivering meats, or other goods from a grocery, would be in the organization in which all the foodstuff workers of that particular branch are organized. But a truck driver, who may haul a big shipment of boxes containing garments from one depot to another, and on his next trip between depots, will haul a load of nails for further transportation or distribution, performs the work of a transport work-

er, and as such organizers in the union of that industry.

With these necessary explanations, suggestive of a better understanding of the plan of organization, one will far better be able to see how industries are grouped on the chart.

I.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, LAND, FISHERIES AND WATER PRODUCTS.

Four subdivisions comprise this department:

A. General and Stock Farming.

This subdivision comprises all workers employed in general and stock farming. 1. In grain and vegetables: All farm workers, in plowing, planting, reaping, and fertilizing operations—which would, of course, include all engineers, firemen, blacksmiths, repairworkers, carpenters, etc., working on farms and engaged in farm-product work. All workers on cotton and sugar plantations would come into this group, also all irrigation-workers, that is, all working at the operation of irrigation-systems as engineers, pumpmen, lockmen, pipe and repairmen, etc. 2. On cattle and live stock farms: Ranchmen, herders, sheep shearers, general utility men, all workers on fowl and bird farms; on dairy farms, etc.

B. Horticulture.

This subdivision comprises all workers on fruit farms, flower gardens, tea and coffee plantations, orchards, tobacco farms—all workers engaged in the cultivation of silk, in vineyards, truck farms—workers in hothouses; fruit pickers, boxmakers and packers, etc.

C. Forestry and Lumbering.

In this subdivision are associated together all workers in forests; rangers, foresters, game wardens, wood-

choppers and lumberworkers; all workers in the saw and shingle mills adjacent to forests, preparing wood for shipment for manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, herb, leaf, cork and bark, etc.

D. Fisheries and Water Products.

In this subdivision are organized all fishermen on ocean, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers—in short, all workers engaged in raising, keeping and catching of fish; in the collection of pearls, sponges and corals, such as divers, sorters, etc., which would include all mechanics on fishing boats and steamers, etc.

II.

DEPARTMENT OF MINING.

This department again consists of four large subdivisions:

A. Coal and Coke Mining.

All coal miners comprise this industrial union. All workers in bituminous, anthracite, lignite and other coal mines, including, of course, mining engineers, firemen, pumpmen, blacksmiths, mine carpenters, shotfirers, breaker boys. All workers employed in the production of coke, all miners of turf, peat; clerks in the offices of mines, and also all workers in the coal yards at the places of distribution, such as teamsters, shovelers, derrick-workers, weighers, etc.

B. Oil, Gas and By-Products.

The workers in this subdivision also organize to manage the affairs of this part of the mining industry, that is, all workers employed in the natural gas and oil fields, shaft sinkers, pipemen, pumpmen, tankmen, gaugers, and also all workers in the oil distribution places, as fillers, coopers, teamsters, all workers in the oil-refining plants, as well as oil by-product institutions.

C. Metal Mining.

This subdivision embraces all workers employed in the mining of gold, silver, copper, zinc, lead, tin, platinum, iron ore, etc., and in it are also organized all workers in the smelters, including the workers in the repair and mechanical departments, such as repairers, carpenters, machinists, ropemen, teamsters in the main and subsidiary enterprises, and also waiters, cooks in small mining camps.

D. Salt, Sulphur, Mineral, Stone and Gem Mining.

In this fourth subdivision of the mining department organization are brought together all workers employed in the mining of salt, sulphur, clay, borax, mica, bromine, graphite, sodas, gypsum, asphalt, limestone, sandstone, whetstone, marble, onyx, slates, building stones, asbestos, and gems of all kinds, like diamonds. sapphires, etc.

It includes all workers in the refineries, in the salines, salt and soda dry works, quarry workers, etc.

III.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION.

Brief Preface.

The process of transportation, different from the process of final distribution, comprises the act of bringing the products of land, water, and mines to the places of manufacture and general production, and to re-transport the partly finished goods either to other places at which the process of production is finished, or to bring the finished goods to the points where the distribution to the users or consumers takes place. This process also includes the transport of human beings to and from one place to another. As the interchange proc-

ess can not always be carried on by direct transportation of people, the indirect method of transmitting commercial transactions by mail or by telegraphy is resorted to.

All the workers engaged in either of the subbranches of that department are organized together. But, for expediency, they are grouped together in five subdivisions, as parts of that department organization.

A. Long-Distance Transportation on Land.

This subdivision embraces all workers employed in the long distance railroad service, such as railroad engineers, motormen, firemen, conductors, trainmen, switchmen, all engaged in the supervision and maintenance of the roads, railroad freight yard workers, station tenders, watchmen, car repairers, railroad dispatchers and telegraphers; all workers in the railroad repair shops, all clerks in the railroad offices, etc., etc.

B. Marine Transportation.

In this subdivision are all workers employed on steamships, sailing vessels and tugboats, such as sailors and wheelsmen, engineers, water tenders, oilers, firemen and coalpassers, stewards, waiters, cooks, etc. Also all workers employed in the loading and unloading of vessels, dry dock and repair workers, etc., etc.

C. Municipal Transportation.

In this subdivision are organized all workers in municipal passenger transportation service, street car workers, all workers on elevated roads, or city subway lines, including all the workers in the power-producing plants, electricians, linemen, car shop workers, also cab drivers, automobile drivers, barn, stable and garage workers, wherever the service is directly connected with the municipal transportation service.

D. Air Navigation.

This will comprise all workers engaged in the service of air navigation, transporting passengers, dispatches, or anything else.

E. Communication.

All workers in the postal and commercial telegraph, telephone and wireless service are organized in this sub-division, such as clerks, carriers, mail wagon teamsters, telegraph and telephone operators, towermen, linemen, including the janitors, cleaners, etc., in all stations and houses.

IV.
DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURE AND GENERAL PRODUCTION.

If this department be subdivided in industrial unions only, it would not give justice to those engaged in the various industrial sections that make up the complex organization embracing them all. The department comprises so many industries that it is necessary to establish a standard for their proper arrangement. Each kind of raw material transformed or converted into a finished article for use, be it either for food, or clothing, for comfort or general utility purposes, for the production of instruments for the further development of advanced producing methods, forms the basis for a sub-department of production. Each sub-department again has its sub-divisions. In other department organizations they are marked as parts of the same, while in this arrangement the sub-divisions, or industrial unions, form the component parts of a sub-department.

The Department of General Production is accordingly composed of the following sub-departments:

a. Glass and pottery (ceramic goods).
b. Clothing and textile.
c. Leather and substitutes.
d Metal working and machinery building.
e. Woodworking goods.
f. Chemicals.
g. Foodstuffs.
h. Printing.

Sub-Department A.

Glass and Pottery (Ceramic Goods).

1. All workers employed in the making of glass wares are organized in the first sub-division; flint glass, green glass, window glass, plate glass workers, furnace workers, mixers, blowers, gatherers, annealers, cutters, polishers, etc.

2. All workers in potteries, porcelain factories, china-ware factories, including decorators and designers, clerks, salesmen, teamsters in sales and distribution houses of ceramic goods.

3. Those employed in terra cotta works, tile and brick-making yards.

Sub-Department B.

TEXTILE AND CLOTHING MANUFACTURE.

This sub-department is composed of workers from the following industrial subdivisions:

1. All workers employed in the manufacture of silk, linen, cotton, wool and worsted articles, as mule-spinners, loom-fixers, weavers, warpers, carders, sorters, clerks and stenographers in factories and retail houses, all workers in dye-houses, including chemists, inspectors, also all workers employed in the making of knitting wares, passementerie workers, wood silk workers, etc.

2. All those engaged in the making of garments and other goods of silk, artificial silk, linen, cotton and woolen fabrics, such as clothing workers, workers in collar and shirt factories, including all salesmen, clerks, stenographers in distribution places (dry goods stores).

3. All workers employed in establishments where wearing apparel is made of fur, felt, straw, etc., as furriers, glove makers, hatmakers, straw hat makers, millinery workers.

Sub-Department C.

MANUFACTURE OF LEATHER GOODS AND SUBSTITUTES.

This sub-department is composed of workers organized in three sub-divisions:

1. All workers employed in tanneries and leather preparing houses.

2. All workers engaged in the manufacture of shoes and boots, as cutters, lasters, inseamers, etc., which, of course, includes all clerks and stenographers in the offices, and the clerks in shoe stores and distribution houses of shoes, teamsters, engineers, firemen, etc., working in the shoe industry.

3. All workers in other leather goods, or substitutes of leather, such as harness makers, and horse goods makers, workers in belt factories, etc.

Sub-Department D.

METAL AND MACHINERY MANUFACTURE.

All workers employed in making goods of any kind of metal are grouped together in this sub-department, three subdivisions joining together to constitute the same, in which are organized:

1. All workers in blast furnaces, steel mills, rolling mills, tin plate mills, wire mills, nail mills, rail mills, including all workers in plants where by-products are manufactured.

2. All workers engaged in the building of engines and machinery, such as pattern makers, core makers, molders of iron, and other metals, machinists, all other workers in all these plants, including the workers in the power departments of such plants, machinery movers and teamsters, etc.

3. All workers employed in making of metal wares and products other than engines and machines, of dif-

ferent metals, such as workers in watch factories, knife and saw factories, in the making of jewelry goods, and utensils, and of instruments; silversmiths, goldsmiths, etc.

Sub-Department E.

MANUFACTURE OF WOOD ARTICLES.

This sub-department consists of organizations of workers employed in the manufacture of goods out of wood, or principally wood. It would embrace all workers in piano factories, planing mills, furniture factories, hotel and bar fixture factories; all workers in cooperage shops, in reed and rattan factories, box factories, etc. Of course, the workers of each of these industries would form a branch organization, embracing all the workers of one or more plants in which a given article is manufactured, for instance, in an industrial union of piano workers would be organized not only the wood workers. but also the metal workers, tuners, polishers, piano movers, etc., employed in that industry.

Sub-Department F.

MANUFACTURE OF CHEMICAL GOODS.

This sub-department comprises all workers employed:

1. In the production of paint, drugs, rubber, guttapercha, powder, dynamite, melinite, and all explosives; inks, perfumes, turpentine, celluloid, soaps, etc., including chemists engaged in these pursuits, all workers in drug stores and pharmacies, as clerks and salesmen, etc.
2. All workers employed in the making of cellulose and paper, for printing and commercial purposes.

Sub-Department G.

MANUFACTURE OF FOODSTUFFS.

Made up of five industrial subdivisions, this subdepartment is composed of workers engaged: I. In

the production of foodstuffs made of grain and cereals. II. In the production of foodstuffs made of animal matter. III. In the production of liquids for consumption. IV. In the production of narcotics. V. In the distribution of foodstuffs. As the process of production is not finished until the goods are put to use by the consumer all workers in the distributing places, that is, the workers in hotels, inns, restaurants, saloons, etc., form organizations connected with the foodstuff sub-department.

I. Comprises all workers in flour and cereal mills, in bakeries, biscuit factories, candy and confectionery shops, in sugar refineries, in fruit packing and canning plants, including, of course, all engineers, coopers, clerks, salesmen and delivery teamsters employed in any of such establishments.

II. This subdivision comprises all workers employed in meat packing houses, in all the fifty-nine factory departments; dairy and milk depot workers and deliverers, all workers in fish-packing houses.

III. In this are organized all workers in wine and whiskey distilleries, in breweries, malthouses, vinegar factories, ginger and cider mills, all employed in yeast production, and production of soda and soft drinks. These, as all other industries, include the workers in the power-furnishing departments of all these plants and the workers in the delivery and distributing stations, also clerks, stenographers in the offices, etc.

IV. The fourth subdivision comprises all workers employed in the manufacture of tobacco goods; cigar-makers, stogiemakers, cigarette makers, all other tobacco factory workers, clerks in cigar and tobacco stores, distributors, etc.

V. In the fifth subdivision are organized all workers in hotels and restaurants and saloons, as cooks, waiters, bartenders, bakers and butchers in hotels, barbers, if employed in the hotel service, chambermaids, hotel clerks,

etc., chauffeurs and cabdrivers, if they are in the hotel service exclusively.

Sub-Department H.

PRINTING.

All workers in the printing and lithographing institutions are organized in this sub-department. Printers, pressmen, bookbinders, photo-engravers, stereotypers, lithograph artists and printers, designers, editors of newspapers and magazines, proofreaders, including, of course, all machinists, engineers, firemen, electricians, janitors and clerks in the printing industry.

V.

DEPARTMENT OF BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION.

This department is composed of three national subdivisions:

A. All workers employed in the *erection and construction* of buildings are organized in this subdivision: Architects, designers, excavators, stonemasons, bricklayers, hodcarriers, cement workers, carpenters and joiners, electricians, elevator constructors, painters, architectural iron workers, plumbers, building material teamsters, etc. But these crafts are not organized in craft groups, but they form according to the nature of their work branch organizations of the one "Building Constructors Industrial Union" in every locality.

B. In this subdivision are organized all workers employed in the *construction of roads, tunnels and bridges,* such as pavers, bridgebuilders, workers employed in the building of docks, subways, in the construction of irrigation works, of sewers, of canals, etc.

C. All workers engaged in the *construction of ships and vessels* are organized in this subdivision; in the building of steamers, launches, tug boats, as ship caulkers and carpenters, iron ship builders, machinists, boilermakers,

coppersmiths and all other branches of workers directly engaged in this industry.

VI.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

This department is composed of workers organized in six national industrial unions, constituting each a component part of the department organization.

A. Hospital and sanitariums.
B. Sanitary protective division.
C. Educational institutions.
D. Water, gas and electricity supply service.
E. Amusement service.
F. General distribution.

A. In this subdivision are organized all workers in hospitals and health-restoration resorts, sanitariums, etc., such as physicians, nurses, waiters, cooks, attendants, laundry workers in these institutions, etc.

B. This is constituted of workers employed in the protection of health and public safety, that is, all workers employed in the cleaning and caretaking of streets, public places and parks, the street protection workers, all workers in immigration stations, house janitors, office building workers, all workers employed in burial places, as funeral teamsters, embalmers, grave diggers, crematorium workers, etc.

C. In this subdivision are organized all workers in public schools, and all institutions of learning, education and instruction, such as teachers, lecturers, librarians, including also all workers keeping the institutions in sanitary and wholesome condition, such as school and university wardens, janitors, engineers, firemen, etc.

D. This subdivision is composed of workers in municipal power houses, pumping stations, all workers in plants supplying to communities power, gas, electricity, etc.

E. All workers in theaters, amusement places, concert halls and gardens, on ball play grounds, in summer-

resort and amusement places organize themselves into this subdivision, such as actors, musicians, stage workers, singers, ushers, waiters in amusement places, etc., also all workers engaged in the making, production and exhibition of moving pictures.

F. The big department stores and distribution houses, with thousands of workers employed in each, have more or less assumed the functions of public service institutions. Not one specialized article, but in fact any and all kinds of commodities and fabrics are going through the process of distribution.

It would be well-nigh impossible to organize the workers in that service according to the goods that they handle in the process. Therefore, all the workers in these distribution stores are organized together into unions as component parts of the one subdivision, which in turn is a part of the department organization of public service workers.

Tailors in department stores, clerks in the shoe department of a department store, or any other workers, irrespective of the place of employment, of the tools they use, are organized together; stenographers, clerks, tailors, repairers, freight handlers, packers, department store drivers, bakers, candy makers, etc., in these stores, all are members of one industrial union.

CONCLUSION.

When now and then advocates of a better system of society refer to the new unionism they do it, in most cases, without knowing fully the distinction between the old kind of unionism and the unionism that advocates—One Big Union for the Entire Working Class the World Over! But, even if the critics of this plan of action disagree with the author of this booklet as to the means to attain a desired end, they can no longer plead that there never has been any literature presented in which the program of the industrial unionists has been enunciated.

Organize industrially; organize right! This is the call to the downtrodden heard all over the world. In increasing numbers the proletariat of every country is enlightening itself on the subject, and everywhere workers are preparing for organization in which they will find the embodiment of their collective power and the instrument for direct action, as occasion and conditions may command. All countries of the world are governed, principally, in the interests of the small class controlling industrial combinations. Whenever the workers aimed heavy blows at these interests directly, that is, when they refused to serve, temporarily, in the production process of these industries, the exploiting class all over the world burst out in frantic denunciations of the forces that had so little regard for private property.

The industrial unionists propose to organize the workers for more militant action within present day society, so that, with every advance gained, the workers will gain an appetite for more and for all, and will find the means to get it.

And in all these days of unrest and struggle the industrialists are preparing the administrative, the government agencies, for the industrial commonwealth. Representatives elected by the workers, organized in their indutrial organizations, will constitute the industrial parliament of the future, the workers' commune in municipal, national and international affairs.

STUDY THE CHART.

Observe how commercialism, the main factor in the development of the capitalist system of production, encircles the whole globe with the means and tributaries at its service:

Transportation facilities as the messengers for the exchange of products between countries and continents know no boundary lines- land, water, air have been conquered and rendered servants of the monstrous forces

behind the prevailing industrial system of production and exchange.

Industrial development has wiped out boundary lines between sectional territories.

National dividing lines disappear before the invincible force of the conqueror.

Continents so long separated by landmarks and obstacles of natural origin are linked and joined together by the gigantic weld of that international carrier of exchange and distribution.

But the functions of that agent of a social system are still today confined to the service of profit-production for a few.

What still remains, in the minds of mankind, as a force for separate nationalities, is merely imaginary.

A heavy load of traditional falsehoods, holding living human beings in a bondage of ignominious, deep-rooted, and ingeniously fostered intellectual, and hence also in industrial, serfdom must disappear; national separation must be swept aside by the advancing forces of international co-operation, before the highest and most marvelous stages of industrial development, social progress, and perfection in the utilization of all elements subservant to the generating powers of mankind, can be achieved, and a higher order of civilization be established.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL LINE.

Observe also how a second transcontinental line connects the world's component parts into one inseparable whole. Science and scientific research and discoveries are the international agencies by which the riddles and miracles of the universe, in all their magnitude, are solved and explained. Institutions of learning, schools and universities are linked together by the uniformity of fundamental laws governing science and the dissemination of knowledge and discoveries.

Likewise are evils and afflictions, springing irresistibly from the same sources, suffered alike by all living beings

throughout the world. Remedies and means of prevention must, consequently, assume the character of international agencies, deriving their support from the necessity of eliminating and curing the evils, and of removing the causes for their existence.

Hospitals, as curing stations; cleaning, sanitary and protective agencies, as institutions for prevention; the supply stations of water, light, and other means of public need are therefore joined together with the institutions of learning and with the agencies for recreation and amusement, into one great chain of international dependence, and are formed and maintained in the pursuit of functions preventive as well as beneficial, as the promoters and protectors of public interests and universal weal.

FOUR CARDINAL FUNCTIONS.

Observe, then, how in the complex process of production of the necessities of life four cardinal functions comprise the interlocking chain of industrial activity, through which the resources of the earth must run before their ultimate use.

A. From the soil, the woods, and the waters all material required for producing purposes is secured by the labor of the millions serving in the social process in raising and procuring the raw products for food, raiment and shelter.

B. From the bowels and the treasures of the earth labor puts out the material for fuel and the essential things which, after being transformed, comprise the implements and machinery of production and distribution.

C. With the matter thus furnished production proper for the providing of all necessary things of life and comfort is carried on in the various, but inter-depending places of production, mills and factories.

D. With all these things combined the constructive hand of labor builds the houses of shelter for the protection of life and matter against the adversities of nature's

forces, and harnesses them to render service for social good.

LABOR THE SOLE PRODUCER.

To all of the making and development of these social institutions the workers, and they alone, contribute their intellect and their manual labor. They have created the instruments to produce wealth with, and improved them as time rolled by.

These institutions are organized in their operative functions to yield profits for a few who never did, nor do, contribute to their making and maintenance, except in a manner to protect them in the possession of things that they did not make.

The human forces rendering these instruments, agencies and implements useful to all society, and adding value to matter and forces of nature, are divorced from their creations by powerful combinations of parasitic nature, by which a few control all the co-ordinate stations of industrial life through the means that they have organized and subjected to their rulership. Against these hostile powers the workers must organize their own resources and their own collective power, in organizations embracing all useful members of society and wealth producers.

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First: It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the workers of today in their struggles for fewer hours of toil, more wages and better conditions.

Secondly: It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from strikes, injunctions, bull-pens, and scabbing of one against the other.

Observe

How this organization will give recognition to control of shop affairs, provide perfect industrial unionism and converge the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Observe, also,

How the growth and development of this organization will build within itself the structure of an industrial democracy, which must finally burst the shell of capitalist government and be the agency by which the workers will operate the industries and appropriate the products to themselves.

One obligation for all.

A union man once and in one industry; a union man always and in all industries. Universal transfers, universal emblem.

All workers of one industry in one union; all unions of workers in one big labor alliance the world over.

Industrial unionism is not confined to one country. The best expression of it is found in America, in the Industrial Workers of the World, although the organization may appear to be still weak, numerically. But the conditions for the advent of the industrial revolutionary union are most promising, because the most advanced and highly developed industrial system of production is bound to find its counterpart in a similarly perfected organization of the working class on the industrial field.

As presented in this booklet, these institutions for wealth production, so well organized, so masterfully constructed, suggest the best forms of industrial organizations for the workers.

Industries are organized in six big departments, which are composed of forty-three subdivisions.

This arrangement is not arbitrarily fixed, or the product of one man's notion. The best tabulations of statis-

tical experts of different countries have been consulted, and the systematic arrangement will stand the test of scientific investigation.

Of course, it has been stated, and is herewith reiterated that this arrangement of industrial organization of workers would also assure the most effective solidarity of all producing forces in their defensive and aggressive struggles for the amelioration of the evils they suffer under, evils inherent in the capitalist system of distribution of the commodities created by labor.

When the workers organize industrial unions, copied from the institutions in which they are employed, they will be able to stand together as powerful industrial combinations in their skirmishes for better working conditions in any one industry. Not separated by craft divisions, or trade union contracts with the exploiters, they will not only be able to curtail production on a small scale and thus also the profits of the employers of labor, but they will abruptly stop production altogether, if necessary, in any one industry, or in all industries of a locality, or of a nation, or they can, when they are powerful enough, *shut* the *factories against the present employers* and commence production for *use.*

The workers, though, must tear down, as a first duty to themselves, all craft demarcation lines, the remnants of a by-gone age. Unhampered by that drag-chain, they can then develop and organize their industrial power. But that power must be guided in its use and exercise by the collective intelligence which will develop simultaneously with the generation of power. Equipped with the power of an industrial organization, with the knowledge gained in the every-day struggles against the oppressors, they will successfully strive for a higher standard of life-conditions, within this system, and they can master things and forces so that they will reach the final goal of all efforts—complete industrial emancipation.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in every civilized country are learning to understand the principles of in-

dustrial unionism. Thousands are organizing for the battle of today, for better conditions, and for the final clash in the future when the general lockout of the parasite class of non-producers will end the contest for industrial possessions and political supremacy.

If you are one of the millions needed to accomplish the task, join the industrial union composed of workers in the shop or plant where you work. If none exists, be the first to get busy. Get others, organize them. Learn to tackle the industrial problems. Show others how the workers will be able to run the industrial plants through the agencies of their own creation, locally, nationally internationally, the world over.

There are organizations everywhere, and where there are none, they will be formed. In the industrial union movement alone will the workers forge the sword, train themselves for the use of all and every weapon that can be utilized in the struggles for a better world. In the industrial union movement the workers *will* strictly adhere to the great axiom:

"The emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the working class itself,

"Workers of the World, Unite!"

Read the Manifesto, issued by the Industrial Workers of the World. Study the chart described in this pamphlet. Neatly printed on bond paper, 10c.

For information regarding the Industrial Workers of the World referred to in this booklet, write to Wm. D. Haywood, General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

INSTRUCTIONS HOW TO ORGANIZE.

To secure a Charter of the Industrial Workers of the World, get the names of twenty actual wage workers. Those who make a living by working for wages.

All who sign the Charter Application Blank pledge themselves to be in accord with the principles of the I. W. W., as outlined in the Preamble.

The Charter fee is ten dollars. This covers the cost of all books and supplies needed to fully equip a Union of twenty-five members.

Dues paid by the Union to the General Organization are fifteen cents per member per month.

If those who sign the Charter Application Blank are employed in the same industry they will be chartered as an Industrial Union Branch, with jurisdiction over all wage workers employed in that industry in that locality. If the signers of the Charter Application are employed in two or more industries, they will be chartered as a Recruiting Union. Recruiting Unions are temporary organizations, formed for the purpose of having organizations to carry on the educational work necessary for the formation of Industrial Unions.

The methods used in getting a Union started depend upon the circumstances in the locality where the Union is to be formed. You can call a meeting, advertising the same. If there are any among you who are able to explain the principles of the I. W. W., have them do so to those who attend the meeting.

After the explanation has been made, you can call upon all those present, who are in accord with the principles of the Organization, to come forward and sign the Charter Application. Or you can circulate the Charter Application among those with whom you come in contact, and explain the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World to them individually. If they desire to organize, have them sign their names and addresses on the Charter Application.

When you have twenty names, or more, you can notify them to attend the meeting, form a temporary organization by electing a temporary Secretary and Chairman. Collect the Charter fee from those who sign the Application, forward the same to this office, with the Application. The Charter and supplies will be sent to you at once.

In forwarding the Charter Application be sure to specify in what industry those who sign the Blank are employed, so we will know how to make out the Charter.

Trusting that the above will be of assistance to you in organizing your fellow workers, I am,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

WM. D. HAYWOOD,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
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One Big Union of all the Workers
The I. W. W.



Industry—the converting of the raw material of the earth into the goods needed by mankind for its life, happiness and health—is the center and foundation of our social life. Those who own the natural resources—the raw material—and those who own the machinery by which goods are produced and transported, form one class; and those who own only their labor-power, the workers, form the other. All social institutions, the law, social customs, political governments and so on, are but the reflection of the system of wealth production. These things change as the methods of industry change.

One class owns and controls the industrial necessities, to wit: the means of producing the wealth of the world. That class—commonly called the capitalist class—uses all other institutions to maintain itself in power and to further its own class interests. On the other hand, there is a class—the working class—which is eventually to change the whole system of the ownership of the means of production, and through this change, it will also materially alter all other social arrangements. Intelligent workers realize that, as soon as the means of production have passed from the employers' to the workers' hands, a thorough modification will take place in all branches of our life.

The whole proud edifice of social life and custom, being dependent upon a certain system of industrial ownership, must necessarily be fundamentally changed, as soon as industrial ownership is transferred from one class to another. But the new system is not suddenly evolved from the minds of a few, in a short period of disturbance. It is the product of a long period of change, ending in what is called revolution: the precise moment when the final change in the means of production is accomplished.

Just as the decaying elements of plant life, and other forms of existence, nourish the earth and prepare it for the bringing forth of new forms of life, so does the decay of a dying economic system fertilize the social soil for the growth of a new and better form. Nothing which has really been worth while in capitalism will be lost when capitalism disappears. Only the power of the small possessing class—our industrial autocrats—will be abolished, leaving industry in the hands of a free industrial community which will give it every opportunity for unhampered development.

The control of industry by the capitalist class came about through the overthrow of the old feudal power, when the land-owning class was dispossessed by the successful revolution of the bourgeoisie, or manufacturing and merchant class.

Working-class control of industry must be founded upon a sound scientific understanding of industrial processes. The workers, when their turn comes to manage things, must be in the position to organize industry upon o broader and more efficient basis than has been the case while it was in the hands of our profit-grabbing masters of today.

When, over a century ago, the capitalist wrested the control of the world from the feudal lords, the means of production—or the TOOLS—were more evenly distributed. There were then large numbers of petty capitalists—small manufacturers—who were

the owners of enterprises which would be considered nowadays as insignificant. This large class of small capitalists competed freely among themselves for trade; and they thought that this era of general competition and small capitalist prosperity was to last forever. At that time, the tool had not developed into the huge and complicated machine of today. Hand labor, of a highly skilled nature, predominated in the small factories of our grandfathers.

Since that time, industrial methods have naturally changed. The machinery of production has become more and more centralized; in other words, the competition of a host of small capitalists nas resulted in the conquest by a few of large numbers of their fellows, with the result that our great modern industries, ruled by all-powerful magnates, have emerged from the struggle. As the capitalist class grew in power, through the increasing ownership by a few of the means of production, it sought to make ever more secure its dominant position. This it did by strengthening the agencies by which it controlled the masses: the political and legal arms of capitalist power, besides the intricate machinery for blinding the workers to the exploitation of their labor-power, such as the press and the school system.

As this process continued, the gulf between the class that owns and the class that labors became more and more apparent. The master class achieved ever a more powerful and secure dictatorship; and the workers were restricted more and more to the status of a class that lives but to toil for the benefit of their exploiters.

We have seen that the governing factor in history is industrial evolution. As the methods of production change, so is the entire social structure affected. It is therefore useless to endeavor to better social ills —such as poverty, bad housing, under-nourishment, insufficient schooling—while ignoring their industrial cause: the ownership of industry by a few. The

efforts of well-meaning but superficial reformers are thus proven useless; and worse than useless, because they divert the attention of the workers to the effects, instead of pointing out to them the root cause.

The trades unions, or craft unions, organized, as they are, upon the basis of the old skilled craftsman industry, rather than that of modern machine industry, cannot affect the iron march of industrial growth. All they can do is to win minor wage concessions for small and select sections of the skilled working class. And even these insignificant victories have no lasting benefit, especially as one skilled craft after the other loses its advantageous position on the labor market, through the replacement of human dexterity by improved machinery.

The modern middle class, which consists largely of the losers in the former competitive battle between the early capitalists, also is feeling the pinch. It is being slowly ground out, between the upper millstone of large-scale capitalism and the nether millstone of increasingly militant labor. Its ideal is a return to the conditions of the earlier, small-scale capitalism; and it is too short-sighted to realize the utter futility of trying to set back the hands of the evolutionary clock. However, it has enlisted in its reformist ranks numbers of the workers who are still too mentally confused to recognize that their salvation can come only from their own efforts as a class. Hence, the prevalence of such political quack nostrums as "trust-busting."

But the workers should have no part in these last frantic attempts at class-independence of the decaying middle class, the former small employers who have been expropriated by their luckier or more cunning fellows. They should have no interest in liberal or reform political movements initiated by this section of society, who can only hope to achieve and advance by securing the adhesion of the workers to their political crusades.

The workers should realize that their class has an all-important historical mission to fulfil. By historical mission, we mean that the evolution of industry must inevitably reach that point when capitalist control must break down, and the working class—the product of previous industrial history—is the only conceivable agency to assume its control. The study of history has taught us that growth is achieved through the struggles of class against class. Throughout the ages, as one class lifted itself out of subjection and attained revolutionary success, it has always left another economic class beneath it. For instance, when the merchants successfully revolted against, and overthrew, the feudal aristocracy, there remained in subjection the working class, or proletariat. But now the world is sweeping on to another class struggle, that of the toilers against the masters of industry. And here is the most important feature of this latest class upheaval: THERE IS NO OTHER CLASS BELOW THE WORKING CLASS. Thus, history shows us that the ONLY class which can successfully abolish capitalism is the working class. And it also shows us that, with the freedom of the workers—the last of the subjugated classes—economic classes will CEASE TO EXIST. Thus, it is the historic mission—the function imposed by history—of the working class to inaugurate the new classless society in the world.

It is thus the duty of the working class to prepare for the control of industry. It is our business to organize now, under capitalism, in such a manner that we may assume efficient management of industry when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

Industry has now arrived at a condition of high mechanical and organized perfection. It is ready for working-class operation and control. Now it is necessary for us to mobilize our human productive power in such a way that we can carry on the processes of industry without interruption or dislocation during the period of our rise to power.

In order to do this, we must thoroughly understand the structure of modern industry. We must understand the nature of the various great industries, and also their relationship, one to the other. We, the workers, are to inherit this gigantic and intricate industrial machine. We must study and understand its every detail, so that we may now build up, under wage-slavery, the army of production which is to assume immediate control when wage-slavery is overthrown.

We are now engaged, fellow workers, in the construction of the society of the future. Detail by detail, we must build up the system by which the free society of the Workers' Republic will provide itself with all the necessaries of life. In organizing industrially, we are perfecting the industrial army which will take hold of the production processes when the workers shall have, once for all, put an end to capitalistic exploitation and all its attendant miseries. We are now providing for the new world that is to be, for the new society of free men and women who will receive the full value of their toil; and who will live unhampered by the necessity of constant warfare against an irresponsible plunder-band of taskmasters.

In the understanding of the gravity of our task, of the sacred duty imposed upon us as the producers of the world's goods and the revolutionary controllers of the world's future destinies, we turn to the study of the modern industrial structure.

Analysis of the Arrangement of Industries

The Chart Explained in Detail.

The main object of this explanation to the chart is to show how industries are grouped together in a scientific order.

Production begins with the exploitation of the natural resources of the earth. Labor is applied to extract the material that nature has stored up or generated. Production continues with the transportation of these products, mostly raw material, or fuel-matter, to the centers of manufacture and commerce. The construction of places of shelter for a man and things, the building of agencies of communication, are functions of another industrial branch of the system. We observe, finally, how the care-taking, the education, the providing for public convenience, fall to the functions of another department in the interdependent process of industrial life.

In presenting this plan of organization of industries, as it exists today, we have in mind only the object before explained. The workers, forced by capitalist ownership of the means of production to do service in all these industries, must organize themselves in their proper places in the industries in which they are engaged. Every worker who studies this map will find where he will fit in when the industries are organized for the control of the workers through industrial organization.

Of course, it is the ultimate purpose of this arrangement that every worker shall have equal rights,

and equal duties also, with all others in the management of the industry in which he or she serves in the process of production.

But the other purpose, equally important, is **to organize the workers in such a way that all the members of the organization in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making the injury to one the injury to all.**

Of course, this can only be accomplished when the workers organize on industrial lines. That is to say, the workers of any one plant or industry must be members of one and the same organization—no craft division lines. The capitalist institutions are today organized on exactly the same lines. The industries as they are grouped today, dovetailing into each other, furnish to the workers the basis for the construction of their organization for the struggles of today for better living conditions, and for the supervision and the management of industries in an industrial commonwealth of workers and producers.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS IS PART OF PRODUCTION

All natural resources of the soil, mines and water receive their first value when labor is applied to turn the products into useful things.

But all of these products have more social value when they are transported to places of manufacture and commerce, where they are transformed and converted into commodities for exchange.

The life of human beings will not consist of common drudgery alone when all the good things created are enjoyed by the workers.

For all purposes, present and the future, the functions of the public service institutions have to be defined, and people engaged in their maintenance must be given a place in the industrial organization; the same as those who take care of the sick and disabled.

Those who render other social and public service should know they are engaged in useful occupation, although most of the institutions in which they serve today are prostituted for the protection of capitalist interests.

For all functions combined, the industries are arranged on the general plan presented on the map, as follows:

1. The Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, 100.
2. The Department of Mining and Minerals, 200.
3. The Department of General Construction, 300.
4. The Department of Manufacture and General Production, 400.
5. The Department of Transportation and Communication, 500.
6. The Department of Public Service, 600.

The numbers following the names of the departments are the department numbers. All unions within a department are given numbers which contain the first figure of the department number. For instance, all unions in department 200, are numbered 210, 220 and so on. By observing the "hundred" to which an industrial union belongs, you may immediately ascertain its department.

The departments again have their subdivisions. As it is proposed that the workers organize in accordance with the industries in which they are engaged in service,it is essential that a general term be applied. This will make it easier to understand that each of these industrial subdivisions constitutes for itself a sub-organization of workers, in which they will be able to govern affairs that appertain to that industry alone.

Each of these sub - divisions would comprise the workers organized in an Industrial Union, which, however would not be separated and distinct from all others, as the term "division" would imply.

It is impossible, at this stage, to eliminate entirely the terms now used to designate certain functions that sets of workers perform in each industry. But it should be distinctly understood that this is not to imply that these craft-groups in industries will organize, as has been the case heretofore, in separate craft-unions, or according to the tools that each set of workers use. That would mean dividing-up under another name. A worker in an industry will be assigned to the organization representing the products of that industry. Each sub-branch of the general industrial union is modeled accordingly.

When the workers engaged in a particular industrial production organize industrially, all are subject to the same rules governing the affairs of each industry. But certain fundamental rules and principles governing all component parts of the "one big union of workers" cannot be infringed upon by any of its component part without doing injury to the whole organic body.

Still another point to be made clear: **The process of production does not cease untill the finished product reaches the consumer. All workers engaged in the process of distribution are membrs of the same industrial union, or Department Organization in which the makers of the commodity are organized.**

Of course, the railroad and water-transportation workers will be in the Transportation Department, although it might be said that they are engaged in the process of distribution. But here is the difference. They only transport goods to other localities or countries, and the real distribution process for use and consumption takes place after finished commodities have reached the merchant.

For instance: A salesman or clerk in a shoe store would be a member of the organization, or a branch thereof, in which are organized all workers engaged in the shoe industry. A teamster delivering meats, or other goods from a grocery, would be in the orga-

nization in which all the foodstuff workers of that particular branch are organized. But a truck driver, who may haul a big shipment of boxes containing garments from depot to another, and on his next trip between depots, will haul a load of nails for further transportation or distribution, performs the work of a transport worker, and as such organized in the union of that industry.

With these necessary explanations, suggestive of a better understanding of the plan of organization, one will far better be able to see how industries are grouped on the chart.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES No. 100.

A. Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110

All workers on farms, irrigation work, cotton and sugar plantations. All workers engaged in the raising of cattle, livestock etc., on fowl and bird farms, on diary farms, etc.

B. Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 120.

All workers in forests; rangers, foresters, etc.; all workers engaged in logging operations, in saw and shingle mills, and preparing wood for fuel and manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, bark, etc.

C. Fishery Workers Industrial Union, 130.

All workers in fishery and fishing pursuits on ocean, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers. Workers engaged in collecting of pearls, corals and sponges. Workers in fish hatcheries, divers, etc.

D. Floral Workers Industrial Union, 140.

All workers engaged in orchards, gardens, vineyards, truck farms, green- and hot-houses, on fruit farms. All workers engaged in silk cultivation, etc.

DEPARTMENT OF MINING AND MINERALS, 200.

A. Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union, 210.

All workers engaged in mining of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, platinum, iron, etc., etc., in mills, smelters, refineries and other reduction works. For the present, this division also includes quarry workers, such as those engaged in mining of salt, sulphur, clay, borax, mica, bromide, graphite, soda, gypsum, asphalt, limestone, sandstone, whetstone, marble, onyx, slates, building stone, granite, etc. All precious gems, salines, salt and soda dry works, etc.

B. Coal Mine Workers Industrial Union, 220.

All workers engaged in coal mining, lignite, anthracite, bituminous, etc. in the production of coke, briquettes, peat and turf, and in the distribution of these products.

C. Oil Workers Industrial Union, 230.

All workers engaged in the production of oil, and in refineries, gas wells, filters, etc., and in the distribution of these products.

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CONSTRUCTION, 300.

A. Railroad, Road and Tunnel Construction Workers Industrial Union, 310.

All workers engaged in construction of docks, railroads, highways, streets, bridges, sewers, subways, tunnels, canals, viaducts, irrigation work construction.

B. Shipbuilding Workers Industrial Union, 320.

All workers engaged in building of boats, launches, ships and steamers and in repairing them; dry dock workers, etc.

C. Building Construction Workers Industrial Union, 330.

All workers engaged in erecting and constructing houses and buildings, the delivery of building material. Plumbers, steam and sprinkler fitters, architects, excavators, stone masons, bricklayers, hod carriers, electricians, painters, iron workers, etc.

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURE AND GENERAL PRODUCTION, 400.

A. Textile Workers Industrial Union, 410.

All workers engaged in cotton, wool and silk, linen, flax and fibre mills, etc. Also all workers engaged in manufacture of wearing apparel, of cloth, fur, straw, rubber and fabrics of all kinds.

B. Wood Workers Industrial Union, 420.

All workers engaged in planing mills, piano factories, furniture factories, broom and brush factories, coopers, etc.

C. Chemical Workers Industrial Union, 430.

All workers engaged in drugs, paint rubber and gutta-percha goods, powder, dynamite and other explosives; medicines, chemicals, perfumes, inks, etc.; paper, sulphide, sulphite, cellulose, graphite, etc.

D. Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union, 440.

All workers engaged in blast furnaces, steel mills, tinplate mills, agricultural machinery, etc., construction of cars, locomotives, engines, automobiles, bicycles, aeroplanes, etc., tool makers, jewelry and watchmakers, various instruments, etc.; electrical workers, electricians.

E. Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union, 450.

All workers on papers, books, catalogues; litho-

graphers, linotypers, stereotypers, electrotypers, photoengravers, photographers, artists, spot knockers, etc.

F. Foodstuff Workers Industrial Union, 460.

All workers in flour mills, bakeries, sugar refineries, candy and syrup factories, packing houses, meat, fish; cold storage plants, milk and butter creameries, soda factories, breweries and distilleries, vinegar and soda water factories; tobacco workers, cigars, cigarettes, chewing, snuff, etc.; canning factories, hotels, restaurants, domestic workers, etc.

G. Leather Workers Industrial Union, 470.

All workers in tanneries, boot shoe and glove factories; harness makers, bags, satchels, trunk, belts, etc., etc.

H. Glass and Pottery Workers Industrial Union, 480.

All workers in glass factories, potteries, terra cotta, brick yards; tiles, china ware, etc.; and in the distribution of these products.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION, 500.

A. Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union, 510.

All workers engaged in marine transportation, steam, motor, sailing ships, submarines, etc.; docks, wharves; longshoremen, clerks; all workers in this industry.

B. Railroad Workers Industrial Union, 520.

All workers engaged in long distance railways, steam and electric; third rail and trolley, in freight and passenger service; locomotive car and repair shops; passenger and freight yard service; car cleaning, freight sheds; passenger stations and office forces, etc.

C. Telegraph and Telephone Workers Industrial Union, 530.

All workers engaged in postal telegraph, telephone, wireless, etc. All workers in this industry.

D. Municipal Transportation Workers Industrial Union, 540.

All workers engaged in municipal, short distance transportation service; street cars, elevated roads, subways, sidewalks, etc.

E. Aerial Navigation Workers Industrial Union, 550.

All workers employed in aerial navigation.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE, 600.

A. Health and Sanitation Workers Industrial Union, 610.

All workers engaged in hospitals and health restoration services; physicians, surgeons, internes, nurses, attendants, clerks, janitors, etc.

B. Park and Highway Maintenance Workers Industrial Union, 620.

All workers engaged in street cleaning in parks and on street crossings.

C. Educational Workers Industrial Union, 630.

All workers in educational institutions, schools, colleges, universities and other institutions of learning.

D. General Distribution Workers Industrial Union, 640.

All workers engaged in general distribution, department stores; packers, drivers, clerks, salesmen, etc., etc.

E. Public Utility Workers Industrial Union, 650.

All workers engaged in municipal, water and electric supply service; waterworks, public service works, etc.

F. Amusement Workers Industrial Union, 660.

All workers in theaters, playhouses and motion pictures; and other places of amusement and recreation.

CONCLUSION.

When now and then advocates of a better system of society refer to the new unionism they do it, in most cases, without knowing fully the distinction between the old kind of unionism and the unionism that advocates— One Big Union for the Entire Working Class the World Over! But, even if the critics of this plan of action disagree with the author of this booklet as to the means to attain a desired end, they can no longer plead that there never has been any literature presented in which the program of industrial unionists has been enunciated.

Organize industrially; organize right! This is the call to the downtrodden heard all over the world. In increasing numbers the proletariat of every country is enlightening itself on the subject, and everywhere workers are preparing for organization in which they will find the embodiment of their collective power and the instrument for direct action, as occasion and conditions may command. All countries of the world are governed, principally, in the interests of the small class controlling industrial combinations. Whenever the workers aimed heavy blows at these interests directly, that is, when they refused to serve, temporarily, in the production process of these industries, the exploiting class all over the world burst out in frantic denunciations of the forces that had so little regard for private property.

The industrial unionists propose to organize the workers for more militant action within present day society, so that, with every advance gained, the workers will gain an appetite for more and for all, and will find the means to get it.

And in all these days of unrest and struggle the industrialists are preparing the administrative, the government agencies, for the industrial commonwealth. Representatives elected by the workers, organized in their industrial organizations, will constitute the industrial parliament of the future, the workers' commune in municipal, national and international affairs.

STUDY THE CHART.

Observe how commercialism, the main factor in the development of the capitalist system of production, encircles the whole globe with the means and tributaries at its service:

Transportation facilities as the messengers for the exchange of products between countries and continents know no boundary lines—land, water, air have been conquered and rendered servants of the monstrous forces behind the prevailing industrial system of production and exchange.

Industrial development has wiped out boundary lines between sectional territories.

National dividing lines disappear before the invincible force of the conqueror.

Continents so long separated by landmarks and obstacles of natural origin are linked and joined together by the gigantic weld of that international carrier of exchange and distribution.

But the functions of that agent of a social system are still today confined to the service of profit-production for a few.

What still remains, in the minds of mankind, as a force for separate nationalities, is merely imaginary.

Traditional falsehoods, which today are taught by the press, school and pulpit, and which hold men and women in intellectual, and hence industrial bondage, must disappear; national separation must be swept aside by the advancing of international co-operation, before the highest and most marvelous stages of industrial development, social progress, and perfection in the utilization of all elements subservient to the generating powers of mankind, can be achieved, and a higher order of civilization be established.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL LINE.

Observe also how a second transcontinental line connects the world's component parts into one inseparable whole. Science and scientific research and discoveries are the international agencies by which the riddles and miracles of the universe, in all their magnitude, are solved and explained. Institutions of learning, schools and universities are linked together by the uniformity of fundamental laws governing science and the dissemination of knowledge and discoveries.

Likewise are evils and afflictions, springing irresistibly from the same sources, suffered alike by all living beings throughout the world. Remedies and means of prevention must, consequently, assume the character of international agencies, deriving their support from the necessity of eliminating and curing the evils, and of removing the causes for their existence.

Hospitals, as curing stations; cleaning, sanitary and protective agencies, as institutions for prevention; the supply stations of water, light, and other means of public need are therefore joined together with the institutions of learning and with the agen-

cies for recreation and amusement, into one great chain of international dependence, and are formed and maintained in the pursuit of functions preventive as well as beneficial, as the promoters and protectors of public interests and universal weal.

FOUR CARDINAL FUNCTIONS.

Observe, then, how in the complex process of production of the necessities of life four cardinal functions comprise the interlocking chain of industrial activity, through which the resources of the earth must run before their ultimate use.

From the soil, the woods, and the waters all material required for producing purposes is secured by the labor of the millions serving in the social process in raising and procuring the raw products for food, raiment and shelter.

From the bowels and the treasures of the earth labor puts out the material for fuel and the essential things which, after being transformed, compromise the implements and machinery of production and distribution.

With the matter thus furnished production proper for the providing of all necessary things of life and comfort is carried on in the various, but inter-depending places of production, mill and factories.

With all these things combined the constructive hand of labor builds the houses of shelter for the protection of life and matter against the adversities of nature's forces, and harnesses them to render service for social good.

LABOR THE SOLE PRODUCER.

To all of the making and development of these social institutions the workers, and they alone, contribute their intellect and their manual labor. They have created the instruments to produce wealth with, and improved them as time rolled by.

These institutions are organized in their operative functions to yield profits for a few who never did, nor do, contribute to their making and maintenance, except in a manner to protect them in the possession of things that they did not make.

The human farces rendering these instruments, agencies and implements useful to all society, and adding value to matter and forces of nature, are divorced from their creations by powerful combinations of parasitic nature, by which a few control all the co-ordinate stations of industrial life through the means that they have organized and subjected to their rulership. Against these hostile powers the workers must organize their own resources and their own collective power, in organizations embracing all useful members of society and wealth producers.

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First: It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the workers of today in their struggles for fewer hours of toil, more wages and better conditions.

Secondly: It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from strikes, injunctions, jails, and scabbing of one against the other.

Observe

How this organization will give recognition to control of shop affairs, provide perfect industrial unionism and converge the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Observe, also,

How the growth and development of this organization will build within itself the structure of an indus-

trial democracy, which must finally burst the shell of capitalist government and be the agency by which the workers will operate the industries and appropriate the products to themselves.

One obligation for all.

A union man once and in one industry; a union man always and in all industries. Universal transfers, universal emblem.

All workers of one industry in one union; all unions of workers in one big labor alliance the world over.

Industrial unionism is not confined to one country. The best expression of it is found in America, in the Industrial Workers of the World, although the organization may appear to be still weak, numerically. But the conditions for the advent of the industrial revolutionary union are most promising, because the most advanced and highly developed industrial system of production is bound to find its counterpart in a similarly perfected organization of the working class on the industrial field.

As presented in this booklet, these institutions for wealth production, so well organized, so masterfully constructed, suggest the best forms of industrial organizations for the workers.

Industries are organized in six big departments, which are composed of twenty-nine subdivisions or industrial unions.

This arrangement is not arbitrarily fixed, or the product of one man's notion. The best tabulations of statistical experts of different countries have been consulted, and the systematic arrangement will stand the test of scientific investigation.

Of course, it has been stated, and is herewith reiterated that this arrangement of industrial organization of workers would also assure the most effective solidarity of all producing forces in their defensive and aggressive struggles for the amelioration of the

evils they suffer under, evils inherent in the capitalist system of distribution of the commodities created by labor.

When the workers organize industrial unions, copied from the institutions in which they are employed, they will be able to stand together as powerful industrial combinations in their skirmishes for better working conditions in any one industry. Not separated by craft divisions or trade union contracts with the exploiters, they will not only be able to curtail production on a small scale and thus also the profits of the employers of labor, but they will abruptly stop production altogether, if necessary, in any one industry, or in all industries of a locality, or of a nation, or they can, when they are powerful enough, **shut the factories against the present employers** and commence production for **use.**

The workers, though, must tear down, as a first duty to themselves, all craft demarcation lines, the remnants of a by-gone age. Unhampered by that drag-chain, they can then develop and organize their industrial power. But that power must be guided in its use and exercise by the collective intelligence which will develop simultaneously with the generation of power. Equipped with the power of an industrial organization, with the knowledge gained in the every-day struggles against the oppressors, they will successfully strive for a higher standard of life-conditions, within this system, and they can master things and forces so that they will reach the final goal of all efforts—complete industrial emancipation.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in every civilized country are learning to understand the principles of industrial unionism. Thousands are organizing for the battle of today, for better conditions, and for the final clash in the future when the general lockout of the parasite class of non-producers will end the contest for industrial possessions and political supremacy.

If you are one of the millions needed to accomplish the task, join the industrial union composed of workers in the shop or plant where you work. If none exists, be the first to get busy. Get others, organize them. Learn to tackle the industrial problems. Show others how the workers will be able to run the industrial plants through the agencies of their own creation, locally, nationally, internationally, the world over.

There are organizations everywhere, and where there are none, they will be formed. In the industrial union movement alone will the workers forge the sword, train themselves for the use of all and every weapon that can be utilized in the struggles for a better world. In the industrial union movement the workers **will** strictly adhere to the great exiom:

"The emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the working class itself,

"Workers of the World, Unite!"

Read the Manifesto, issued by the Industrial Workers of the World. Study the chart described in this pamphlet.

For information regarding the Industrial Workers of the World referred to in this booklet, write to the General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

THE I. W. W. PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto: "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

A Final Word

Brother! As fellow members of the working class, suppose we get together and talk things over a little.

In the first place, what have we got in common?

We are both wage earners, you and I. That means that we both work for some one else, the boss, who keeps for himself by far the greater part of what we produce, giving us barely enough to keep ourselves alive, in order that we may be able to produce some one else to take our places when we are worn out and ready for the scrap heap.

What does the boss want?

It is easy to see that he wants to get our labor power just as cheaply as he can. The cheaper he gets it, the larger will be his own profits.

What do you and I want?

We want, first of all, as good a living as we can possibly get for ourselves, our wives and families and those dependent upon us.

Life is something more than mere existence. We want more, therefore, than a mere "living". We want to live in the truest and fullest sense of the word. We want to raise our standard of living as high as we can. We want to live, not like animals, but as human beings should live.

That means that we must have decent wages. It means, too, that when the cost of living goes up, we must have more wages.

We want also a decent and reasonable margin of

leisure. We don't want to spend so much time making a living that we have no time or strength left to live.

That means that we must have as short hours as possible.

Students of economics have calculated that if all the world belonged to the working class—that is, to the producing class—that if there were no social parasites, the work of the world could be done in a work-day of two hours. That may or may not be exactly true, but there is no doubt that, if all the world did belong to the producing class, the hours of necessary labor would be greatly reduced. The principle is true.

And so, when our capitalist boss, angered by your demand for shorter hours hurls at you the charge of selfishness and tells you that you are trying to curtail production, don't be deceived!

Ask him why, if production is so tremendously important, he and his kind don't put on the overalls and jumpers.

Ask him why it is the parlor lounge lizards and the pink tea Reggies, parasites that have no more excuse for being than the bed bug or the house fly—go into the mines and mills, the harvest fields, lumber camps, railroad yards, shops and offices. They can't even plead the excuse, which the boss himself is ready with, that of managing and directing your labor power.

Another thing we want is decent working conditions. We want sanitary, healthful conditions, and we want safe working conditions.

The better working conditions you and I have, the more it is going to cost the boss. Remember!—

The boss is not in business for your health!

To make a long story short, fellow worker, can't you see that you and the boss have nothing in common?

Your interests are not his interests; and so, when

he comes to you with his own axe to grind and tells you that if you wish to "succeed" and "forge ahead" you should "regard your employer's interests as your own," are you going to swallow the boss' bunk?

The truth is, the boss is purely selfish, and that means that you and I have got to be selfish, too.

What we want, fellow worker, is an ever increasing share in the good things of life.

The world belongs to the workers, to those, who do the work of the world.

But the workers are not going to get their rights, they are not going to get back what belongs to them, without a struggle. A robber cannot be expected to give up his loot without putting up a fight.

You cannot fight the battle alone. If you think you can, try it! You will soon find yourself out of a job and your place taken by a scab, a fink, another worker who, like you, is trying to go it alone and who, in the struggle for existence, is willing to undersell you in the labor market. Tomorrow, you in your turn will be underselling him, and so it will go.

The workers of America and the world have just about learned their lesson, the lesson that "In union there is strength." A large proportion of them have grasped the organized-labor-union-idea. It is to be hoped that you have arrived at least this far in the evolution of your social consciousness.

While, however, many workers have learned that in union there is strength, many more have not yet learned that—

The greater the union, the greater the strength.

When they have learned this last lesson, their preparation for the economic struggle, the class war, will be more nearly complete. They will then perceive the futility of organizing along old worn-out craft-union lines. They will see, as they should be able to see now, that in any strike or walkout (that is, in any pitched battle on the economic field) the bosses do all in their power to pit one craft-union

against another, playing them off against each other like pawns on a chess-board. They will have become disgusted with the spectacle of members of one union, for the sake of a trifling temporary advantage, scabbing on their fellow workers of another craft in the same industry. They will perceive the absolute necessity of all the workers in an industry being organized into one big union.

They will, in short, have learned the lesson of **industrial unionism.**

They will, in short, have learned the lesson of weapon fit to compare with the boss' own. The boss, it must be remembered, has at his command all the forces of a capitalist, boss-controlled government, represented by the policeman's club, the militiamen's bayonet and bullet, the judge's anti-strike injunction, the Federal Board of Arbitration's one-sided decisions, etc. That is his weapon.

Workers, your weapon is **your economic strength.**

But if that strength is scattered and dispersed, it is like using a rusty old rifle to oppose a battalion of modern machine guns.

The class war is on, whether you are ready for it or not. Fellow worker, are **you** prepared?

Remember that in every war there are two sides. You can not fight with both armies. If you are a boss, you will fight the boss' battle. The bosses have learned their lesson long ago. They are ready. They are organized. The bosses have their one big union. If you don't believe it, look at the Standard Oil trust, the International Harvester trust, the Wall Street money trust. There is a more or less visible one big union of all of these.

If you are a workingman, **line up with your class!**

That doesn't mean merely lining up with your fellow workers in the same trade. It means lining up with all the workers in industry.

When you have reached this point, fellow worker, the next thing for you to do is to take out a card in

the **Industrial Workers of the World,** the only effective organization of the working class on the economic field.

When you have done so, you will receive a copy of the I. W. W. Constitution. In the preamble to that Constitution you will read:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system."

That is the I. W. W.'s declaration of war upon present-day capitalistic society. It means war to the bitter end. It means, there shall be no trading with the enemy.

And so, when the boss and his flunkies, the preacher, the teacher, the college professor, the public lecturer, and, worst of all the lying capitalist press, come around, as they will, and try to tell you that "the interests of labor and capital are one," tell them they lie.

When your "leaders" in the A. F. of L. and other old-line craft-union organizations, in their effort to betray you and sell you out, tell you the same thing, give them the lie.

Let the words of the I. W. W. Preamble, that famous clarion call of the working class to battle and victory, ring in your ears:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common . . . between these two classes a struggle must go on."

Have you taken out your I. W. W. card? **Do it today!**

INSTRUCTIONS HOW TO ORGANIZE.

To secure a Charter of the Industrial Workers of the World, get the names of twenty actual wage workers. Those who make a living by working for wages.

All who sign the Charter Application Blank pledge themselves to be in accord with the principles of the I. W. W., as outlined in the Preamle.

The Charter fee is ten dollars. This covers the cost of all books and supplies needed to fully equip a Union Branch of twenty-five members.

Dues paid by the Union to the General Organization are twenty-five cents per member per month.

If those who sign the Charter Application Blank are employed in the same industry they will be chartered as an Industrial Union Branch, with jurisdiction over all wage workers employed in that industry in that locality.

The methods used in getting a Union started depend upon the circumstances in the locality where the Union is to be formed. If there are any among you who are able to explain the principles of the I. W. W., have them do so to those who attend the meeting.

After the explanation has been made, you can call upon all those present, who are in accord with the principles of the Organization, to come forward and sign the Charter Application. Or you can circulate the Charter Application among those with whom you come in contact, and explain the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World to them individually. If they desire to organize, have them sign their names and addresses on the Charter Application.

When you have twenty names, or more, you can notify them to attend the meeting, form a temporary organization by electing a temporary Secretary and Chairman. Collect the Charter fee from those who sign the Application, forward the same to this office, with the Application. The Charter and supplies will be sent to you at once.

In forwarding the Charter Application be sure to specify in what industry those who sign the Blank are amployed, so we will know how to make out the Carter.

Send all communications to the

GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 West Madison Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

ONE BIG UNION

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD



THE STRUCTURE OF THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First—It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the working people of today in their struggle for fewer hours, more wages and better conditions.

Secondly—It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from strikes, injunctions, jails and scabbing of one against the other.

Study the Chart and observe how this organization will give recognition to control of shop affairs, provide perfect industrial unionism, and converge the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Observe, also, how the growth and development of this organization will build up within itself the structure of an Industrial Democracy—a Workers' Co-operative Republic—which must finally burst the shell of capitalist government, and be the agency by which the workers will operate the industries, and appropriate the products to themselves.

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Universal transfers.

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All workers of one industry in one union; all unions of workers in one big labor alliance the world over.

INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO

SOCIAL relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonism more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerve respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by class divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and prices grow higher. Shifted here and there by the demands of profit takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this hopeless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his masters may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by differences in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the workers, are imposed by the employers that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary, and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while workers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions.

The battles of the past emphasize this lesson.

The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow workers subject to the same masters; the long struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, the thousands of subway railroad workers of New York City forced into defeat by orders from the Civic Federation, the unholy alliance between leaders of labor and captains of industry; the hatmakers in a long-drawn-out struggle fighting the industrial power of their opponents with weapons of by-gone days; the iron and steel workers defeated in their efforts to beat the gigantic combination of capitalist interests with a disintegrated, powerless craft union of mechanics; the switchmen of the Northwest losing their contest through the allegiance of their fellow unionists to the common enemy; the suffering coal miners of Pennsylvania and Illinois, starving in a hopeless conflict while other union miners are supplying the markets with coal; the defeated street car workers of Philadelphia unsupported by other craft unionists in their conflict; the tens of thousands of militant men and women of that city who, not shackled by craft union contracts which would force them to scab as the craft unionists had done, preferred to stand by the striking car men in struggle against oppression, wrong and abuses and be crushed with them as the result of this division in the ranks of the workers; the steel and iron workers of Bethlehem deserted when support and co-operation would have brought victory and amelioration of the evils they rebelled against; the seamen once in the employ of the same corporation by which the steel workers' craft unions were crushed appealing in vain for the support in their struggle for the rights of free men, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement or adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools they operate, and the product of which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies. Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by an universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while seperate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD is an organization to fulfill these conditions. It is the modern, scientific movement of the working class toward emancipation by INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. All the workers in any division of an industry are organized into an INDUSTRIAL UNION, so branched as the needs of the industry may require; these INDUSTRIAL UNIONS are in turn organized into INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS of connecting, or kindred industries, while all are brought together in the GENERAL ORGANIZATION of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD—ONE BIG UNION OF ALL THE WORKING CLASS of ALL THE WORLD, making possible world-wide working-class SOLIDARITY.

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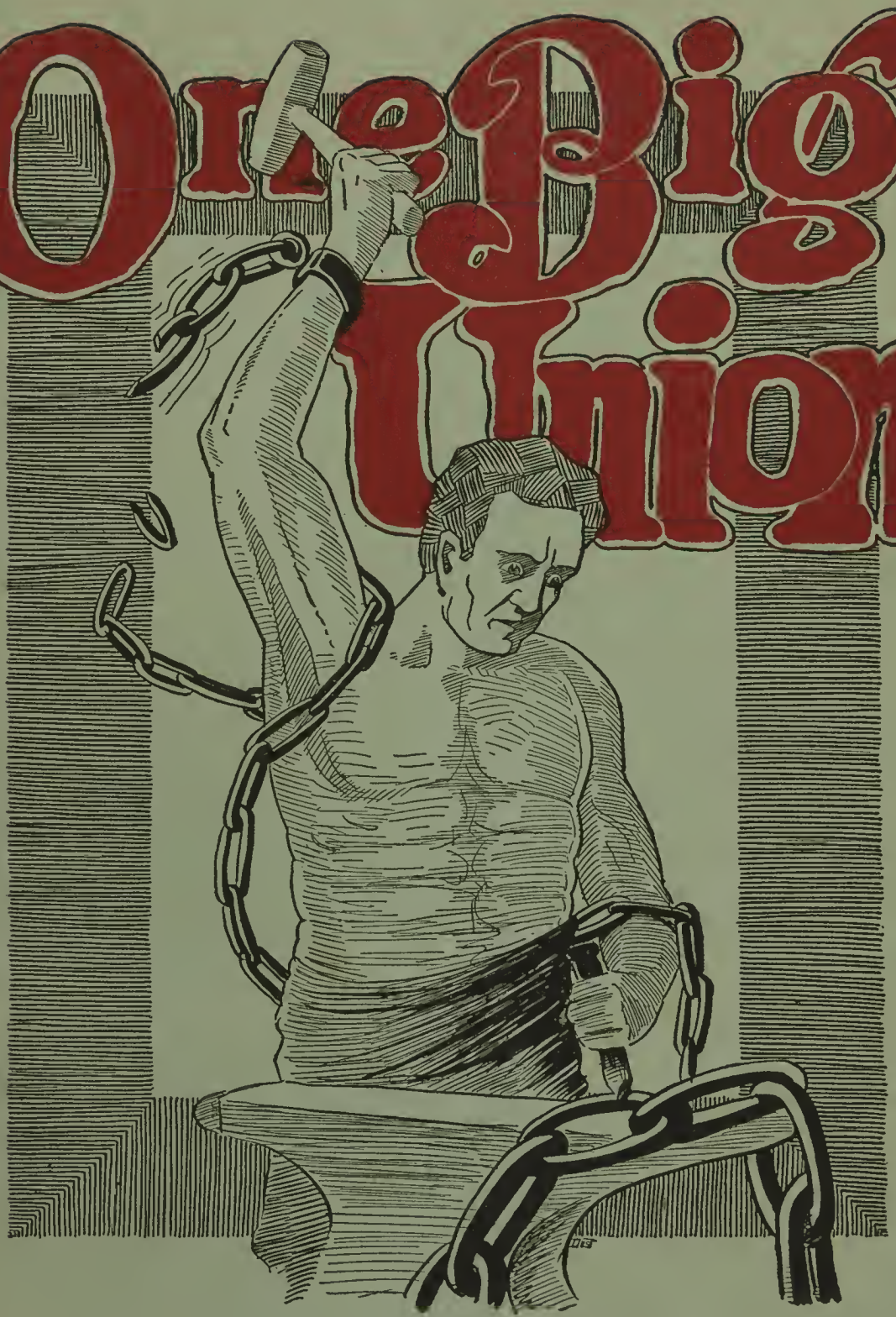
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General Secretary-Treasurer,
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One Big Union



Published by

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ONE BIG UNION OF THE I. W. W.

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PRICE TEN CENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 WEST MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

Printed by the Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union, No. 450, I. W. W.

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One Big Union of the I. W. W.

Social relations are the reflex of the grouping of industrial possessions. The owners of all resources and means of wealth form a class by themselves; the owners of labor power, as their only possession in the market, another. Political, judicial, educational and other institutions only mirror the prevailing system of ownership in the resources and means of production.

One class—the capitalist class—owns and controls the social necessaries, to wit: the economic resources of the world. That class, for its own protection and perpetuation in power, subjects all institutions to its own interests. On the other hand, there is a class—the working class—which is eventually to change the whole system of the ownership of the means of production. Intelligent workers realize that immediately following the change, these social relations will also be shifted; institutions deriving their support and sustenance from the class in power will be made to conform to new conditions after the overthrow of the existing industrial system.

Social structures collapse as a result of ever recurring changes in their economic foundation. But the new structure is not a ready-made product of each of the epochs of reconstruction. A historic process of evolution reaches a climax in a revolutionary upheaval. Achievements of preceding epochs are always utilized in the constructive work of a never-resting, always advancing civilization.

Decaying elements render nourishment to Mother Earth for the generation of new species and structures. Nothing is lost in the reciprocal process of nature. Precisely so in social systems. Achievements of social and industrial evolutions are always preserved after a revolutionary climax removes all obstacles to further developments. Only the class previously dominating the policies and actions of the social institutions is supplanted by the revolutionary change; ownership in the means of life is shifted to another class.

Capitalist ownership of industries had its origin in the unfolding of conditions which hastened the downfall of the feudal system, and the advent of the capitalist class to power.

Working class control of industries, by all engaged in the process of production, must build its foundation on the highly perfected form and methods of production, and upon the conditions which accelerate the passing away of the capitalist system of ownership in the instruments of production and distribution.

The feudal lords had to surrender their scepter to the ascending bourgeoise, better known today as the capitalist class. The latter, at the outset, had in view only the free development of all forces of production, in an era of unrestricted competition between individuals. When, over a century ago, the change was consumated by revolutions, the instruments of production were more equally distributed. They were in possession of a multitude of victorious capitalists, who owned small enterprises. Most people believed that in such a competitive system, as was then established, every one would have a chance to rise to a superior station in life. The instruments of production were not then highly developed. Handicraft in the operation of small machines, or in the use of tools, still predominated. Small capital only was required in starting the manufacture of things for small margins of profits.

This epoch, beginning with the revolution of the "Third Estate" in France, found its counterpart in the revolution of the American people against British semi-feudalistic rule. Since then the forms, methods and yield of production have rapidly developed in every industrially developed country. The ownership of the means of production have been centralized ever more into fewer and fewer hands. With the centralization of the means of production and distribution, the agencies protecting the new interests in power also grew proportionately. Gradually all elements that obscured the line of cleavage, between the producers of wealth and the class that exproportionated all economic resources of the world, are eliminated.

The manufacturers of the early capitalist era were found only in small communities. They depended upon the superiority of the embryonic system over the prevailing handicraft system, and won through only by demonstrating its advantages. Their start was circumscribed and handicapped by the slow and cumbersome methods of transportation of that early day. The coming

of steam had yet to knit localities closer together, and to reduce the oceans to ponds.

In this process of transformation other things are to be observed. Social relations are shifting with the change in forms of the ownership of the means of production. Social strata are fiercely struggling for their conservation, in vain. There is no escape from the inevitable and irretrievable result of these rapid changes in the industrial possessions and arrangements.

The howls of reactionaries and the frantic appeals and clamors of reformers will not in the least effect the course of events. The destructive battles of trade unions, divided up in factions and sections that find their traditional base in the middle ages, will not turn back the wheel that rolls on with irresistible and crushing force.

The outcry, so often heard before, redounds in vociferous strength again: "A revolution! A revolution is needed to change these conditions." It voices the recognition of an imperative social need. The middle class is frantic in its despairful wailings. They are successful in lining up a large political following of workers. Millions are made to believe that an impending struggle against predatory wealth will have as its object and result the restoration of by-gone conditions, or the enforcement of restrictive measures for curbing further concentration in the control of industries.

But the workers are not, and should not be concerned in the hopeless struggles of a decaying element of society. They have a historic mission to perform; a mission that they will carry out, despite the allurements held out to them that a restoration of past conditions would accrue to their benefit.

The workers are beginning to realize that in the constructive work for the future they have to learn the facts of past evolutions and revolutions. And from these facts, expressed in theories, they find the guide for the course that they have to pursue in their struggle for the possession of the earth, and the goods that they alone have created. That growing class conscious portion of the working class is building on the rockbed of historic facts, and the structure to be erected follows the principle that:

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism—the army of production must be organized. By organizing industrially the workers are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Some definite conclusions must be dawn from the previously established premises. It is the heritage of the working class to utilize to the fullest extent the great achievements of the preceding and existing processes and methods of production, for the benefits of all useful members of society.

In its advent to power and supremacy the present economic master class succeeded another that had decayed in the process of evolution. This mastery of the present owners of the economic resources also only paves the way for successors. Such is the inexorable law of evolution.

The workers, conscious of their mission, must recognize the fact that the industries are developing to the highest state of perfection, and will be ready for operation under a new arrangement of things, that is, after the class now in possession and control of them have gone the way of decay, under the pressure of the advancing force of an industrially organized proletariat driving toward a new civilization.

But it is imperative to arrange the human forces of production for the operation of the vast resources and implements of production under a system wherein products will be made for use alone. To build and to arrange correctly, and for lasting purposes, the constructors of a further developed industrial structure must possess a thorough knowledge of the economic facts, and of organizations destined to accomplish the task. **The architects must know the proper grouping of each component part and cell in the composition of industrial combinations,** so that, when harmony in the industrial relationship of mankind is established, it will be reflected in the harmonious social, and ethical institutions of a new age.

We repeat: Industrial and social systems are not ready-made products. In their changes, from one stage to another, they derive their propelling forces from the achievements and accomplishments of every preceding epoch. In its onward course to a further advanced system, mankind is going to utilize all that present day society has evolved and constructed. This the workers must know, and then they will also learn the intricate, interdependent arrangements of the component parts of the whole industrial system. Equipped with this knowledge, they will be able to construct and form their own industrial organizations, the frame structure of the new society, accordingly. By learning the social relations and understanding their source, they can profit and prepare to change the industrial structure of society, which, as a matter of course, will determine also the changes

in the social character of the system which is bound to be inaugurated. And this is the problem. The working class, as the promoter and supporter of a higher standard of social relations and interrelations, must be equipped with the knowledge, must construct the organizations, by which the cause of social classes can be removed. Industrial inequality is the source of every other inequality in human society. The change in the ownership of the essentials of life will bring automatically, so to say, the change in the intercourse and the associations, and also in the institutions for the promotion of these things between the human beings upon the globe.

Good will, revolutionary will power, determination, courage, are valuable assets in the struggle for the change. But they are, like the water on the millwheels, unconscious of the great service that they are rendering. To convert force and power into useful operation requires intelligence. And that intelligence must guide us to use the accumulated force for a defined purpose. That purpose, as it seems to be agreed, is to form a new social, or rather industrial structure within the shell of the old society. To accomplish this the advocates, the militants for the new society, must know to what extent the present factors in industrial development have organized and systematized industrial production. When this is fully understood it will explain the subsequent domination of industrial possession over the political, social and other agencies in present day and previously existing societies.

The workers of the world, conscious of their historic mission, will learn to avoid the mistakes they would make should they depend upon other forces than their own industrial power for the solution of the world's problem. Agencies and institutions deriving their lease of life from the industrial masters of today cannot be looked to for support. They may feign being in favor of radical changes in the effects. They will, however, strenuously, even violently oppose any attempt at destroying the base, or the cause. They will strive to perpetuate the wages system at all costs.

The working class alone is interested in the removal of industrial inequality, and that can only be accomplished by a revolution of the industrial system. The workers, in their collectivity, must take over and operate all the essential industrial institutions, the means of production and disribution, for the well-being of all the human elements comprising the international wealth producers.

No destruction, no waste, no return into barbarism! A higher plane for civilization is to be achieved. When the workers understand how the industrial system of today has developed, how one industrial calling dovetails into another, and all comprise an inseparable whole, they will not wantonly destroy what generations of industrial and social forces have brought forth. The workers will utilize the knowledge of ages to build on a solid rockbed the foundation of a new industrial and social system.

The foundation must be firm and solid. The revolutionary climax, after an incessant course of evolutionary processes by which forms and methods undergo changes, will eliminate forever the cause for the industrial division of society into two hostile camps. Harmonious relations of mankind in all their material affairs will evolve out of the change in the control and ownership in the industrial resources of the world.

That accomplished, the men and women, all members of society in equal enjoyment of all the good things and comforts of life, will be the arbiters of their own destinies in a free society.

We present, with this introduction, to all our fellow workers in battle and strife, a portrait of industrial combinations.

ANALYSIS OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES

The Chart Expained in Detail

The main purpose of this chart is to show how the industries are grouped together in the existing arrangement under the capitalist system of production.

Production begins with the application of human labor to the natural resources of the earth. This labor is applied to extract material for human use which nature generates, or has stored up.

Modern production involves and includes all classifications of labor in the present complex system. Transportation is a productive function as well as agriculture, manufacturing and mining. These, with other industries, constitute the system by which wealth is produced and the resources of the earth are made available to mankind.

Each and every one of the activities of mankind, in their present stages, are necessary one to the others in order that the present social standard be maintained, and further progress be possible.

All of the products in the modern world can be reduced to terms of food, clothing, shelter and culture. All the productive processes are interlinked and interdependent. The kinship of labor, no matter where or how employed, is established, and its social importance is made evident. The industries constitute the foundation upon which the structure of modern civilization is upreared. But the industries depend upon the workers who function in them. Material passes from hand to hand, from group to group, and all along the way finished products, of one kind and another, are made available for human use, until every want and need of modern man is supplied.

The industrial arrangement is not a haphazard, happy-go-lucky one, but an ordered, systematized, harmonious human mechanism in which mechanical factors really play only a subordinate role. **The laborer is the indispensable factor.** Part fits to part, section to section, industry to industry and department to department, until there results a world-covering, co-ordinated, wealth producing system which depends upon the workers of the world.

These workers are organized by the capitalist class and made to function for the benefit of that class. The workers ought to, must and will, organize themselves as they are arranged in the industries, so that they will be enabled to function in their own interest and for their own benefit.

The chart is only intended to approximate the outlines of those differentiations which we term industries—steel, coal, oil, textiles, transportation, etc.—whose boundaries are not rigidly set, and are consequently more or less indeterminate.

It may happen that in this rough sketch important distinctions may appear to have been overlooked while in other instances there may seem to be an over-emphasis. But the chart is, at best, only intended to approximate. There is no pretention that it is exact and precise. It is a guide to rather than a blue-print of the capitalist industrial arrangement. Changes are constantly occuring and new alignments follow as a result. The intention of the I. W. W. is to make corresponding changes in its own structure and methods, which will enable the workers to use it for emergencies when they arise, and to provide an effective instrument for their use at all times.

In presenting this plan of organization of industries we have in mind only the object before explained. The workers, forced by capitaist ownership of the means of production must organize themselves in all the industries in their proper places. **Their**

places in industry will determine their places in the working class economic organization.

Every worker who studies this chart will find where he will fit in when the industries are organized for control by the workers through industrial organization. Of course, it is the ultimate purpose of this arrangement that each worker shall have equal rights, and equal duties also, with all others in the management and operation of the industry in which he or she serves in the process of production.

Another and equally important purpose is to organize the workers in such a way that all the members of the organization in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any part thereof, thus making an injury to one and injury to all.

This can only be accomplished when the workers organize by industries along class lines. That is to say, all the workers in any one industry must be members of one and the same organization—no division along craft lines. The capitalist institutions are organized today in this manner. The industries as they are grouped today, dovetailing into each other, furnish to the workers the basis upon which they must construct their organization for the struggles of today for better living conditions; and for the supervision, the management and operation of industries in a future industrial commonwealth of workers and producers.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS IS PART OF PRODUCTION

All natural resources of the soil, mines and water receive their first value when labor is applied to win useful things from them.

But all these products have more social value when they are transported to other places for the purposes of manufacture and commerce; where they are transformed and converted into many commodities for exchange.

The life of human beings will not consist only of common drudgery when all the good things created by the workers are available to them.

For all purposes, present and future, the functions of the public service institutions have to be defined industrially and the people engaged in their maintenance must be given a place in the industrial organization, the same as those who take care of the sick and disabled. Those who render social service are usefully engaged, altho most of the institutions in which they

serve today are prostituted for the protection of capitalist interests.

For all functions combined, the industries are arranged on the general plan presented in the chart, as follows:

1. The Department of Agriculture, Land, Fisheries and Water Products.
2. The Department of Mining.
3. The Department of Construction.
4. The Department of Manufacture and General Production.
5. The Department of Transportation and Communication.
6. The Department of Public Service.

These departments again have their subdivisions. As it is proposed that the workers organize in accordance with the industries in which they are serviceably engaged, it is essential that a general term shall apply.

The term Industrial Union is therefore applied to those callings where the labor of the workers is expended upon the same or similar basic raw material; or where the products may be included under a general designation, as, for instance, "metal goods," "food products," etc.

But within these general classifications there are working groups whose industrial contacts are more intimate, and whose problems are consequently more special to them than to other workers in the same industrial union. For example, in I. U. No. 440 the workers in a steel plant have everyday problems which are different in their special phases and aspects than those of workers in a jewelry factory; those in a locomotive works have questions to deal with that never occur in a plant where watches are produced. Or again the packing house worker and the cigar or cigarette worker, have different everyday problems.

In fact it may be pointed out that under the general classifications there are included many callings wherein the special needs of the workers demand an organization arrangement whereby they may readily and effectively use their organized power in their own behalf. An organization must afford ready expression to the workers who compose it. There the industrial unions are arranged by Sections. Thus we have Steel Workers Section; I. U. No. 440; Packinghouse Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460; Etc.

The Sections include all workers of every labor classification

necessary for the production of any commodity or commodities, or for the rendering of any service. This system of organization enables the workers in recognized industrial groups to advance their interests, and assures them, through the general organization, sufficient industrial support to enable them to do so.

Each Section comprises, as stated, all workers necessary to a product or products, but will not separate or divide them. It is not division but co-ordination that results when this arrangement is followed.

It is impossible, at this stage, to eliminate entirely the terms now used to designate certain functions which different sets of workers perform in each industry. But it must be distinctly understood that this is not meant to imply that these groups will organize, as has been the case heretofore, in craft organizations within the industries, or according to the tools that each set of workers uses. That would mean the maintenance of craft division under another name. A worker in an industry will be assigned to the Section representing the product or products of that Section in the industry. The Industrial Union includes all Sections and welds them into a unified, cohesive, co-ordinated industrial force.

When the several classifications of workers engaged in a particular industrial production organize industrially all are subject to the rules governing the affairs of that industry. But certain fundamental rules and principles governing the "One Big Union of Workers" cannot be infringed upon by any of its component parts without doing injury to the whole organic body.

Still another point to be made clear: **The process of production does not cease until the finished product reaches the consumer. All workers engaged in the process of distribution of any certain product are members of the same Section of the Industrial Union in which the makers of the commodity are organized.**

Of course, the railroad and water-transportation will be in the Transportation Department, although it might be said that they also are engaged in the process of distribution. But here is the difference: railroad and marine transportation connects localities and countries without regard to particular products. Their function is general distribution, and is essentially of a social character. But those workers who are engaged in transporting particular products from their places of completion to the consumers, are part and parcel of the working

force, and are included with the workers organized in that Section of a given industrial union.

But in municipal and interurban transportation there are workers engaged in conveying goods, who have no established connection with any particular product or set of products. These come under the head of transport workers. For instance, a salesman or clerk in a shoe store would be a member of the industrial union section in which all workers engaged in the shoe industry are organized. A teamster delivering meats, or other goods from a grocery would be in the organization in which all the foodstuff workers of that particular branch are organized. But a truck driver, who may haul a shipment containing mixed products from one depot to another and between times hauls general merchandise, performs the work of a transport worker, and as such organizes under that head.

With these necessary explanations, suggestive of a better understanding of the plan of organization, one will be able to see far better how and why industries are grouped on the accompanying chart.

I.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, LAND, FISHERIES AND WATER PRODUCTS, 100

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, No. 110

All workers on farms, irrigation work, cotton and sugar plantations or engaged in the raising of cattle, live stock etc.; on fowl and bird farms; on dairy farms; fruit orchards, etc.

Lumber Workers Industrial Union, No. 120

All workers in forests—lumber cruisers, rangers, foresters, etc.; all workers engaged in logging operations, in saw and shingle mills, and in preparing wood for fuel and manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, bark, etc.

Fishery Workers Industrial Union, No. 130

All workers in fisheries and fishing pursuits on oceans, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers. Workers engaged in the collecting of pearls, corals and sponges. Workers in fish hatcheries, divers, etc.

Floral Workers Industrial Union, No. 140

All workers engaged in the cultivation of garden and land tracts devoted to the raising of flowers, etc.; and all workers engaged in the distribution of floral products.

DEPARTMENT OF MINING AND MINERALS, No. 200

Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union, No. 210

All workers engaged in the mining of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, platinum, iron, etc., etc.; in mills, smelters, refineries and other reduction works. For the present this division also includes quarry workers and such as are engaged in the mining of salt, sulphur, clay, borax, mica, bromide, graphite, hoda, gypsum, asphalt, limestone, sandstone, whetstone, marble, onyx, slates, building stone, granite, etc. All precious gems, salines, salt, and soda dry works, etc.

Coal Mines Workers Industrial Union, No. 220

All workers engaged in coal mining, lignite, anthracite, bituminous, etc.; in the production of coke, briquettes, peat and turf, and in the distribution of these products.

Oil Workers Industrial Union, No. 230

All workers engaged in the production of oil; workers on oil and gas wells; pipe lines, refineries, filters, etc.—and in the distribution of these products.

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CONSTRUCTION, No. 310

Railroad, Road and Tunnel Construction Workers Industrial Union, No. 310

All workers engaged in the construction of docks, railroads, highways, levees, streets, bridges, sewers, subways, tunnels, canals, viaducts, irrigation ditches, etc.

Shipbuilding Workers Industrial Union, No. 320

All workers engaged in the building of ships and steamers, boats, and launches; and in the repairing of them.

Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330

All workers engaged in erecting and constructing houses and buildings, and the delivery of building materials; plumbers, steam and sprinkler fitters, architects, excavators, stone masons, bricklayers, hod carriers, electricians, painters, iron and concrete workers, etc.

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURE AND GENERAL PRODUCTION, No. 400

NOTE:—If this Department be subdivided in industrial unions only there would have been no provision made for workers in the various industrial sections, who, while included in the

Industrial Union, still have problems peculiar to their own activities, and require an arrangement which will enable them to meet and deal with these problems as they arise. The industrial unions in this Department include so many diversified callings that unless the various, well-defined groups are equipped with organization groupings which will easily and readily enable them to find industrial expression they will be loth to organize. Organization of the working class must necessarily reflect the capitalist arrangement in industry. It must not lag behind, nor should it anticipate. In doing either it would forfeit its claim to being scientific.

Therefore, by sectionalizing these industrial unions we are enabled to arrange the workers upon each kind of raw material until it has been converted into a finished product and ready for use, whether these products be food, clothing or instruments of production. The several sections of any given industrial union are thus put in the position where the workers can accomplish the maximum of benefit for themselves, and are qualified to render greatest support to their associated sections in the industrial union and to any other set (or sets) of workers as well.

TEXTILE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 410

A. Fabric Workers' Section; I. U. No. 410

All workers employed in the manufacture of silk, linen, cotton, wool and worsted fabrics, mule-spinners, loom-fixers, weavers, warpers, carders, sorters, office workers, etc. All workers in dye-houses, including chemists, inspectors; also all workers employed in the making of knitted wear, passementerie workers, wood silk workers, etc.

B. Clothing Workers' Section; I. U. No 410

All workers employed in the making of garments of silk, artificial silk, linen, cotton, and woolen fabrics, such as clothing workers, shirt and collar workers, dress and cloak makers, etc.; also all salesmen, clerks, stenogaphers in these establishments and the places of distribution.

C. Fur, Felt, and Straw Workers' Section; I. U. No. 410

All workers employed in establishments where wearing apparel is made of fur, felt, straw—furriers, glove makers, hat makers, straw hat makers; milinery workers, etc.

WOOD WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 420

A. Furniture Workers' Section; I. U. No. 420

All workers engaged in the manufacture of furniture and office equipment, including salesmen, office workers and distributors.

B. Piano Workers' Section; I. U. No. 420

All workers engaged in the production of pianos, player pianos, graphophones, etc., case makers, inspectors, tuners, polishers, movers, salesmen, office workers, etc.

C. Planing Mill Workers' Section; I. U. No. 420

All workers in and around planing mills, molding factories, cabinet shops, picture frame factories, etc.

CHEMICAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 430

A. Drug, Medicine and Perfume Workers' Section; I. U. No. 430

All workers engaged in the manufacture and distribution of drugs, medicines, perfumes and kindred products.

B. Rubber Workers' Section; I. U. No. 430

All workers engaged in the manufacture of rubber goods of every kind and description, such as auto tires, rubber boots, bands, etc., and in the distribution of these products.

C. Explosive Workers' Section; I. U. No. 430

All workers engaged in the production and distribution of powder, dynamite, gelignite and other explosives.

D. Paper Workers' Section; I. U. No. 430

All workers engaged in the production of paper and paper products for printing and commercial purposes.

METAL AND MACHINERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 440

All workers employed on metal products such as: Bench hands, core makers, machinists, polishers, floor men, spinners, moulders, rollers, helpers, milling machine hands, punch press operators, drill press hands, lathe hands, office help, assemblers, inspectors, truckers, chippers, testers, draftsmen, hammermen, electric welders, specialists, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, laborers, etc., which are common to all, or nearly all sections.

A. Steel Workers' Section; I. U. No. 440

All workers in and around blast furnaces, steel mills, rolling mills, tin-plate mills and all steel by-products, etc.

B. Engine and Machinery Workers' Section; I. U. No. 440

All workers engaged in the production of locomotives, (steam and electric) railway cars and equipment, stationary engines, steam shovels, machinery, machine tools, cranes, etc.

C. Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers' Section; I. U. No. 440

All workers engaged in the manufacture of automobiles, trucks, tractors, motorcycles, bicycles, airplanes, vehicles of all kinds and all accessories and equipment.

D. General Metal Product Workers' Section; I. U. No. 440

All workers employed in making general metal products; watch and jewelry factories, and in the manufacture of instruments, utensils, gold and silver products, etc.

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 450

A. Newspaper Workers' Section; I. U. No. 450

All workers on newspapers and periodicals: Compositors, linotypers, pressmen, cartoonists, photographers, proofreaders, office workers, reporters, writers, engineers, firemen, electricians, janitors, delivery men, etc.

B. Book and Catalogue Workers' Section; I. U. No. 450

All workers employed in publishing houses, other than newspaper establishments.

FOODSTUFF WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 460

A. Packinghouse Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

This section comprises all workers employed in meat packing establishments, including all the workers in every department; dairy and milk depot workers and deliverers; all workers in fish-packing places, etc.

B. Flour, Cereal and Bakery Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

All workers in flour and cereal mills, bakeries, biscuit factories, candy and confectionery establishments, sugar refineries, fruit packing and canning plants. This section, like all others,

includes engineers, firemen, milkers, truckers, bakers, deliverers, mechanics, clerks, coopers, etc.

C. Beverage Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

All workers employed in distilleries, breweries, malthouses, vinegar, cider and ginger factories; all workers engaged in the manufacture of sodas, soft fermented drinks, and distribution of these products.

D. Tobacco Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

All workers employed in the manufacture of tobacco products: Cigarmakers, stogie makers, cigarette makers and all other workers in tobacco factories including clerks in tobacco retail establishments, distributors, etc.

E. Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Section; I. U. No. 460

All workers employed in hotels, restaurants, cafeterias, boarding houses, lunch rooms, domestic service, etc.—cooks, waiters, housemen, pantrymen, dishwashers, clerks, maids, porters, janitors, etc.; chauffeurs and baggage haulers, when employed in hotel service exclusively.

LEATHER WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 470

A. Tannery Workers' Section; I. U. No. 470

All workers employed in tanneries, etc.

B. Boot and Shoe Workers' Section; I. U. No. 470

All workers employed in the manufacture of boots, shoes, slippers and leather footwear.

C. Trunk and Bag Workers' Section; I. U. No. 470

All workers engaged in the manufacture of trunks, bags, cases, salesmen's and travellers' leather supplies, including, of course, clerks, teamsters, chauffeurs, engineers, and all other workers.

D. Harness Workers' Section; I. U. No. 470

All workers engaged in harness making establishments, belt makers, etc.

GLASS AND POTTERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 480

A. Glass Workers' Section; I. U. No. 480

All workers employed in the making of glasswares—flint glass, green glass, window glass and plate glass,—furnace men,

mixers, blowers, gatherers, cappers, snappers, flatteners, polishers, and all other workers in glass making establishments.

B. Pottery Workers' Section; I. U. No. 480

All workers in potteries, porcelain factories, chinaware factories, and including designers, decorators, office workers, clerks, salesmen, teamsters, chauffeurs, etc.

C. Tile and Brick Workers' Section; I. U. No. 480

All wokers in and around brick yards, tile and terra cotta works, cement plants, etc.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION, 500

Marine Transport Workers' I. U. No. 510

All workers engaged in marine transportation, steam, motor, sailing ships, submarines, etc.; docks, wharves; longshoremen, clerks; all workers in this industry.

Railroad Workers' I. U. No. 520

All workers engaged in long distance railways, steam and electric; third rail and trolley, in freight and passenger service; locomotive car and repair shops; passenger and freight yard service; car cleaning, freight sheds; passenger stations and office forces, etc.

Telegraph and Telephone Workers' I. U. No. 530

All workers engaged in postal telegraph, telephone, wireless, etc. All workers in this industry.

Municipal Transportation Workers' I. U. No. 540

All workers engaged in municipal, short distance transportation service; street cars, elevated roads, subways, sidewalks, etc.

Aerial Navigation Workers' I. U. No. 550

All workers employed in aerial navigation.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE, 600

Health and Sanitation Workers' I. U. No. 610

All workers engaged in hospitals and health restoration services; physicians, surgeons, internes, nurses, attendants, clerks, janitors, etc.

Park and Highway Maintenance Workers' I. U. No. 620

All workers engaged in street cleaning in parks and on street crossings.

Educational Workers' I. U. No. 630

All workers in educational institutions, schools, colleges, universities and other institutions of learning.

General Distribution Workers' I. U. No. 640

All workers engaged in general distribution, department stores; packers, drivers, clerks, salesmen, etc.

Public Utility Workers' I. U. No. 650

All workers engaged in municipal, water and electric supply service; waterworks, public service works, etc.

Amusement Workers' I. U. No 660

All workers in theaters, playhouses and motion pictures; and other places of amusement and recreation.

CONCLUSION

When now and then advocates of a better system of society refer to the new unionism they do it, in most cases, without knowing fully the distinction between the old kind of unionism and the unionism that advocates—One Big Industrial Union for the Entire Working Class the World Over. But, even if the critics of this plan of action disagree with this booklet as to the means to attain the desired end, they can no longer plead that there never has been any literature presented in which the program of the industrial unionists has been enunciated.

Organize industrially! Organize right! This is the call to the downtrodden, heard all over the world. In increasing numbers the proletariat of every country is enlightening itself on the subject, and everywhere workers are preparing for organizations in which they will find the embodiment of their collective power and the instrument for direct economic action, just as occasion and conditions may command. All countries of the world are governed only in the interests of the small class controlling industrial combinations. Whenever the workers aimed heavy blows at these interests directly, that is, when they refused to serve, temporarily, in the production pocess of these industries the exploiting class all over the world burst out in frantic denunciations of the forces that had so little regard for capitalist property.

The industrial unionists propose to organize the workers for more militant action within present-day society, so that with

every advance gained, the workers will gain an appetite for more and for all, and will find the means to get it.

And in all these days of unrest and struggle the industrialists are preparing the administrative agencies for the industrial commonwealth. Industrial representatives elected by the workers, organized in their industrial unions, will constitute the industrial management of the future, the workers' control in municipal, national and international affairs.

STUDY THE CHART

Observe how commercialism—the main factor in the development of the capitalist system of production—encircles the whole globe, with the means and tributaries at its service:

Transportation facilities as the messengers for the exchange of products between countries and continents know no boundary lines—land, water and air have been conquered and rendered servants of the monstrous forces behind the prevailing industrial system of production and exchange.

Industrial development has no regard for boundary lines between political territories.

National dividing lines disappear before the invincible force of the industrial conquerer.

Continents so long separated by landmarks and obstacles of natural origin are linked and joined together by the gigantic welding power of the international transportation and communication of modern times.

But the functions of that agent of the present social system are still today confined to the service of profit-production for a few.

What still remains in the minds of mankind, as a force for separate nationalities, is merely imaginary.

A heavy load of traditional falsehoods, holding living human beings in a bondage of ignominious, deep-rooted and ingeniously fostered intellectual enslavement—and hence also in industrial serfdom must disappear; national separation must be swept aside by the advancing forces of international co-operation before the highest and most marvelous stages of industrial development, social progress and perfection in the utilization of all elements subservient to the creative powers of mankind can be achieved and a higher order of civilization be established.

ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL LINK

Observe also how a second force binds the world's component parts into one inseparable whole. Science and scientific research and discoveries are the international agencies by which the riddles and miracles of the universe in all their variations and magnitude are being solved and explained. Institutions of learning, schools and universities are linked together by the uniformity of fundamental laws governing science and the dissemination of knowledge and discoveries.

Likewise are evils and afflictions, springing from the same common sources, suffered alike by human beings throughout the world. Remedies and means of prevention must, consequently, assume the character of international agencies, deriving their support from the necessity of eliminating and curing these evils, and of removing the cause for their existence.

Hospitals as curing stations; cleaning, sanitary and protective agencies as institutions for prevention; the supply stations of water, light and other means of public need are therefore joined together with the institutions of learning, and with the agencies for recreation and amusement, into one great chain of international interdependence, and are formed and maintained in the pursuit of functions, preventative as well as beneficial, as the promoters and protectors of social interests and universal weal.

FOUR CARDINAL FUNCTIONS

Observe, then, how in the complex process of production of the necessities of life four cardinal functions comprise the interlocking chain of industrial activity, through which the resources of the earth must run before their ultimate use.

A.—From the soil, the woods and waters all material required for producing purposes is secured by the labor of the millions serving in the social process in raising and procuring the raw products for food, raiment and shelter.

B.—From the bowels and the treasures of the earth labor puts out the material for fuel and the essential things which, after being transformed, comprise the implements and machinery of production and distribution.

C.—With the matter thus furnished production proper for the providing of all necessary things of life and comfort is carried

on in the various, but interdependent places of production, mills and factories.

D.—With all these things combined the constructive hand of labor builds the houses of shelter for the protection of human life and material wealth against the adversities of nature's forces, and harnesses them to render service for social good.

LABOR THE SOLE PRODUCER

To all of the making and development of these social institutions the workers, and they alone, contribute their intellectual and their manual labor. They have created the instruments to produce wealth with, impoved them as time rolled by and used them always as wealth producers.

These institutions are now organized in their operative functions to yield profits for a few who never did, nor ever willingly shall contribute to their making and maintenance, except in a manner to protect them in the possession of things that they did not, and do not intend to make or to use.

The human forces rendering these instruments, agencies and implements useful to all society, and adding value to matter and the forces of nature, are divorced from their creations by powerful combinations of parasitic nature, by which a few control all industrial life through the means that they have organized and subjected to their rulership. Against these hostile powers the workers must organize their own resources and their own collective power, in organizations embracing all useful members of society and wealth producers.

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS

A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First: It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the workers of to-day in their struggle for fewer hours of toil, more wages and better conditions.

Secondly: It must offer a final solution of the labor problem —an emancipation from strikes, injunctions, bull-pens and scabbing of workers against other workers.

Observe, how this organization will give recognition to con-

trol of shop affairs, provide perfect industrial unionism and converge the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Observe, also, how the growth and development of this organization will build within itself the structure of an industrial democracy, which must finally burst the shell of capitalist society and be the agency by which the workers will operate the industries and appropriate the product to themselves.

One obligation for all.

A union man once and in one industry; a union man always and in all industries. Universal transfers, universal emblem.

All workers of one industry in one union; all unions of workers in one big labor alliance the world over.

Industrial unionism is not confined to one country. The best expression of it is found in America, in the Industrial Workers of the World, although the organization may appear to be still weak, numerically. But the conditions for the advent of the industrial revolutionary union are most promising, **because the most advanced and highly developed industrial system of production is bound to find its counterpart in a similar perfected organization of the working class on the industrial field.**

As presented in this booklet, these institutions for wealth production, so well organized, so masterfully constructed, suggest the best form of industrial organizations for the workers.

Industries are organized in 29 subdivisions, or industrial unions.

This arrangement is not arbitrariy fixed, or the product of one man's notion. The best tabulations of statistical experts of different countries have been consulted, and the systematic arrangement will stand the test of scientific investigation.

Of course, it has been stated, and is herewith reiterated that this arrangement of industrial organization of workers would also assure the most effective solidarity of all producing forces in their defensive and aggressive struggles for the amelioration of the evils they suffer under, evils inherent in the capitalist system of distribution of the commodities created by labor.

When the workers organize in industrial unions, copied from the institutions in which they are employed, they will be able to stand together as powerful industrial combinations in their skirmishes for better working conditions in any one industry. Not separated by craft divisions or restrained by trade union contracts with the exploiters, they will not only be able to curtail production on a small scale and thus also the profits of the em-

ployers of labor, but they will abruptly stop production altogether, if necessary, in any one industry, or in all industries of a locality, or of a nation; or they can, when they are powerful enough, shut the factories against the present employers and commence production for use.

The workers, though, must wipe out, as a first duty to themselves, all craft demarcation lines, the remnants of a by-gone age. Unhampered by that straitjacket they can then develop and organize their industrial power. **But that power must be guided in its use and exercise by the collective intelligence which will develop simultaneously with the generation of power.** Equipped with the power of an industrial organization, with the knowledge gained in the everyday struggle against the oppressors, they will successfully strive for a higher standard of life conditions, within this system, and they can master things and forces so that they will reach the final goal of all efforts—complete industrial emancipation.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in every civilized country are beginning to understand the principles of industrial unionism. Thousands are organizing for the battle of to-day, for better conditions, and for the final clash in the future when the general lockout of the parasite-class of non-producers will end the contest for industrial possession and class supremacy.

You are one of the millions needed to accomplish the task,—join the industrial union composed of workers in the shop or plant where you work. If none exists, be the first to get busy. Get others, and help them to organize themselves. Learn to tackle the industrial problems. Show others how the workers will be able to run the industrial plants through the agencies of their own creation, locally, nationally, internationally—the world over.

There are organizations almost everywhere; and where there are none, they will be formed. In the industrial union movement alone will the workers forge the instrument, and train themselves for the use of all and every industrial weapon that can be utilized in the struggle for a better world. In the industrial union movement the workers will strictly adhere to the great words of a great thinker:

'The emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the working class itself.

"Workers of the World, Unite!"

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

For all information regarding the Industrial Workers of the World referred to in this booklet, write to General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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ONE BIG UNION

OF ALL THE WORKERS



THE I.W.W.

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LABOR'S PLAN
FOR A SCIENTIFIC INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY BASED ON PRODUCTION FOR USE INSTEAD OF PROFIT.



I. W. W. Industrial Union Chart

The Industries Charted for Scientific Management and and Control by the Army of Production.

This arrangement will insure orderly controlled production under competent technological direction backed up by the disciplined solidarity of the emancipated working class.

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND ABUNDANCE FOR ALL. NO MORE DEPRESSIONS. NO MORE UNEMPLOYMENT, HUNGER OR EXPLOITATION. INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY!

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Analysis of the Arrangement of Industries.

The main object of this explanation to the One Big Union chart is to show how industries are grouped together in a scientific order.

Production begins with the exploitation of the natural resources of the earth. Labor is applied to extract the material that nature has stored up or generated. Production continues with the transportation of these products, mostly raw material, or fuel-matter, to the centers of manufacture and commerce. The construction of places of shelter for a man and things, the building of agencies of communication, are functions of another industrial branch of the system. We observe, finally, how the care-taking, the education, the providing for public convenience, fall to the functions of another department in the interdependent process of industrial life.

In presenting this plan of organization of industries, as it exists today, we have in mind only the object before explained. The workers, forced by capitalist ownership of the means of production to do service in all these industries, must organize themselves in their proper places in the industries in which they are engaged. Every worker who studies this chart will find where he will fit in when the industries are organized for the control of the workers through industrial organization.

Of course, it is the ultimate purpose of this arrangement that every worker shall have equal rights, and equal duties also, with all others in the management of the industry in which he or she serves in the process of production.

But the other purpose, equally important, is to organize the workers in such a way that all the members of the organization in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making the injury to one the injury to all.

Of course, this can only be accomplished when the workers organize on industrial lines. That is to say, the workers of any one plant or industry must be members of one and the same organization—no craft division lines. The capitalist institutions are today organized on exactly the same lines. The industries as they are grouped today, dovetailing

into each other, furnish to the workers the basis for the construction of their organization for the struggles of today for better living conditions, and for the supervision and the management of industry by workers and technicians.

Distribution of Products is Part of Production

All natural resources of the soil, mines and water receive their first value when labor is applied to turn the products into useful things.

But all of these products have more social value when they are transported to places of manufacture and commerce, where they are transformed and converted into commodities for exchange.

The life of human beings will not consist of common drudgery alone when all the good things created are enjoyed by the workers.

For all purposes, present and the future, the functions of the public service institutions have to be defined, and people engaged in their maintenance must be given a place in the industrial organization; the same as those who take care of the sick and disabled. Those who render other social and public service should know they are engaged in useful occupation, although most of the institutions in which they serve today are prostituted for the protection of capitalist interests.

For all functions combined, the industries are arranged on the general plan presented on the chart, as follows:

1. The Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, 100.

2. The Department of Mining and Minerals, 200.

3. The Department of General Construction, 300.

4. The Department of Manufacture and General Production, 400.

5. The Department of Transportation and Communication, 500.

6. The Department of Public Service, 600.

The numbers following the names of the departments are the department numbers. All unions within a department are given numbers which contain the first figure of the department number. For instance, all unions in department 200, are numbered 210, 220 and so on. By observing the "hundred"

to which an industrial union belongs, you may immediately ascertain its department.

The departments again have their subdivisions. As it is proposed that the workers organize in accordance with the industries in which they are engaged in service, it is essential that a general term be applied. This will make it easier to understand that each of these industrial subdivisions constitutes for itself a sub-organization of workers, in which they will be able to govern affairs that appertain to that industry alone.

Each of these sub-divisions would comprise the workers organized in an Industrial Union, which, however would not be separated and distinct from all others, as the term "division" would imply.

It is impossible, at this stage, to eliminate entirely the terms now used to designate certain functions that sets of workers perform in each industry. But it should be distinctly understood that this is not to imply that these craft-groups in industries will organize, as has been the case heretofore, in separate craft-unions, or according to the tools that each set of workers use. That would mean dividing-up under another name. A worker in an industry will be assigned to the organization representing the products of that industry. Each subbranch of the general industrial union is modeled accordingly.

When the workers engaged in a particular industrial production organize industrially, all are subject to the same rules governing the affairs of each industry. But certain fundamental rules and principles governing all component parts of the "one big union of workers" cannot be infringed upon by any of its component parts without doing injury to the whole organic body.

Still another point to be made clear: The process of production does not cease until the finished product reaches the consumer. All workers engaged in the process of distribution are members of the same industrial union, or Department Organization in which the makers of the commodity are organized.

Of course, the railroad and water-transportation workers will be in the Transportation Department, although it might be said that they are engaged in the process of distribution. But here is the difference. They only transport goods to other localities or countries, and the real distribution process for use and consumption takes place after finished commodities have reached the merchant.

For instance: A salesman or clerk in a shoe store would be a member of the organization, or a branch thereof, in which are organized all workers engaged in the shoe industry. A teamster delivering meats, or other goods from a grocery, would be in the organization in which all the foodstuff workers of that particular branch are organized. But a truck driver, who may haul a big shipment of boxes containing garments from one depot to another, and on his next trip between depots, will haul a load of nails for further transportation or distribution, performs the work of a transport worker, and as such is organized in the union of that industry.

With these necessary explanations, suggestive of a better understanding of the plan of organization, one will far better be able to see how industries are grouped on the chart.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES
No. 100.

A. Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, 110.

All workers on farms, irrigation work, cotton and sugar plantations. All workers engaged in the raising of cattle, livestock etc., on fowl and bird farms, on dairy farms, etc.

B. Lumber Workers Industrial Union, 120.

All workers in forests; rangers, foresters, etc. all workers engaged in logging operations, in saw and shingle mills, and preparing wood for fuel and manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, bark, etc.

C. Fishery Workers Industrial Union, 130.

All workers in fishery and fishing pursuits on ocean, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers. Workers engaged in collecting of pearls, corals and sponges. Workers in fish hatcheries, rivers, etc.

D. Floral Workers Industrial Union, 140.

All workers engaged in orchards, gardens, vineyards, truck farms, green- and hot-houses, on fruit farms. All workers engaged in silk cultivation, etc.

DEPARTMENT OF MINING AND MINERALS, 200.

A. Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union, 210.

All workers engaged in mining of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, platinum, iron, etc., etc., in mills, smelters, refineries and other reduction works. For the present, this division also includes quarry workers, such as those engaged in

mining of salt, sulphur, clay, borax, mica, bromide, graphite, soda, gypsum, asphalt, limestone, sandstone, whetstone, marble, onyx, slates, building stone, granite, etc. All precious gems, salines, salt and soda dry works, etc.

B. Coal Mine Workers Industrial Union, 220.

All workers engaged in coal mining, lignite, anthracite, bituminous, etc. in the production of coke, briquettes, peat and turf, and in the distribution of these products.

C. Oil Workers Industrial Union, 230.

All workers engaged in the production of oil, and in refineries, gas wells, filters, etc., and in the distribution of these products.

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CONSTRUCTION, 300.

A. Railroad, Road and Tunnel Construction Workers Industrial Union, 310.

All workers engaged in construction of docks, railroads, highways, streets, bridges, sewers, subways, tunnels, canals, viaducts, irrigation work construction.

B. Shipbuilding Workers Industrial Union, 320.

All workers engaged in building of boats, launches, ships and steamers and in repairing them; dry dock workers, etc.

C. Building Construction Workers Industrial Union, 330.

All workers engaged in erecting and constructing houses and buildings, the delivery of building material. Plumbers, steam and sprinkler fitters, architects, excavators, stone masons, bricklayers, hod carriers, electricians, painters, iron workers, carpenters, etc.

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURE AND GENERAL PRODUCTION, 400.

A. Textile Workers Industrial Union, 410.

All workers engaged in cotton, wool and silk, linen, flax fibre mills, etc. Also all workers engaged in manufacture of wearing apparel, of cloth, fur, straw and fabrics of all kinds.

B. Wood Workers Industrial Union, 420.

All workers engaged in planing mills, piano factories, furniture factories, broom and brush factories, coopers, etc.

C. Chemical Workers Industrial Union, 430.

All workers engaged in drugs, paint, rubber and gutta-percha goods, powder, dynamite and other explosives; medicines, chemicals, perfumes, inks, etc.; sulphide, sulphite, cellulose, graphite, etc.

D. Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union, 440.

All workers engaged in blast furnaces, steel mills, tin-plate mills, agricultural machinery, etc. construction of cars, locomotives, engines, automobiles, bicycles, aeroplanes, etc. tool makers, jewelry and watchmakers, various instruments, etc.; electrical workers, electricians.

E. Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union, 450.

All workers on papers, books, catalogues; lithographers, linotypers, stereotypers, electrotypers, photoengravers, photographers, artists, spot knockers, etc.

F. Foodstuff Workers Industrial Union, 460.

All workers in flour mills, bakeries, sugar refineries, candy and syrup factories, packing houses, meat, fish; cold storage plants, milk and butter creameries, soda factories, breweries and distilleries, vinegar and soda water factories; tobacco workers, cigars, cigarettes, chewing, snuff, etc.; canning factories, hotels, restaurants, domestic workers, etc.

G. Leather Workers Industrial Union, 470.

All workers in tanneries, boot shoe and glove factories; harness makers, bags, satchels, trunk, belts, etc., etc.

H. Glass and Pottery Workers Industrial Union, 480.

All workers in glass factories, potteries, terra cotta, brick yards; tiles, china ware, etc.; and in the distribution of these products.

I. Pulp and Paper Workers Industrial Union, 490.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION, 500.

A. Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union, 510.

All workers engaged in marine transportation, steam, motor, sailing ships, submarines, etc.; docks, wharves, longshoremen, clerks; all workers in this industry.

B. Railroad Workers Industrial Union, 520.

All workers engaged in long distance railway, steam and electric; third rail and trolley, in freight and passenger service; locomotive, car and repair shops; passenger and freight yard service; car cleaning, freight sheds; passenger stations and office forces, etc.

C. Telegraph and Telephone Workers Industrial Union, 530.

All workers engaged in postal telegraph, telephone, wireless, radio and television operation, etc.

D. Municipal Transportation Workers Industrial Union, 540.

All workers engaged in municipal, short distance transportation service; street cars, elevated roads, subways, sidewalks, etc.

E. Aerial Navigation Workers Industrial Union, 550.

All workers employed in aerial navigation.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE, 600.

A. Health and Sanitation Workers Industrial Union, 610.

All workers engaged in hospitals and health restoration services; physicians, surgeons, internes, nurses, attendants, clerks, janitors, etc.

B. Park and Highway Maintenance Workers Industrial Union, 620.

All workers engaged in street cleaning, in parks, and on street crossings.

C. Educational Workers Industrial Union, 630.

All workers in educational institutions, schools, colleges, universities and other institutions of learning.

D. General Distribution Workers Industrial Union, 640.

All workers engaged in general distribution, department stores; packers, drivers, clerks, salesmen, etc., etc.

E. Public Utility Workers Industrial Union, 650.

All workers engaged in municipal, water and electric supply service; waterworks, public service works, power, etc.

F. Amusement Workers Industrial Union, 660.

All workers in theaters, playhouses and motion pictures; and other places of amusement and recreation.

CONCLUSION

When now and then advocates of a better system of society refer to the new unionism they do it, in most cases, without knowing fully the distinction between the old kind of unionism and the unionism that advocates—One Big Union for the Entire Working Class the World Over! But, even if the critics of this plan of action disagree with this booklet as to the means to attain a desired end, they can no longer plead that there never has been any literature presented in which the program of industrial unionists has been enunciated.

Organize industrially; organize right! This is the call to the downtrodden heard all over the world. In increasing numbers the proletariat of every country is enlightening itself on the subject, and everywhere workers are preparing for organization in which they will find the embodiment of their collective power and the instrument for direct action, as occasion and conditions may command. All countries of the world are governed, principally, in the interests of the small class controlling industrial combinations. Whenever the workers aimed heavy blows at these interests directly, that is, when they refused to serve, temporarily, in the production process of these industries, the exploiting class all over the world burst out in frantic denunciations of the forces that had so little regard for private property.

The industrial unionists propose to organize the workers for more militant action within present day society, so that, with every advance gained, the workers will gain an appetite for more and for all, and will find the means to get it.

And in all these days of unrest, and struggle, industrial unionists are preparing the administrative, the productive agencies, for the industrial commonwealth. Representatives elected by the workers, organized in their industrial organizations, will constitute the industrial parliament of the future, the workers' commune in municipal, national and international affairs.

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Observe how commercialism, the main factor in the development of the capitalist system of production, encircles the whole globe with the means and tributaries at its service:

Transportation facilities as the messengers for the exchange of products between countries and continents know no boundary lines—land, water, air have been conquered and rendered servants of the monstrous forces behind the prevailing industrial system of production and exchange.

Industrial development has wiped out boundary lines between sectional territories.

National dividing lines disappear before the invincible, inter-industrial force of the conqueror.

Continents so long separated by landmarks and obstacles of natural origin are linked and joined together by the gigantic weld of that international carrier of exchange and distribution.

But the functions of that agent of a social system are still today confined to the service of profit-production for a few. At any time they choose the employing class can shut down their mines, mills and factories,—throwing millions of willing workers on the street.

Traditional falsehoods, which today are taught by the press, school and pulpit, and which hold men and women in intellectual, and hence industrial bondage, must disappear; national separation must be swept aside by the advancing of international co-operation, before the highest and most marvelous stages of industrial development, social progress, and perfection in the utilization of all elements subservient to the generating powers of mankind, can be achieved, and a higher social order, based on modern scientific technology can be established.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL LINE

Observe also how a second transcontinental line connects the world's component parts into one inseparable whole. Science and scientific research and discoveries are the international agencies by which the riddles and miracles of the universe, in all their magnitude, are solved and explained. Institutions of learning, schools and universities are linked

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With the matter thus furnished production proper for the providing of all necessary things of life and comfort is carried on in the various, but inter-depending places of production, mill and factories.

With all these things combined the constructive hand of labor builds the houses of shelter for the protection of life and matter against the adversities of nature's forces, and harnesses them to render service for social good.

LABOR THE SOLE PRODUCER.

To all of the making and development of these social institutions the workers, and they alone, contribute their intellect and their manual labor. They have created the instruments to produce wealth with, and improved them as time rolled by.

These institutions are organized in their operative functions to yield profits for a few who never did, nor do, contribute to their making and maintenance, except in a manner to protect them in the possession of things that they did not make.

The human forces rendering these instruments, agencies and implements useful to all society, and adding value to matter and forces of nature, are divorced from their creations by powerful combinations of parasitic nature, by which a few control all the co-ordinate stations of industrial life through the means that they have organized and subjected to their rulership. Against these hostile powers the workers must organize their own resources and their own collective power, in organizations embracing all useful members of society and wealth producers.

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First: It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the workers of today in their struggles for fewer hours of toil, more wages and better conditions.

Secondly: It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from economic insecurity, depressions, class-rule and the exploitation of class by class. In other words it must free humanity from wage slavery.

Observe

How this organization will give recognition to control of shop affairs, provide perfect industrial unionism and converge the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Observe, also,

How the growth and development of this organization will build within itself the structure of an industrial democracy,

which must finally burst the shell of the capitalist order and be the agency by which the workers will operate the industries and appropriate the products to themselves.

One obligation for all.

A union man once and in one industry; a union man always and in all industries. Universal transfers, unversal emblem.

All workers of one industry in one union; all unions of workers in One Big Union—the industrial workers of the world.

Industrial unionism is not confined to one country. The best expression of it is found in America, in the Industral Workers of the World, although the organization may appear to be still weak, numerically. But the conditions for the advent of the industrial revolutionary union are most promising, because the most advanced and highly developed industrial system of production is bound to find its counterpart in a similarly perfected organization of the working class on the industrial field.

As presented in this booklet, these institutions for wealth production, so well organized, so masterfully constructed, suggest the best forms of industrial organizations for the workers.

Industries are organized in six departments, which are composed of twenty-nine subdivisions or industrial unions.

This arrangement is not arbitrarily fixed, nor the product of one man's notion. The best tabulations of statistical experts of different countries have been consulted, and the systematic arrangement will stand the test of scientific investigation.

Of course, it has been stated, and is herewith reiterated, that this arrangement of industrial organization of workers would also assure the most effective solidarity of all producing forces in their defensive and aggressive struggles for the amelioration of the evils they suffer under, evils inherent in the capitalist system of distribution of the commodities created by labor.

When the workers organize industrial unions, copied from the institutions in which they are employed, they will be able to stand together as powerful industrial combinations in their skirmishes for better working conditions in any one industry. Not separated by craft divisions or trade union contracts with the exploiters, they will not only be able to curtail production on a small scale and thus also the profits of the employers of labor, but they will abruptly stop production altogether, if necessary, in any one industry, or in all indus-

tries of a locality, or of a nation, or they can, when they are powerful enough, **shut** the **factories against the present employers** and commence production for **use.**

The workers, though, must tear down, as a first duty to themselves, all craft demarcation lines, the remnants of a bygone age. Unhampered by that drag-chain, they can then develop and organze their industrial power. But that power must be guilded in its use and exercise by the collective intelligence which will develop simultaneously with the generation of power. Equipped with the power of an industrial organization, with the knowledge gained in the every-day struggles against the oppressors, they will successfully strive for a higher standard of life-conditions, within this system, and they can master things and forces so that they will reach the final goal of all efforts—complete industrial emancipation.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in every civilized country are learning to understand the principles of indusrial unionism. Thousands are organizing for the battle of today, for better conditions, and for the final clash in the future when the general lockout of the parasite class of non-producers will end the contest of industrial control and political supremacy.

If you are one of the millions needed to accomplish the task, join the industrial union composed of workers in the shop or plant where you work. If none exists, be the first to get busy. Get others, organize them. Learn to tackle the industrial problems. Show others how the workers will be able to run the industrial plants through the agencies of their own creation, locally, nationally, internationally, the world over.

There are organizations everywhere, and where there are none, they will be formed. In the industrial union movement alone will the workers forge the sword, train themselves for the use of all and every weapon that can be utilized in the struggles for a better world. In the industrial union movement the workers **will** strictly adhere to the great axiom:

"The emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the working class itself,

"Workers of the World, Unite!"

Read the Manifesto, issued by the Industrial Workers of the World. This, with large size highly detailed chart, will be sent to any address for five cents.

For information regarding the Industrial Workers of the World referred to in this booklet, write to the General Secretary-Treasurer, 555 West Lake Street, Chicago, Illinois.

THE PREAMBLE

★ ★ ★

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the wold organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

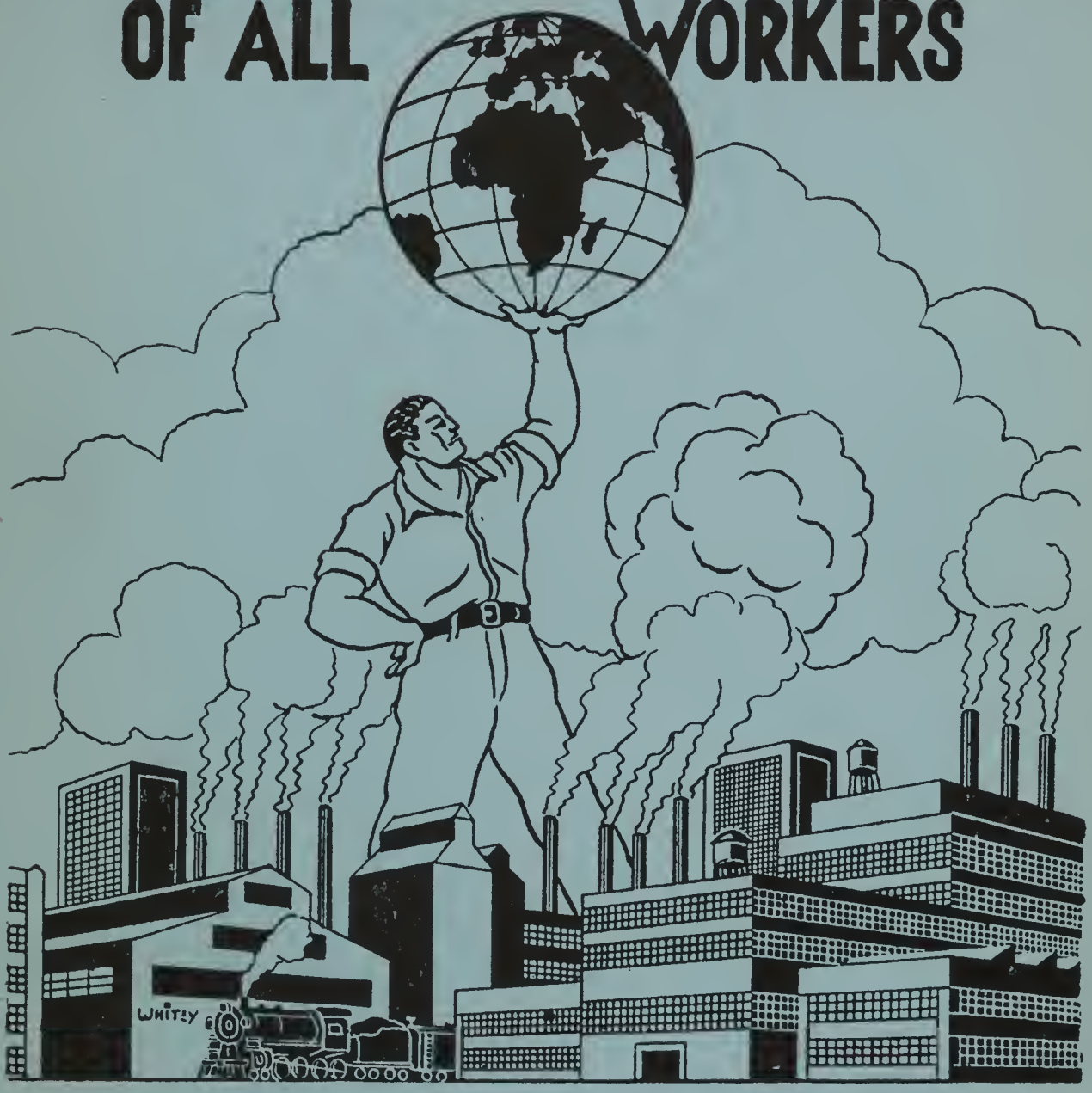
These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

This Pamphlet, Published March 1933, Price 5c

ONE BIG UNION OF ALL WORKERS



The

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

OF THE WORLD

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One Big Union

Of The

Industrial Workers Of The World

FOURTH REVISED EDITION

1944

Published by the

Industrial Workers of the World

2422 No. Halsted Street

Chicago 14, Illinois

Printed in U. S. A. 618 *PRICE 15 CENTS*

"There is no force on earth greater than an idea whose time has come." — Victor Hugo.

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INTRODUCTION

This pamphlet is issued by the Industrial Workers of the World to acquaint our fellow workers with the aims of this organization.

The more workers who understand this pamphlet the sooner we will be able to enjoy the good things of life, free from worry, want, and war. So we hope each reader digests it well and then hands it to some fellow worker to read.

Our argument is built on two assumptions: First, that the working class should organize; Second, that democracy is good.

What distinguishes the program of the I. W. W. from that of all other organizations is that we sincerely believe these two truths and carry them out to their logical conclusions. The first conclusion inevitably is that all on the same job should be in the same job organization; that all jobs in the same industry should be in the same industrial union; that all workers should be in One Big Union composed of these industrial unions. Otherwise you may have unions but not an organized working class. The second conclusion just as certainly is that industry should be administered democratically by its organized workers.

Some who agree that labor should organize and that democracy is good hesitate at these conclusions because they seem revolutionary. They are. But a working class that has had to face fascism and war the world over should not be so timid that it hesitates to be logical. And any workingman who understands that if we do not establish industrial democracy we expose ourselves and our children to more depressions, more wars, and more ramifications of fascism is ashamed to aim at less than the complete emancipation of mankind from these horrors.

In this spirit of Education, Organization and Emancipation, the I. W. W. offers this fourth revised edition of its One Big Union booklet.

The I. W. W. wants the world for the workers, and none but workers in the world. "By organizing industrially, we (the workers) are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." — Vincent St. John.

I

THE UNION'S PLACE IN HUMAN PROGRESS

INDUSTRY—the conversion of the raw stuff of nature into the things mankind wants—is the center and foundation of our social life. Those who **own** and control the natural resources of the earth, and the industrial equipment necessary to transform these raw materials into finished products, form the much smaller of the **two great classes** in modern society.

The workers, who supply the labor which gathers these raw materials, and transforms them into usable goods, are the other, and much larger class. The interest of these two classes are opposed.

The entire social life of modern times is shaped by these facts.

The business, or capitalist class which controls industry is anxious to keep that control and the privileges that go with it. To make that control secure, it seeks to gain or keep control of all social institutions. It wants to write and administer the laws. It wants the schools to teach respect and obedience to the privileged few. It wants the press and movies to shape our thoughts and feelings to serve its interests. And if it cannot get rid of the organizations labor has built, it wants to control them too.

These top business men are threatened with the loss of their control by two outstanding facts:

1) modern industrial development has made their activity unnecessary;

2) the working class is now able, once it so desires, to take control of industry and thus establish a much more efficient and satisfactory society.

The original job of the capitalist was to furnish funds and management. Today management is the job of a specially trained section of the class of hired hands, and funds are amply provided

out of the various reserves taken from profits. The system of corporate administration that the capitalists have built up has made them superfluous.

The business class became dominant in society as the result of long struggles against the kings and feudal land-owners who ran the world before them. They won—with the help of the common folk who did the fighting—because new inventions, procedures and discoveries had put the feudal regime out of date. The parliamentary bodies that had been created to raise funds for the old order had also established a more efficient system of government and had made kings and lords as obsolete as capitalists are today. The great voyages and discoveries, the improvements in navigation, and the new factory system had all made the ownership of warehouses, ships, and equipment more important than the ownership of land. The basis of society had shifted from the farm to the factory, and the control of society had shifted to those who controlled industry.

Revolutionary Progress

For all that the conservatives of those days warned that this would be the end of civilization, it was a great step forward. Whatever of the old order was serviceable to the new was kept and cultivated. What was destroyed was the feudal grab and rule that obstructed progress. Invention and industry flourished as never before. Our ways of producing and living have changed faster in the last two hundred years than in the previous two thousand. Each worker's capacity to produce is at least a hundred times what it was when business took over. Because our standard of living has not kept pace with invention, and cannot keep pace with it as long as business controls industry, the possibilities of abundance and leisure are wasted in depressions and wars—wars that the working class, had it been in control the world over, would not have allowed.

Not only has modern development made the activities of the few who control industry unnecessary, it has reduced the number of that class. The growth of any large corporation requires the closing of a large number of little businesses. Today it is estimated that sixty or seventy persons actually control most of the economic life of America. Through cartel arrangements with a handful of people elsewhere they plan to control the economic life of the world. They have many servants and toadies, but very few friends. Only these few would have their privileges decreased if the control of industry were taken out of their hands. The rest of mankind would be much better off.

Growth of Labor

Meanwhile the working class has grown—and it has grown in many ways. It has grown in numbers until it includes almost everybody. It has grown in knowledge and ability so that the common laborer of today has to understand and be able to do things that would have baffled the engineer and scientist of a century ago. In place of a class of illiterate serfs we have a working class able to read and write, with an extensive literature of its own, that daily discusses over its lunch-buckets the affairs of mankind the world over. And it has grown in organized power. Every step it has taken in building its unions has been a trespass on what was previously the complete jurisdiction of the owners of industry, whether it set the hours it would work, and that consequently the machines would run, or the pay it would take, or seniority rules, or the safety and sanitary regulations for the job. It has been fought by the business class as its mortal enemy, for, by the logic of events, that is precisely what organized labor is. Every forward step that organized labor takes strengthens its position as the logical successor of the business class to exercise control of industry; and (because there is no class beneath it), its triumph means the first classless society since civilization began, and the end of all the horror, cruelty, folly and injustice that necessarily go with class society.

The big question for today and tomorrow is this: How is industry to be controlled?

It is not so much a question of who is to own industry. Modern corporate intricacy has already made ownership almost a myth. Managerial control is what counts, and it has largely become independent of the actual investors. Those who control industry need not worry about who owns it. Who is to say whether industry is to run or to stand idle? Who is to decide what is to be produced and where the product is to go? These are the important questions.

Should modern industry be controlled by a handful of financiers?

Should it be administered by a host of politicians?

Or should it be run by those engaged in it?

It must be one of the three. The financiers through their holding companies, their cartels, their control over directorships and credit, seek to complete their control over the economic life of the world. But their control, by its very nature, strangles that economic life, for it does not pay to let the working class produce all that it is willing to produce except in wars. So either those in control of industry ally themselves with those

in control of government, as in Hitler's Germany, to save themselves from democracy, or those in control of government extend their regulation over industry and its workers as is happening in America. Some propose to make this government control of industry complete.

Industrial Democracy Wanted

The Industrial Workers of the World, and intelligent union members generally, see nothing good in this choice whether the back-seat driving is to be done by financiers or by politicians. Instead they want industrial democracy—industry run by its workers. They ask such questions as these:

If a representative government takes control of everyone's bread and butter, how could it be kept representative?

If we add to the already vast body of rules and regulations over labor, will we not become puppets of appointed administrators?

With the tradition that "you can't strike against the government" what would become of collective bargaining?

How are we to have such a totalitarian economy and yet avoid totalitarian politics?

And what becomes of initiative and freedom?

After all, the greatest problem facing mankind is not the much discussed question of production and distribution; it is the problem of power. It never **has been** safe to let a few control the affairs of the many; it **never will** be safe. The depressions, the wars, the sundry other ills of the world in recent years, have been possible only because there was already an unsafe concentration of power in the hands of a few. What happened did happen as the result of the will of these few, not of the will of the many. Every invention that has increased our power to produce or destroy has increased the power of the few and decreased the power of the rest of us. Every improvement in communication has extended the empire of the malignant minority. And every time we try to remedy the resulting evils by giving more power to some one to tell us what we can do and what we can't do, we increase the problem that much further. Consequently the only safe choice is industrial democracy—industry run by organized labor.

It's Up to Labor

Labor, organized right, can run industry and thereby solve the problem of power, for all the power that runs this dynamic world comes from the efforts of labor. Our class has only to

stop doing what it is told to do and start doing what it collectively decides to do, to deprive its opposition of all the power they ever had and to acquire for itself all the power it will ever need.

Management of industry by labor organized to do the job is not a mere pipe dream. It is the historic trend. It is the pole toward which every forward move of labor has pointed whether intended that way or not. But it cannot be achieved without deliberately planning for it, working for it, organizing for it. This, the I.W.W. has made its own special job. If that job is not done, the counter trend wins out—regimentation of everything either by business, by government, or most likely, by their unholy alliance, fascism.

Industrial democracy is the answer to many problems. It can keep alive this democracy that cannot survive when practiced only on election day. It can free us from want and fear and waste and war. With modern production methods it can enable the ordinary person to get all the material goods he can use by working about as much as he wants to. It can give us security and freedom, those two most desirable ends, neither of which is possible without the other, for the man driven by want cannot be free, and the puppet can never be secure. It can make organized society an harmonious whole, intelligently working for the good of all—for it is only when the general run of mankind can decide what is to be produced and what is to become of the product that it can know what it is doing.

Industrial democracy can be built only by an organized working class. Working class organization must serve two purposes:

a) **it must provide the most efficient structure for carrying on our daily struggle for better conditions and better pay;**

b) **it must provide a complete solution of the industrial problem by making possible the efficient management of modern industry by organized labor.**

Fortunately, but not by a coincidence, the same type of organization best serves both purposes; for by organizing the way we work, so that we have the same relations in our union as we have in the process of production, we are lined up so as to have the most strategic advantage in our everyday struggle, and the necessary co-ordination for assuming the responsibility for industrialized production.

How to organize right is thus the immediate question. It is with that question that this pamphlet is concerned.

II

THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

All industry is inter-related, so much so that it could be said that there is really only one industry, **the production of goods and services.**

Consider your shirt and the processes necessary to its production. It required not only the labor and materials used directly in making it, but also the buildings and machinery where it was made. It required the production of the cotton and the dye. It required the transportation and the planning for all the trips for all the materials in it, and for the machinery and buildings used in making it. The workers involved in all these processes could not have specialized in growing cotton, in making dyes, in building factories and textile machinery, in operating this equipment, in transporting goods, and the like, if other workers had not specialized in building houses for them, providing food for them, and offering the sundry other services they needed. In fact it is difficult to think of anything that workers do anywhere that does not have some connection with the production of a cotton shirt.

But this work is not one vast hodge-podge. It is subdivided and organized much as your own body is subdivided and organized. It is divided first of all into six major departments:

1. **the raw materials that can be grown or raised;**
2. **the raw materials of the mine, quarry and the like;**
3. **construction of roads and building, ships, wharves, canals, etc.**
4. **manufacture of the materials into food, clothing, tools, equipment, etc.**
5. **transportation and communication;**
6. **the various services offered by schools, hospitals, theatres, stores and public utilities.**

Corresponding to these major divisions are the six departments in which the industrial unions are grouped in the chart placed in the center of this pamphlet. The advantages in practical union matters in providing these departments will be pointed out later on.

Within the departments are the industries and their industrial unions. Because of the inter-relations that bind all productive efforts together, it is impossible to mark off the territory of each industry with indisputable precision. An industry, after all, is a social aggregate of workers, equipment, and processes only somewhat set apart from other workers by their own closer inter-relations. The lines separating the industrial unions accordingly, should not be thought of as means for keeping workers apart but as means for keeping them better together.

Industrial Classification

To organize the working class in structures corresponding to the facts of industry is the aim of the I.W.W. As a system of classification for this scientific industrial unionism it uses the decimal method, as that provides ample opportunity for any changes or additions that new inventions and industrial processes may make advisable. It is much like the system used by libraries to number their books, so that no matter what book may ever be written about any subject, there is a logical number to assign it so that it will stand in its proper relation with all other books ever written or to be written on the same subject. Similarly there is a logical grouping for every industrial worker in the One Big Union plan of the I.WW..

Without the co-ordination furnished by One Big Union, it would be impossible to provide a scheme of organization that would unite workers so that they could take whatever joint action various occasions might require. The interweaving of industrial relations makes that so. For instance, the steel industry requires iron miners, workers in lime quarries, in coal mines and coke ovens, railroad and marine transport workers, as well as the employees at the blast furnaces and rolling mills. Often these workers furnishing materials are employees of the steel companies. But for other relations it is most convenient to have these coal miners organized with other coal miners, these transportation workers with other transportation workers. For effective working class solidarity it is necessary that they be able to plan jointly and to act jointly with either their fellow workers in their own industries or with their fellow workers

to whom they furnish materials. Only with the sort of industrial unionism that adds up to One Big Union is this flexibility possible. The lines marking off the industrial unions are not barriers; they are universal joints.

On the chart in the center of this pamphlet is depicted in general outline the arrangement of industrial unions used by the I.W.W. The following table gives further details. In all instances all workers on the same job are to be members of the same union, and by "all workers" is meant all wage and salary earners (except executives), each industrial union deciding for itself who is eligible and who is not.



DEPARTMENT No. 100

Agriculture and Fisheries

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 110

All workers on farms, ranches, orchards, cotton and sugar plantations. All workers engaged in the raising of cattle, livestock, on fowl, bird, dairy farms, etc.

LUMBER WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 120

All workers in forests; (rangers, foresters, etc.). All workers engaged in lumbering operations, in saw and shingle mills, and preparing wood for fuel and manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, bark, etc.

FISHERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 130

All workers in fishery and fishing pursuits on oceans, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers. All workers engaged in collecting pearls, corals and sponges, etc.

FLORICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 140

All workers engaged in nurseries, hothouses, etc., mainly devoted to flower production, in the distribution of flowers, in landscape gardening, etc.

DEPARTMENT No. 200

Mining and Minerals

METAL MINE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 210

All workers engaged in mining of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, platinum, iron, etc., etc., in mills, smelters, refineries, and other reduction works. This division also includes quarry workers, such as those engaged in mining of salt, sulphur, clay, borax, mica, bromide, graphite, soda, gypsum, asphalt, limestone, sandstone, whetstone, marble, onyx, slates, building stone, granite, etc. All precious gems, salines, salt and soda dry works, etc.

COAL MINE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 220

All workers engaged in coal mining, lignite, anthracite, bituminous, etc. in the production of coke, briquettes, peat and turf, and in the distribution of these products.

OIL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 230

All workers engaged in the production of oil, and in refineries, gas wells, filters, etc., and in the distribution of these products.

DEPARTMENT No. 300

Construction

GENERAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 310

All workers engaged in the construction of highways, streets, docks, railroads, bridges, subways, sewers, tunnels, levees, canals, viaducts, air fields, dams, irrigation ditches, etc.

SHIPBUILDING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 320

All workers engaged in the building and repairing of ships, launches, boats of all kinds; dry dock workers, etc.

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 330

All workers engaged in the erection and construction of buildings and the direct supply of building materials; or in their repair except when employed as maintenance workers.

DEPARTMENT No. 400

Manufacture and General Production

TEXTILE AND CLOTHING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 410

a) All workers engaged in the manufacture of threads, yarns, of fabrics, or in dyeing them, or in the manufacture of knitted wears, or of synthetic substitutes.

b) All workers engaged in the manufacture of garments, including sewn clothing, gloves, hats, caps, furs, etc. and in the supply of their accessories.

c) All workers producing other textile products, as cotton belting, rope, awnings, etc.

d) All workers employed in laundries, cleaning and dyeing establishments, and the repair of garments, etc.

FURNITURE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 420

All workers employed in (a) planing mills, molding factories etc. not attached to sawmills; or (b) the production of furniture, etc., whether of wood or other materials, including pianos, organs, etc., bowling and billiard equipment, and most sporting goods; phonographs, radios, etc.

CHEMICAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 430

a) All workers engaged in the manufacture and distribution of drugs, medicines, perfumes and kindred products.

b) All workers in the production of rubber goods and synthetic substitutes, etc.; and in the distribution of these products.

c) All workers engaged in the production of explosives and their allied products, and the production of industrial Chemicals, etc.

METAL AND MACHINERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 440

a) All workers engaged in steel mills, blast furnaces, rolling mills, tin-plate mills, etc.

b) All workers engaged in the production of machinery including electrical equipment, locomotives, autos, airplanes, industrial and household equipment, etc.

c) All workers engaged in the production of sheets, tubes, castings, etc., of non-ferrous metals.

d) All workers engaged in making household utensils, watches and clocks or musical and scientific instruments.

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 450

a) All workers engaged in the production and direct distribution of newspapers and other periodicals, whether employed in the editorial, art, business or mechanical departments.

b) All workers employed in other printing establishments, in concerns printing periodicals for their publishers, and in allied work as photo-engraving, book-binding, etc.

FOODSTUFF WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 460

All workers engaged in the manufacture of foods, as in

a) meat and fish packing plants;

b) canneries;

c) sugar refineries;

d) cheese and condensed milk factories, and dairies; including their distribution workers;

The One Big Union Structure

of the

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD



A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First—It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the working class in their struggle for shorter hours, more wages and better job conditions.

Second—It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from strikes, jails and scabbing.

Study the chart and observe how this organization provides the means for control of shop affairs, provides perfect industrial unionism, and converges the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

e) flour, cereal and feed mills;

f) bakeries and biscuit factories, confectioners;

g) breweries, wineries, distilleries, and plants producing carbonated and other beverages, and workers engaged in the direct distribution of these or allied products as yeast, malt, etc.

h) tobacco factories;

i) establishments for preparing and packaging teas, coffees, spices and other groceries.

LEATHER WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 470

All workers engaged in (a) tanneries, etc., (b) in making boots, shoes, and harness; (c) in the production of trunks, bags, belts and all other leather goods.

GLASS AND POTTERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 480

All workers engaged in (a) the manufacture of glass products; (b) in the production of pottery, porcelain, chinaware; (c) cement plants, brickyards, tile and terra cotta workers, etc.

PULP AND PAPER MILL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 490

All workers engaged in (a) pulp and paper mills, (b) in making paper containers, etc.

DEPARTMENT No. 500

Transportation and Communication

MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 510

a) All workers engaged in loading and unloading of vessels.

b) All workers engaged in the operation of ocean, river, lake and harbor crafts. This includes all workers, in all departments aboard ships.

c) All workers on docks, wharves, etc.

RAILROAD WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 520

All workers employed by railroads in the operation of their service, whether they operate trains, repair and clean rolling stock, maintain the roadbed and equipment, work in the office, or watch at a crossing.

MOTOR TRANSPORT WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 530

All workers engaged in general trucking and inter-urban bus-lines, including the warehouses, garages, etc. incident to this industry. (Note: The truckdriver employed by a factory or store belongs in the industrial union of his fellow employees.)

MUNICIPAL TRANSPORTATION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 540

All workers employed in street-car, bus, elevated, or subway service; taxi drivers, and any truckers or draymen, etc., not attached to specific industries.

AIR TRANSPORT WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 550

All workers employed in the maintenance of this service, whether in its direct operation, in repairs and maintenance of airfields and equipment, in offices or attendant services.

COMMUNICATION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 560

All workers engaged in communication service, such as postal, telephone, telegraph, radio, television, etc., and the maintenance of the same.

DEPARTMENT No. 600

Public Service

HEALTH SERVICE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 610

a) All workers employed by hospitals, sanatoria, etc., including physicians, attendants, clerks, janitors, etc.

b) All workers employed by bath and massage establishments, barbers, beauticians, etc.

c) All workers employed in sanitation, garbage disposals, etc.

EDUCATIONAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 620

All workers engaged by institutions of learning, schools, colleges, libraries, museums, research services, etc.

RECREATION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 630

a) All workers engaged in the production of motion pictures, (actors, mechanics, etc.) or in the operation of motion picture theatres; and all workers engaged in other theatres as actors, singers, musicians, stage-hands, ushers, etc.

b) All wage-earning musicians not otherwise classified.

c) All workers at amusement parks, circuses, and other places of recreation.

HOTEL, RESTAURANT, AND BUILDING SERVICE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 640

a) All employees of restaurants, hotels, public cafeterias, etc.

b) All domestic help.

c) All workers engaged in maintenance, servicing and cleaning of office buildings, apartment houses, etc.

PARK AND HIGHWAY MAINTENANCE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 650

All workers employed in maintenance of streets, roads parks, zoos, cemeteries, golf courses, etc.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 660

a) All employees in stores, warehouses, wholesale establishments including delivery service.

b) All employees of banks, insurance companies, etc.

c) All employees of advertising agencies, etc.

d) All wage earners engaged in general salvage and junking.

PUBLIC SERVICE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 670

All workers employed in such services as water supply, gas and power plants, central heating plants, and similar public services.

Somewhere in this One Big Union plan there is a logical place for every wage worker so that he can exercise his solidarity most effectively with his fellow workers.

A few notes should be added on the structure of the One Big Union. Some of the industrial unions may appear to have

too wide a scope for convenience; rolling mills, brass foundries and watch-making may seem to be more than one union should include. But the system of classification used permits any subdivisions within the union for the formation of any section for which there may be actual practical reasons. Further it should be remembered, all the workers on one job form their own job or shop branch and in it decide all questions that relate exclusively to that particular job.

Since some jobs include a considerable number of subordinate activities, the rule that all on that job belong in the same union often requires that workers be in different industrial unions than their occupation might lead one to expect. For instance, in a hospital besides nurses, internes, technicians, etc., there are laundry workers, cooks, often gardeners and carpenters. All belong in the same union.

If it were not for the One Big Union such industrial organization might build some handicaps. The laundry workers in a hospital might want to meet with other laundry workers to establish standard conditions in all laundries. With One Big Union to which they all belong they have all the facilities for doing so, and for electing any committees to carry out their decisions. Or truck drivers, if they work for a store or a factory, belong in the job unit and industrial union of their fellow employees. Yet they may want to meet with other truck drivers to agree on a common policy in regard to loading, using helpers, or the like. One Big Union enables them to do that too.

Other Practical Advantages

Industrial union structure is designed to unite workers in the way that will be most convenient for them. With whom can they best bargain collectively? With whom are they most likely to go out on strike? Such questions as these are the practical ones that decide in what industrial union any group of workers should be placed. The kitchen crew in a logging camp, the mess department aboard ship, the staff of an industrial cafeteria in a steel mill, all do the same sort of work as that done by the employees of a restaurant, but they can bargain more effectively if they are organized respectively with lumberjacks, seamen, and steel workers.

In distribution these common sense rules must be applied. Where the workers involved distribute only one company's product, as in many gas stations, it will be best to organize them with the workers supplying this product. The workers

in the oil fields and refineries will be in a better bargaining position if they can cut off the distribution of their product. Similarly the bargaining position of the gas station attendants is better with the backing of these other workers employed by the same company. Crews on oil tankers however find it more convenient to organize with other seamen, but they will not touch "hot oil" in oil workers' strikes.

But where there is no such close relations with production, distribution workers will be better off organized together whether they work in drug stores, department stores, clothing stores or what. In all these instances it should be plain that unless industrial unionism adds up to One Big Union the labor movement will be handicapped in providing the different types of co-ordination that varying circumstances require.

One Big Union is the hoop that holds the industrial union staves together. Without it they tend to fall into a useless, disorganized confusion.

One Class — One Union

The division between the industrial unions must not be considered as walls keeping the workers apart but as devices to unite them more effectively. In the I.W.W. all members are directly members of the I.W.W. itself, with voice and vote directly on its general policies and officers, with voice and vote on their own industrial union affairs, with a free universal transfer from the industrial union covering their last job to the industrial union covering the job to which they move, but with no voice or vote on the affairs of other industrial unions. Their immediate organization is the job or shop branch organizing the place where they work, and only those working on that job have any voice or vote on job issues. Each part is responsible for itself except that industrial unions must not adopt rules conflicting with the general constitution, and central and job branches must not adopt rules conflicting either with these or the industrial union by-laws. The I.W.W. is not a federation of industrial unions; it is One Big Union of the working class. The inter-relationships of modern industry make any other structure inadequate for the needs of labor.

The One Big Union structure further avoids disputes about jurisdiction over workers whose classification is made doubtful by the complexities of modern production processes. For instance, it is desirable that all in the metal mining industry be in one union. It is desirable that all in the steel industry be in one union. But we find for example that one metal, helium, occurs

as a gas and the processes of extraction are not at all akin to metal mining; that another metal, magnesium, is obtained by chemical processes from sea water, first making milk of magnesia, then magnesium; that aluminum is obtained by electrolysis from the clay bauxite. In a federation of industrial unions there would be grounds for argument in which union to put them. In One Big Union this is of no great consequence, and they can be organized in whatever way they find most convenient. Or again, if a concern making a general line of electrical equipment turns out radios as a side-line all employees will be metal and machinery workers, while if another concern, specializing in different types of cabinet work, also makes radios, these radio workers will be furniture workers.

Industrial Departments

Unions in allied industries constitute industrial departments. The advantages of such organization are especially obvious in the instance of transportation. Railroads, bus lines, trucking companies, air lines, all provide substitute modes of transportation. If workers in these various transportation industries are organized to act together when occasion arises for them to do so, they will have all the advantages in the struggle. So great is their united power that it might almost be said that the destiny of the world is in their hands. Think how much suffering mankind might have been saved if organized transportation workers in the last decade had refused to load or carry goods to any fascist nation or to any nations whose transport workers would not follow the same policy. It would have been a good investment had the rest of labor assessed itself the few cents each it would have taken to repay these transport workers for any wages they lost in consequence of such a policy, and thus a great good could have been accomplished with hardship to none. Or consider how similar arrangements could make it foolish to hire scabs by making it impossible for scab-made goods to be hauled. If workers stick together right, they cannot be beaten down.

What is proposed here is the organization of the working class so that it can "stick together" in effective solidarity. Every union man who has tried to organize his fellows is all too familiar with the complaint: "A union is all right, but the trouble is that the workers won't stick together." We don't believe that complaint.

We don't believe it because we have seen so often the efforts of workers to stick together, and seen those efforts shattered by

faulty organization that stopped them from practicing solidarity. Things do substantially what they are built to do; the same stuff can go into making a typewriter or a sewing machine, and behaves differently because it is put together differently. The same workers can be in a loose federation of organizations formed to serve some special sets of interests, or they can be in One Big Union.If their union is designed to keep them separated it will not be a surprise to find that "Workers won't stick together"; but if they are organized to stick, then stick they will and be joyful of the fact that they can.

Scientific industrial unionism designed by the I.W.W. to meet the conditions of modern industry emphasises these basic rules:

1. All workers on the same job, regardless of craft, belong in the same job organization;
2. All workers in the same industry belong in the same industrial union;
3. All members of these industrial unions belong directly as members of the One Big Union of the entire working class;
4. Any worker changing his job is entitled to transfer free of any charge to the industrial union covering his new employment—"once a union man, always a union man";
5. No part of the labor movement should accept any obligation to work on materials furnished by strikebreakers, or to furnish material for them, or to fill the orders that strikers were supposed to fill; or cross any picket line, or aid in any way to break the strike of any group of workers.

Such is the form of organization the I.W.W. offers to make labor invincible. Are you with us?

III

THE PRACTICAL POLICIES OF THE I.W.W.

The purpose of the I.W.W. is to establish democracy in our everyday life on the job. Its practical policies are directed toward that end and are essential to its achievement. They are determined by two basic principles: Solidarity and democracy within the union. It is necessary to avoid any practice that will interfere with the unity of our class, and it is even more necessary to make sure that the union instead of running its members is run by them. To leave democracy out of such an organization as the I.W.W. is building would leave it a device for fascism, and a tremendous handicap to labor. Hitler and Mussolini found it necessary to herd labor into an organization very much of that sort. The mighty weapon of One Big Union must be wielded by labor, not over labor.

As protection against any clique running this union to suit themselves, the following safeguards have been devised:

1. No officer is elected for more than one year.
2. No officer may be elected for more than three successive terms.
3. All officers are elected by referendum ballot on which all members they represent may vote—all members on the job for a job branch officer; all members in job branches for the officers of the industrial union branches that unite them; all members in the industry for industrial union officers; and all members of the I.W.W. for officers of the general organization.
4. All officers are subject to recall by majority vote.
5. Election, not appointment, is the uniform policy.

No "Check-Off"

The business methods of the union are further assurance of democracy. "The power of the purse" must be kept in the hands of the members both in the collection of dues and in the control of expenditures. For that reason the I.W.W. does not accept the check-off. Instead it has devised a simple and convenient system for the collection of dues by branch secretaries and delegates on the job—a system that is proof against dishonesty in handling funds and which permits shop committees

to know the union standing of every member on the job. With this practice it is necessary to handle union business to the satisfaction of the members. If the union treasurers received a check from the companies for dues collected by check-off they might be more concerned with the goodwill of the companies than with the goodwill of the members; with that revenue they could hire stooges to control the union meetings, and keep themselves in power running the union as a mere dues-collecting agency in the interests of company and union officials. Beside providing rank-and-file control over the power of the purse, the direct collection of dues establishes that much more contact between members and officers; the officers have that much more intimacy with the grievances that occur on the job and are under much more pressure to attend to those grievances. That is why many companies prefer the check-off.

No assessments can be levied except when approved by a referendum of those who are to pay them. The funds are decentralized in treasuries for each branch and each industrial union.

No Clique Control

These constitutional provisions and business methods to guard union democracy are re-inforced by the removal of all motives that could lead any clique to seek control of the union. This is done by these additional safeguards:

1. There can be no financial gain in clique rule because the pay for officers must not exceed the average pay of the workers they represent, and efficient record-keeping and rigidly honest accounting are enforced with monthly as well as annual financial statements, all audited. "General expense" accounts are forbidden.

2. No powers are given officers except those needed to carry out the instructions of the members. Strikes can not be called or called off by officers; this can be done only by the members concerned; settlements can be negotiated only by commitees of the workers concerned; committee members and union officials are not allowed to confer with employers except in the presence of the committee.

3. Political or similar cliques seeking control of the union to subvert its facilities, resources, or reputation to their own ends are thwarted by the non-political policies that have been adopted primarily to assure unity in our ranks.

No Politics in This Union

It is sound unionism not to express a preference for one religion or one political party or candidate over another. These are not union questions, and must be settled by each member according to his own conscience. The union is formed to reach and enforce decisions about industrial questions; its power to do this can be destroyed by the division of its members over political issues and the diversion of its resources to political campaigns. So that all workers regardless of their religious or political preference may be united to get every possible benefit out of their job, the I.W.W. must be non-political and non-religious, letting its members attend to these matters as they personally see fit—and with the additional social consciousness, regard for their fellows, and general enlightenment that they derive from their union activity.

This does not mean that the I.W.W. is indifferent to the great social and economic question of the day. Quite the contrary! We believe it provides the practical solution to those questions. When the industry of the world is run by its workers for their own good, we see no chance for unemployment, war, racial conflict, or large-scale crime, or any of our serious social problems, to continue. With the sort of organization the I.W.W. is building, labor can exert any pressure required to restrain the antics of the politicians and even more constructively accomplish through direct action what labor has often failed to accomplish by political lobbying.

How To Get Good Laws

For instance railroad men want trains kept to safe lengths. One method is to get laws passed and then try to have them enforced. Much simpler, much more reliable, and certainly much more helpful in developing labor's capacity to solve its own problems, is the practice, of making the train the safe length, hauling it away, and leaving the extra cars for management to worry about. Laws usually are based on actual practice. It is best for labor to concern itself with controlling the actual practice; that makes good law-making easy and bad law-making hard. The law-makers are mindful of the powerful ones in society; One Big Union makes labor all powerful. Once labor is properly organized, the law-makers will be duly mindful of it; and if they aren't it will not matter, for what happens from then on is what the organized working class decides to make happen.

To unite the working class industrially, it is of course necessary to avoid such practices as high initiation fees, closed books, racial, religious, or political discrimination. What is needed is One Big Union of all workers no matter what their language, what their beliefs, or what the color of their skin may be. In the union all are equal. What the majority decides about any industrial question is the decision by which all must abide. For that reason it is out of order to attempt to reach decisions about non-industrial questions. It is up to each member to decide to what church he will go, with what people he will mingle off the job, and for whom he will vote.

Efficient Unionism

The principles underlying these policies are those of solidarity and democracy within the union. Another aspect of these same two principles is effectiveness and efficiency. Our effectiveness is achieved by our united strength; it is measured solely by what we can do. Our efficiency is measured by the relation of our gains to the cost of those gains, whether in time, money, trouble or the other sacrifices labor must often make. To smash a mosquito with a steam-hammer is no doubt effective, but it is hardly efficient. We want maximum gains at minimum cost.

That the I.W.W. is efficient is well attested by the fact that despite its relatively small numbers it has made such disproportionate gains for labor that it has become the union most vilified and most feared by big business. Its efficiency is achieved by its democracy, its rank-and-file control. There is a myth that democracy makes for inefficiency; union experience disproves that myth. In the first place, to get the results we want, we have to aim at those results. To let the direction of the union be in other hands than those of the members would be like trying to chop wood with someone else holding the ax-handle.

In the second place, the more the members have to say about union matters, and the more directly they attend to union business themselves, the greater is the union's source of strength. Labor does not win its fights just by paying dues into a union treasury; money can only pay for the facilities of the union; what makes the union go is the effort and enthusiasm of its members—something that cannot be bought. It is this direct participation in the union business, and this system of managing that business by union delegates on the job and job committees rather than by business agents, that develop the abilities of the members and make them a force able to organize the working class. And

thirdly, it is the organized self-reliance or autonomy of the component parts of the I.W.W. that goes with this rank-and-file control, that enables us to handle problems in the most convenient and least costly way. This union is built like the hand, each joint of which can move separately, but all parts of which can be brought instantly into an effective clenched fist.

Direct Action

This direct control of their union business is reflected in the direct action on the job for which the I.W.W. is famous. Some years ago the I.W.W. modernized the west-coast lumber industry. Its members established the eight-hour day by blowing their own whistle at the end of eight hours and quitting. Some crews were fired, but the next crew blew its whistle too, and the eight-hour day became established practice. (Later a law was passed.) The old practice had been to sleep in double-deck, muzzle-loading bunks and to carry one's own bedding to the job. Organized lumberjacks made bonfires of the bunks and the bedding and told the companies that thereafter if they wanted men they would have to provide decent cots, mattresses and clean sheets and blankets.

Long strikes may, at times, be unavoidable; but as far as it can, the I.W.W. avoids them. It prefers a series of short strikes timed to do the most good; to get the same results or better at less cost to its members. It prefers even more the direct removal of grievances. Why walk out because the company refuses to get rid of an unsafe foreman? Why not have the men under him elect the man whose judgement they trust best to direct the work, and then carry out his instructions instead of the instructions of the company-appointed foreman? With the backing of their fellow workers this sort of thing can usually be done. Why walk out because your fellow worker is fired for union activity? It will cost you nothing and cost the company far more if you go to work and express your sorrow by the way in which you work—and if the man fired for union activity helps the union spread more union ideas, it ought to make the companies careful about providing these additional organizers. The secret of direct action is simple enough: If workers quit doing what they are told to do, and do instead what they have collectively decided to do, there isn't anything much that can be done to stop them. The I.W.W. expects to build a decent world in that simple way.

Briefly these are the policies that the I.W.W. has found best in the wide and varied experience it has had in the

struggles of industry since it was founded in 1905. Out of the experience of the many good union men who have built and maintained the I.W.W., it is able to offer the working class a scientific plan of industrial organization, a set of trustworthy union principles, a body of policy and method, of strategy and tactics that assure success not only in the ordinary struggle for better wages and working conditions, but in the struggle to establish a sane social order.

What To Do

If a man's job is not organized, he should get in touch with the I.W.W. and it will organize that job with his help. He will find the I.W.W. the most practical union for protecting himself and his fellow workers; and he will have the additional satisfaction of helping build the good world that has been the hope of poet and prophet all through the horrors of history.

A sane world run by producers for the common good is an aim that should be achieved and can be achieved. The sort of labor movement that can achieve it is being built by the I.W.W. It is up to each worker to ask himself whether he is doing his bit to help build it. There is really only one big problem in the world: a working class too disorganized to act for its own good. The I.W.W. is the answer to that problem. It is a disgrace to be part of the problem; it is an honor to be part of the answer.

Those who because of their job or for any other reason are already members of other unions can still take their place in the One Big Union movement. Many of the members of the I.W.W. belong to other unions also. They belong to the I.W.W. because otherwise they would add to the problem of labor and not to its answer; and they know that only by making the answer bigger than the problem can the problem be solved. And they are good members of their other unions. The I.W.W.'s concern for solidarity and union democracy is satisfactory guarantee against any fear that their preference for the I.W.W. would lead them to seek control of other unions or otherwise seek to disrupt them.

Of its members the I.W.W. asks that they continue their membership no matter to what job they may go; that they make themselves acquainted with its ideas and policies so that they will be even more useful union members; that they tell others about these ideas; and that they watch for every possible opportunity for this union to grow and to be of more service to their fellow workers on their own or other jobs.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Industrial Worker

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ONE BIG UNION

Published by the

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One Big Union

of the

Industrial Workers Of The World



SIXTH REVISED EDITION

1970

Published by the

Industrial Workers of the World

2440 North Lincoln Ave
Chicago Illinois 60614

Printed in U. S. A.

Price 50 cents

"There is no force on earth greater than an idea whose time has come." — Victor Hugo.

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INTRODUCTION

This argument for One Big Union, last re-written during World War II, holds true today. But life since then has added new reasons for acting as one organized working class.

As World War II ended each employer told his workers they must work harder to remain competitive with other plants here and hold their jobs. It was silly to have to work harder just because the terrible waste of war had stopped. But it would have required One Big Union to resist that demand. So we did start working harder. Soon governments here and abroad urged workers to work still harder and consume less so they could get a larger share of the world market. As a world recession threatens in these 1970's they have become even more insistent. But can workers of different countries improve their conditions by underbidding each other any more than workers can in competing plants in the same town? (For a practical union approach see IWW pamphlet "World Labor Needs a Union.")

In the bargaining that followed World War II, wage "patterns" for other industries got set each year in the industry where workers went to bat first. There was much corporate maneuvering to arrange that this would be in an industry where market and union situations put workers at a bargaining disadvantage. A Cold War abroad was projected into the labor movement tearing it apart both here and there. Corporate collusion coupled with the Taft-Hartley law, its affidavits, its unionism by permit, and its ban on secondary boycotts, soon set the patterns in industries where workers were least able to bargain. Today multinational corporations can play this game on a vaster scale with the factories they have built abroad out of the wealth we have produced for them.

Since World War II our gains have largely been taken back through higher prices. Prices have been raised by corporate practices and maneuvering the money supply and the wastes of militarism, but the unions have been blamed even though inflation has been highest in countries such as Spain and Taiwan where the wealth we produce is used to maintain governments that forbid unions.

In America the policy has been to permit unions but restrict unionism with Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin, wage control and similar laws. It has been easier to put this sort of legislation across because workers believe the nonsense about unions causing high prices, It has been easier because labor's efforts show up as picket lines on TV, but none of us see the quiet corporate decisions to give the screw one more turn. It has been easier because increasingly our strikes inconvenience our fellow workers more than they hurt the owners who say "NO" to our demands. Remidies are possible. If the law forbids one union from backing up another, all the more reason for One Big Union. We need to back each other up inside boundaries and across boundaries. We can make unionism more flexible, providing both more local autonomy and more sympathetic action. We can bargain for the tangible and enduring social gains (such as parking lots and playgrounds and community clinics, health care for all, day-care centers and so forth) as well as for peices of green paper. We who make the world's wealth and move it around can and should decide what sort of things we will make and where we will move them. Even preparing for that will greatly improve our bargaining position.

Peace, clean air and water, a world for our great-grandchildren: these concern us as human beings, not as tailors or miners or carpenters. Politicians and corporations have proved they cannot give them to us. With One Big Union we can give them to ourselves.

The I. W. W. wants the world for the workers, and none but workers in the world. "By organizing industrially, we (the workers) are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." — Vincent St. John.

I.

THE UNION'S PLACE IN HUMAN PROGRESS

INDUSTRY — the conversion of the raw stuff of nature into the things mankind wants — is the center and foundation of our social life. Those who **own** and control the natural resources of the earth, and the industrial equipment necessary to transform these raw materials into finished products, form the much smaller of the **two great classes** in modern society.

The workers, who supply the labor which gathers these raw materials, and transforms them into usable goods, are the other, and much larger class. The interest of these two classes are opposed.

The entire social life of modern times is shaped by these facts.

The business, or capitalist class which controls industry is anxious to keep that control and the privileges that go with it. To make that control secure, it seeks to gain or keep control of all social institutions. It wants to write and administer the laws. It wants the schools to teach respect and obedience to the privileged few. It wants the press and movies to shape our thoughts and feelings to serve its interests. And if it cannot get rid of the organizations labor has built, it wants to control them too.

These top business men are threatened with the loss of their control by two outstanding facts:

1) modern industrial development has made their activity unnecessary;

2) the working class is now able, once it so desires, to take control of industry and thus establish a much more efficient and satisfactory society.

The original job of the capitalist was to furnish funds and management. Today management is the job of a specially trained section of the class of hired hands, and funds are amply provided out of the various reserves taken from profits. The system

of corporate administration that the capitalists have built up has made them superfluous.

The business class became dominant in society as the result of long struggles against the kings and feudal land-owners who ran the world before them. They won — with the help of the common folk who did the fighting — because new inventions, procedures and discoveries had put the feudal regime out of date. The parliamentary bodies that had been created to raise funds for the old order had also established a more efficient system of government and had made kings and lords as obsolete as capitalists are today. The great voyages and discoveries, the improvements in navigation, and the new factory system had all made the ownership of warehouses, ships, and equipment more important than the ownership of land. The basis of society had shifted from the farm to the factory, and the control of society had shifted to those who controlled industry.

Revolutionary Progress

For all that the conservatives of those days warned that this would be the end of civilization, it was a great step forward. Whatever of the old order was serviceable to the new was kept and cultivated. What was destroyed was the feudal grab and rule that obstructed progress. Invention and industry flourished as never before. Our ways of producing and living have changed faster in the last two hundred years than in the previous two thousand. Each worker's capacity to produce is at least a hundred times what it was when business took over. Because our standard of living has not kept pace with invention, and cannot keep pace with it as long as business controls industry, the possibilities of abundance and leisure are wasted in depressions and wars — wars that the working class, had it been in control the world over, would not have allowed.

Not only has modern development made the activities of the few who control industry unnecessary, it has reduced the number of that class. The growth of any large corporation requires the closing of a large number of little businesses. Today it is estimated that sixty or seventy persons actually control most of the economic life of America. Through cartel arrangements with a handful of people elsewhere they plan to control the economic life of the world. They have many servants and toadies, but very few friends. Only these few would have their privileges decreased if the control of industry were taken out of their hands. The rest of mankind would be much better off.

Growth of Labor

Meanwhile the working class has grown — and it has grown in many ways. It has grown in numbers until it includes almost everybody. It has grown in knowledge and ability so that the common laborer of today has to understand and be able to do things that would have baffled the engineer and scientist of a century ago. In place of a class of illiterate serfs we have a working class able to read and write, with an extensive literature of its own, that daily discusses over its lunch-buckets the affairs of mankind the world over. And it has grown in organized power. Every step it has taken in building its unions has been a trespass on what was previously the complete jurisdiction of the owners of industry, whether it set the hours it would work, and that consequently the machines would run, or the pay it would take, or seniority rules, or the safety and sanitary regulations for the job. It has been fought by the business class as its mortal enemy, for, by the logic of events, that is precisely what organized labor is. Every forward step that organized labor takes strengthens its position as the logical successor of the business class to exercise control of industry; and (because there is no class beneath it), its triumph means the first classless society since civilization began, and the end of all the horror, cruelty, folly and injustice that necessarily go with class society.

The big question for today and tomorrow is this: How is industry to be controlled?

It is not so much a question of who is to own industry. Modern corporate intricacy has already made ownership almost a myth. Managerial control is what counts, and it has largely become independent of the actual investors. Those who control industry need not worry about who owns it. Who is to say whether industry is to run or to stand idle? Who is to decide what is to be produced and where the product is to go? These are the important questions.

Should modern industry be controlled by a handful of financiers?

Should it be administered by a host of politicians?

Or should it be run by those engaged in it?

It must be one of the three. The financiers through their holding companies, their cartels, their control over directorships and credit, seek to complete their control over the economic life of the world. But their control, by its very nature, strangles that economic life, for it does not pay to let the working class

produce all that it is willing to produce except in wars. So either those in control of industry ally themselves with those in control of government, as in Hitler's Germany, to save themselves from democracy, or those in control of government extend their regulation over industry and its workers as is happening in America. Some propose to make this government control of industry complete.

Industrial Democracy Wanted

The Industrial Workers of the World, and intelligent union members generally, see nothing good in this choice whether the back-seat driving is to be done by financiers or by politicians. Instead they want industrial democracy — industry run by its workers. They ask such questions as these:

If a representative government takes control of everyone's bread and butter, how could it be kept representative?

If we add to the already vast body of rules and regulations over labor, will we not become puppets of appointed administrators?

With the tradition that "you can't strike against the government" what would become of collective bargaining?

How are we to have such a totalitarian economy and yet avoid totalitarian politics?

And what becomes of initiative and freedom?

After all, the greatest problem facing mankind is not the much discussed question of production and distribution; it is the problem of power. It never **has been** safe to let a few control the affairs of the many; it **never will** be safe. The depressions, the wars, the sundry other ills of the world in recent years, have been possible only because there was already an unsafe concentration of power in the hands of a few. What happened did happen as the result of the will of these few, not of the will of the many. Every invention that has increased our power to produce or destroy has increased the power of the few and decreased the power of the rest of us. Every improvement in communication has extended the empire of the malignant minority. And every time we try to remedy the resulting evils by giving more power to some one to tell us what we can do and what we can't do, we increase the problem that much further. Consequently the only safe choice is industrial democracy — industry run by organized labor.

It's Up to Labor

Labor, organized right, can run industry and thereby solve the problem of power, for all the power that runs this dynamic world comes from the efforts of labor. Our class has only to

stop doing what it is told to do and start doing what it collectively decides to do, to deprive its opposition of all the power they ever had and to acquire for itself all the power it will ever need.

Management of industry by labor organized to do the job is not a mere pipe dream. It is the historic trend. It is the pole toward which every forward move of labor has pointed whether intended that way or not. But it cannot be achieved without deliberately planning for it, working for it, organizing for it. This, the I.W.W. has made its own special job. If that job is not done, the counter trend wins out — regimentation of everything either by business, by government, or most likely, by their unholy alliance, fascism.

Industrial democracy is the answer to many problems. It can keep alive this democracy that cannot survive when practiced only on election day. It can free us from want and fear and waste and war. With modern production methods it can enable the ordinary person to get all the material goods he can use by working about as much as he wants to. It can give us security and freedom, those two most desirable ends, neither of which is possible without the other, for the man driven by want cannot be free, and the puppet can never be secure. It can make organized society an harmonious whole, intelligently working for the good of all — for it is only when the general run of mankind can decide what is to be produced and what is to become of the product that it can know what it is doing.

Industrial democracy can be built only by an organized working class. Working class organization must serve two purposes.

a) **it must provide the most efficient structure for carrying on our daily struggle for better conditions and better pay;**

b) **it must provide a complete solution of the industrial problem by making possible the efficient management of modern industry by organized labor.**

Fortunately, but not by a coincidence, the same type of organization best serves both purposes; for by organizing the way we work, so that we have the same relations in our union as we have in the process of production, we are lined up so as to have the most strategic advantage in our everyday struggle, and the necessary co-ordination for assuming the responsibility for industrialized production.

How to organize right is thus the immediate question. It is with that question that this pamphlet is concerned.

II.

THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

All industry is inter-related, so much so that it could be said that there is really only one industry, **the production of goods and services.**

Consider your shirt and the processes necessary to its production. It required not only the labor and materials used directly in making it, but also the buildings and machinery where it was made. It required the production of the cotton and the dye. It required the transportation and the planning for all the trips for all the materials in it, and for the machinery and buildings used in making it. The workers involved in all these processes could not have specialized in growing cotton, in making dyes, in building factories and textile machinery, in operating this equipment, in transporting goods, and the like, if other workers had not specialized in building houses for them, providing food for them, and offering the sundry other services they needed. In fact it is difficult to think of anything that workers do anywhere that does not have some connection with the production of a cotton shirt.

But this work is not one vast hodge-podge. It is subdivided and organized much as your own body is subdivided and organized. It is divided first of all into six major departments:

1. **the raw materials that can be grown or raised;**
2. **the raw materials of the mine, quarry and the like;**
3. **construction of roads and building, ships, wharves, canals, etc.;**
4. **manufacture of the materials into food, clothing, tools, equipment, etc.;**
5. **transportation and communications;**
6. **the various services offered by schools, hospitals, theatres, stores and public utilities.**

Corresponding to these major divisions are the six departments in which the industrial unions are grouped in the chart placed in the center of this pamphlet. The advantages in practical union matters in providing these departments will be pointed out later on.

Within the departments are the industries and their industrial unions. Because of the inter-relations that bind all productive efforts together, it is impossible to mark off the territory of each industry with indisputable precision. An industry, after all, is a social aggregate of workers, equipment, and processes only somewhat set apart from other workers by their own closer inter-relations. The lines separating the industrial unions accordingly, should not be thought of as means for keeping workers apart but as means for keeping them better together.

Industrial Classification

To organize the working class in structures corresponding to the facts of industry is the aim of the I.W.W. As a system of classification for this scientific industrial unionism it uses the decimal method, as that provides ample opportunity for any changes or additions that new inventions and industrial processes may make advisable. It is much like the system used by libraries to number their books, so that no matter what book may ever be written about any subject, there is a logical number to assign it so that it will stand in its proper relation with all other books ever written or to be written on the same subject. Similarly there is a logical grouping for every industrial worker in the One Big Union plan of the I.W.W.

Without the co-ordination furnished by One Big Union, it would be impossible to provide a scheme of organization that would unite workers so that they could take whatever joint action various occasions might require. The interweaving of industrial relations makes that so. For instance, the steel industry requires iron miners, workers in lime quarries, in coal mines and coke ovens, railroad and marine transport workers, as well as the employees at the blast furnaces and rolling mills. Often these workers furnishing materials are employees of the steel companies. But for other relations it is most convenient to have these coal miners organized with other coal miners, these transportation workers with other transportation workers.

The One Big Union Structure

of the

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD



A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First — It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the working class in their struggle for shorter hours, more wages and better job conditions.

Second — It must offer a final solution of the labor problem — an emancipation from strikes, jails and scabbing.

Study the chart and observe how this organization provides the means for control of shop affairs, provides perfect industrial unionism, and converges the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

For effective working class solidarity it is necessary that they be able to plan jointly and to act jointly with either their fellow workers in their own industries or with their fellow workers to whom they furnish materials. Only with the sort of industrial unionism that adds up to One Big Union is this flexibility possible. The lines marking off the industrial unions are not barriers; they are universal joints.

On the chart in the center of this pamphlet is depicted in general outline the arrangement of industrial unions used by the I.W.W. The following table gives further details. In all instances all workers on the same job are to be members of the same union, and by "all workers" is meant all wage and salary earners (except executives), each industrial union deciding for itself who is eligible and who is not.

How Employers Organize

Workers cannot blindly imitate employer organization, but we should find it instructive.

Employers organize primarily as partnerships, corporations etc., on an industrial basis to take direct action on the job, to run it so as to get the most out of it, which means running us so they get the most out of us. They even set up special departments to make sure they do run us that way.

While we workers have little or no reason to compete and quarrel with each other, and employers have many reasons to do so, yet they manage to co-operate while we don't. The chief secret for that is that they organize special bodies for special purposes, and don't mix these purposes up. One result is that they don't split up their trade association over their political differences.

They have built many intricate financial structures, including world-wide cartels, and through these the capitalists of even hostile nations work together. Many of their most critical undertakings depend upon an unwritten mutual understanding of their collective interest. They concertedly make it hard for any employer who does not play along with them. And they have managed to keep on running the world even though they have repeatedly made a mess of it.

Somewhere in this One Big Union plan there is a logical place for every wage worker so that he can exercise his solidarity most effectively with his fellow workers.

A few notes should be added on the structure of the One Big Union. Some of the industrial unions may appear to have too wide a scope for convenience; rolling mills, brass foundries and watch-making may seem to be more than one union should include. But the system of classification used permits any subdivisions within the union for the formation of any section for which there may be actual practical reasons. Further it should be remembered, all the workers on one job form their own job or shop branch and in it decide all questions that relate exclusively to that particular job.

Since some jobs include a considerable number of subordinate activities, the rule that all on that job belong in the same union often requires that workers be in different industrial unions than their occupation might lead one to expect. For instance, in a hospital besides nurses, internes, technicians, etc., there are laundry workers, cooks, often gardeners and carpenters. All belong in the same union.

If it were not for the One Big Union such industrial organization might build some handicaps. The laundry workers in a hospital might want to meet with other laundry workers to establish standard conditions in all laundries. With One Big Union to which they all belong they have all the facilities for doing so, and for electing any committees to carry out their decisions. Or truck drivers, if they work for a store or a factory, belong in the job unit and industrial union of their fellow employees. Yet they may want to meet with other truck drivers to agree on a common policy in regard to loading, using helpers, or the like. One Big Union enables them to do that too.

Other Practical Advantages

Industrial union structure is designed to unite workers in the way that will be most convenient for them. With whom can they best bargain collectively? With whom are they most likely to go out on strike? Such questions as these are the practical ones that decide in what industrial union any group of workers should be placed. The kitchen crew in a logging camp, the mess department aboard ship, the staff of an industrial cafeteria in a steel mill, all do the same sort of work as that done by the

employees of a restaurant, but they can bargain more effectively if they are organized respectively with lumberjacks, seamen, and steel workers.

In distribution these common sense rules must be applied. Where the workers involved distribute only one company's product, as in many gas stations, it will be best to organize them with the workers supplying this product. The workers in the oil fields and refineries will be in a better bargaining position if they can cut off the distribution of their product. Similarly the bargaining position of the gas station attendants is better with the backing of these other workers employed by the same company. Crews on oil tankers however find it more convenient to organize with other seamen, but they will not touch "hot oil" in oil workers' strikes.

But where there is no such close relations with production, distribution workers will be better off organized together whether they work in drug stores, department stores, clothing stores or what. In all these instances it should be plain that unless industrial unionism adds up to One Big Union the labor movement will be handicapped in providing the different types of co-ordination that varying circumstances require.

One Big Union is the hoop that holds the industrial union staves together. Without it they tend to fall into a useless, disorganized confusion.

One Class — One Union

The division between the industrial unions must not be considered as walls keeping the workers apart but as devises to unite them more effectively. In the I.W.W. all members are directly members of the I.W.W. itself, with voice and vote directly on its general policies and officers, with voice and vote on their own industrial union affairs, with a free universal transfer from the industrial union covering their last job to the industrial union covering the job to which they move, but with no voice or vote on the affairs of other industrial unions. Their immediate organization is the job or shop branch organizing the place where they work, and only those working on that job have any voice or vote on job issues. Each part is responsible for itself except that industrial unions must not adopt rules conflicting with the general constitution, and central and job branches must not adopt rules conflicting either with these or the industrial union by-laws. The I.W.W. is not a federation of industrial unions; it is One Big Union of the working class. The inter-

relationships of modern industry make any other structure inadequate for the needs of labor.

The One Big Union structure further avoids disputes about jurisdiction over workers whose classification is made doubtful by the complexities of modern production processes. For instance, it is desirable that all in the metal mining industry be in one union. It is desirable that all in the steel industry be in one union. But we find for example magnesium, is obtained by chemical processes from sea water, first making milk of magnesia, then magnesium; that aluminum is obtained by electrolysis from the clay bauxite. In a federation of industrial unions there would be grounds for argument in which union to put them. In One Big Union this is of no great consequence, and they can be organized in whatever way they find most convenient. Or again, if a concern making a general line of electrical equipment turns out radios as a side-line all employees will be metal and machinery workers, while if another concern, specializing in different types of cabinet work, also makes radios, these radio workers will be furniture workers.

Industrial Departments

Unions in allied industries constitute industrial departments. The advantages of such organization are especially obvious in the instance of transportation. Railroads, bus lines, trucking companies, air lines, all provide substitute modes of transportation. If workers in these various transportation industries are organized to act together when occasion arises for them to do so, they will have all the advantages in the struggle. So great is their united power that it might almost be said that the destiny of the wrold is in their hands. Think how much suffering mankind might have been saved if organized transportation workers in the last decade had refused to load or carry goods to any fascist nation or to any nations whose transport workers would not follow the same policy. It would have been a good investment had the rest of labor assessed itself the few cents each it would have taken to repay these transportation workers for any wages they lost in consequence of such a policy, and thus a great good could have been accomplished with hardship to none. Or consider how similar arrangements could make it foolish to hire scabs by making it impossible for scab-made goods to be hauled. If workers stick together right, they cannot be beaten down.

What is proposed here is the organization of the working

class so that it can "stick together" in effective solidarity. Every union man who has tried to organize his fellows is all too familiar with the complaint "A union is all right, but the trouble is that the workers won't stick together." We don't believe that complaint.

We don't believe it because we have seen so often the efforts of workers to stick together, and seen those efforts shattered by faulty organization that stopped them from practicing solidarity. Things do substantially what they are built to do; the same stuff can go into making a typewriter or a sewing machine, and behaves differently because it is put together differently. The same workers can be in a loose federation of organizations formed to serve some special sets of interests, or they can be in One Big Union. If their union is designed to keep them separated it will not be a surprise to find that "Workers won't stick together"; but if they are organized to stick, then stick they will and be joyful of the fact that they can.

Scientific industrial unionism designed by the I.W.W. to meet the conditions of modern industry emphasises these basic rules:

1. All workers on the same job, regardless of craft, belong in the same job organization;
2. All workers in the same industry belong in the same industrial union;
3. All members of these industrial unions belong directly as members of the One Big Union of the entire working class;
4. Any worker changing his job is entitled to transfer free of any charge to the industrial union covering his new employment—"once a union man, always a union man";
5. No part of the labor movement should accept any obligation to work on materials furnished by strikebreakers, or to furnish material for them, or to fill the orders that strikers were supposed to fill; or cross any picket line, or aid in any way to break the strike of any group of workers.

Such is the form of organization the I.W.W. offers to make labor invincible. Are you with us?

III

THE PRACTICAL POLICIES OF THE I.W.W.

The purpose of the I.W.W. is to establish democracy in our everyday life on the job. Its practical policies are directed toward that end and are essential to its achievement. They are determined by two basic principles: Solidarity and democracy within the union. It is necessary to avoid any practice that will interfere with the unity of our class, and it is even more necessary to make sure that the union instead of running its members is run by them. To leave democracy out of such an organization as the I.W.W. is building would leave it a device for fascism, and a tremendous handicap to labor. Hitler and Mussolini found it necessary to herd labor into an organization very much of that sort. The mighty weapon of One Big Union must be wielded by labor, not over labor.

As protection against any clique running this union to suit themselves, the following safeguards have been devised:

1. No officer is elected for more than one year.
2. No officer may be elected for more than three successive terms.
3. All officers are elected by referendum ballot on which all members they represent may vote—all members on the job for a job branch officer; all members in job branches for the officers of the industrial union branches that unite them; all members in the industry for industrial union officers; and all members of the I.W.W. for officers of the general organization.
4. All officers are subject to recall by majority vote.
5. Election, not appointment, is the uniform policy.

No "Check-Off"

The business methods of the union are further assurance of democracy. "The power of the purse" must be kept in the hands of the members both in the collection of dues and in the control of expenditures. For that reason the I.W.W. does not accept the check-off. Instead it has devised a simple and convenient system for the collection of dues by branch secretaries and delegates on the job—a system that is proof against dishonesty in handling funds and which permits shop committees to know the union standing of every member on the job. With this practice it is necessary to handle union business to the satisfaction of the members. If the union treasurers received

a check from the companies for dues collected by check-off they might be more concerned with the goodwill of the companies than with the goodwill of the members; with that revenue they could hire stooges to control the union meetings, and keep themselves in power running the union as a mere dues-collecting agency in the interests of company and union officials. Beside provoking rank-and-file control over the power of the purse, the direct collection of dues establishes that much more contact between members and officers the officers have that much more intimacy with the grievances that occur on the job and are under much more pressure to attend to those grievances. That is why many companies prefer the check-off.

No assessments can be levied except when approved by a referendum of those who are to pay them. The funds are decentralized in treasuries for each branch and each industrial union.

No Clique Control

These constitutional provisions and business methods to guard union democracy are re-inforced by the removal of all motives that could lead any clique to seek control of the union. This is done by these additional safeguards:

1. There can be no financial gain in clique rule because the pay for officers must not exceed the average pay of the workers they represent, and efficient record-keeping and rigidly honest accounting are enforced with monthly as well as annual financial statements, all audited. "General expense" accounts are forbidden.
2. No powers are given officers except those needed to carry out the instructions of the members. Strikes can not be called or called off by officers; this can be done only by the members concerned; settlements can be negotiated only by committees of the workers concerned committee members and union officials are not allowed to confer with employers except in the presence of the committee.
3. Political or similar cliques seeking control of the union to subvert its facilities, resources, or reputation to their own ends are thwarted by the non-political policies that have been adopted primarily to assure unity in our ranks.

No Politics In This Union

It is sound unionism not to express a preference for one religion or one political party or candidate over another. These

are not union questions, and must be settled by each member according to his own conscience. The union is formed to reach and enforce decisions about industrial questions; its power to do this can be destroyed by the division of its members over political issues and the diversion of its resources to political campaigns. So that all workers regardless of their religious or political preference may be united to get every possible benefit out of their job, the I.W.W. must be non-political and non-religious, letting its members attend to these matters as they personally see fit—and with the additional social consciousness, regard for their fellows, and general enlightenment that they derive from their union activity.

This does not mean that the I.W.W. is indifferent to the great social and economic question of the day. Quite the contrary! We believe it provides the practical solution to those questions. When the industry of the world is run by its workers for their own good, we see no chance for unemployment, war, racial conflict, or large-scale crime, or any of our serious social problems, to continue. With the sort of organization the I.W.W. is building, labor can exert any pressure required to restrain the antics of the politicians and even more constructively accomplish through direct action what labor has often failed to accomplish by political lobbying.

How To Get Good Laws

For instance railroad men want trains kept to safe lengths. One method is to get laws passed and then try to have them enforced. Much simpler, much more reliable, and certainly much more helpful in developing labor's capacity to solve its own problems, is the practice, of making the trains the safe length, hauling it away, and leaving the extra cars for management to worry about. Laws usually are based on actual practice. It is best for labor to concern itself with controlling the actual practice; that makes good law-making easy and bad law-making hard. The law-makers are mindful of the powerful ones in society; One Big Union makes labor all powerful. Once labor is properly organized, the law-makers will be duly mindful of it; and if they aren't it will not matter, for what happens from then on is what the organized working class decides to make happen.

To unite the working class industrially, it is of course necessary to avoid such practices as high initiation fees, closed books, racial, religious, or political discrimination. What is

needed is One Big Union of all workers no matter what their language, what their beliefs, or what the color of their skin may be. In the union all are equal. What the majority decides about any industrial question is the decision by which all must abide. For that reason it is out of order to attempt to reach decisions about non-industrial questions. It is up to each member to decide to what church he will go, with what people he will mingle off the job, and for whom he will vote.

Efficient Unionism

The principles underlying these policies are those of solidarity and democracy within the union. Another aspect of these same two principles is effectiveness and efficiency. Our effectiveness is achieved by our united strength; it is measured solely by what we can do. Our efficiency is measured by the relation of our gains to the cost of those gains, whether in time, money, trouble or the other sacrifices labor must often make. To smash a mosquito with a steam-hammer is no doubt effective, but it is hardly efficient. We want maximum gains at minimum cost.

That the I.W.W. is efficient is well attested by the fact that despite its relatively small numbers it has made such disproportionate gains for labor that it has become the union most vilified and most feared by big business. Its efficiency is achieved by its democracy, its rank-and-file control. There is a myth that democracy makes for inefficiency; union experience disproves that myth. In the first place, to get the results we want, we have to aim at those results. To let the direction of the union be in other hands than those of the members would be like trying to chop wood with someone else holding the ax-handle.

In the second place, the more the members have to say about union matters, and the more directly they attend to union business themselves, the greater is the union's source of strength. Labor does not win its fights just by paying dues into a union treasury; money can only pay for the facilities of the union; what makes the union go is the effort and enthusiasm of its members—something that cannot be bought. It is this direct participation in the union business, and this system of managing that business by union delegates on the job and job committees rather than by business agents, that develop the abilities of the members and make them a force able to organize the working class. And thirdly, it is the organized self-reliance or autonomy of the component parts of the I.W.W. that goes with this rank-and-file

control, that enables us to handle problems in the most convenient and least costly way. This union is built like the hand, each joint of which can move separately, but all parts of which can be brought instantly into an effective clenched fist.

Direct Action

This direct control of their union business is reflected in the direct action on the job for which the I.W.W. is famous. Some years ago the I.W.W. modernized the west-coast lumber industry. Its members established the eight-hour day by blowing their own whistle at the end of eight hours and quitting. Some crews were fired, but the next crew blew its whistle too, and the eight-hour day became established practice. (Later a law was passed.) The old practice had been to sleep in double-deck, muzzle-loading bunks and to carry one's own bedding to the job. Organized lumberjacks made bonfires of the bunks and the bedding and told the companies that thereafter if they wanted men they would have to provide decent cots, mattresses and clean sheets and blankets.

Long strikes may, at times, be unavoidable; but as far as it can, the I.W.W. avoids them. It prefers a series of short strikes timed to do the most good; to get the same results or better at less cost to its members. It prefers even more the direct removal of grievances. Why walk out because the company refuses to get rid of an unsafe foreman? Why not have the men under him elect the man whose judgement they trust best to direct the work, and then carry out his instructions instead of the instructions of the company-appointed foreman? With the backing of their fellow workers this sort of thing can usually be done. Why walk out because your fellow worker is fired for union activity? It will cost you nothing and cost the company far more if you go to work and express your sorrow by the way in which you work—and if the man fired for union activity helps the union spread more union ideas, it ought to make the companies careful about providing these additional organizers. The secret of direct action is simple enough: If workers quit doing what they are told to do, and do instead what they have collectively decided to do, there isn't anything much that can be done to stop them. The I.W.W. expects to build a decent world in that simple way.

Briefly these are the policies that the I.W.W. has found best in the wide and varied experience it has had in the

struggles of industry since it was founded in 1905. Out of the experience of the many good union men who have built and maintained the I.W.W., it is able to offer the working class a scientific plan of industrial organization, a set of trustworthy union principles, a body of policy and method, of strategy and tactics that assure success not only in the ordinary struggle for better wages and working conditions, but in the struggle to establish a sane social order.

What To Do

If a man's job is not organized, he should get in touch with the I.W.W. and it will organize that job with his help. He will find the I.W.W. the most practical union for protecting himself and his fellow workers and he will have the additional satisfaction of helping build the good world that has been the hope of poet and prophet all through the horrors of history.

A sane world run by producers for the common good is an aim that should be achieved and can be achieved. The sort of labor movement that can achieve it is being built by the I.W.W. It is up to each worker to ask himself whether he is doing his bit to help build it. There is really only one big problem in the world: a working class too disorganized to act for its own good. The I.W.W. is the answer to that problem. It is a disgrace to be part of the problem; it is an honor to be part of the answer.

Those who because of their job or for any other reason are already members of other unions can still take their place in the One Big Union movement. Many of the members of the I.W.W. belong to other unions also. They belong to the I.W.W. because otherwise they would add to the problem of labor and not to its answer and they know that only by making the answer bigger than the problem can the problem be solved. And they are good members of their other unions. The I.W.W.'s concern for solidarity and union democracy is satisfactory guarantee against any fear that their preference for the I.W.W. would lead them to seek control of other unions or otherwise seek to disrupt them.

Of its members the I.W.W. asks that they cntinue their membership no matter to what job they may go; that they make themselves acquainted with its ideas and policies so that they will be even more useful union members that they tell others about these ideas; and that they watch for every possible opportunity for this union to grow and to be of more service to their fellow workers on their own or other jobs.

IF YOU ENJOYED THIS BOOKLET

the next logical step is to join the fighting IWW and build the One Big Union of labor that you have just been reading about. We welcome all wage workers — including those who pay dues to other unions. If there is no IWW hall or office in your area, and no IWW delegate on your job, write to the General Secretary Treasurer, IWW, 2440 North Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60614, USA. Explain your job, and any possibilities there might be for organizing; you may also, of course, ask for information on joining the IWW. Initiation and dues are low enough to allow any wage worker to join, but high enough to meet the expenses of promoting an aggressive industrial organization — and no higher.

IF YOU WANT TO LEARN MORE

then read up on the IWW program and activities. Currently, we have the following literature available from the above address.

Industrial Worker, official IWW newspaper, monthly. Subscription $2.00 one year, $5.00 three years.

The General Strike for Industrial Freedom (English or Hungarian edition), $0.50.

World Labor Needs a Union (English or Swedish edition) $0.25

Songs of the Workers to Fan the Flames of Discontent, $0.40

Unemployment and the Machine $0.10

"What kind of union is the IWW asking you to build" (English or Spanish edition) (leaflet) fifty copies $1.00

"Economic Revolution" (leaflet) as above

assorted agitational stickers, four ounce packet. $0.50

One Big Union



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Published by:
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
3435 N. Sheffield Chicago, Illinois 60657
U.S.A.

Preamble

of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

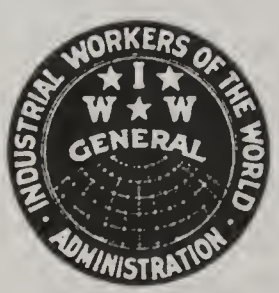
It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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ONE BIG UNION

of the

Industrial Workers of the World



Seventh Revised Edition
1979

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"The emancipation of the working class must be the class conscious act of the working class itself."

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ISBN: 0-917124-09-X

Printed in the U.S.A.

Published by:
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
3435 N. Sheffield
Chicago, Illinois 60657

ONE BIG UNION
of the
Industrial Workers of the World

OUR PLACE IN HUMAN PROGRESS

1. What Is Industry, and How Did It Get That Way?

INDUSTRY—the conversion of the raw stuff of nature into the things people want—is the center and foundation of our social life. Those who *own* and control the natural resources of the earth, and the industrial equipment necessary to transform these raw materials into finished products, form the much smaller of the *two great classes* in modern society.

The workers, who supply the labor which gathers these raw materials, and transforms them into usable goods. are the other, and much larger class. The interest of these two classes are opposed.

The entire social life of modern times is shaped by these facts.

The business, or capitalistic class which controls industry is anxious to keep that control and the privileges that go with it. To make that control secure, it seeks to gain or keep control of all social institutions. It wants to write and administer the laws. It wants the schools to teach respect and obedience to the privileged few. It wants the press, television and films to shape our thoughts and feelings to serve its interests. And where it cannot get rid of the organizations that labor has built, it wants to control them too.

These top businessmen are threatened with the loss of their control by two outstanding facts:

1. Modern industrial development has made their activ-

ity unnecessary;

2. **The working class is able, once it so desires, to take control of industry and thus establish a much more efficient and satisfactory society.**

The original job of the capitalist was to furnish funds and management. Today management is the job of a specially trained section of the class of hired hands, and funds are amply provided out of the various reserves taken from profits. The system of corporate administration that the capitalists have built up has made them superfluous.

The business class became dominant in society as the result of long struggles against the kings and feudal land owners who ran the world before them. They won—with the help of the common folk who did the fighting—because new inventions, procedures and discoveries had put the feudal regime out of date. The parliamentary bodies that had been created to raise funds for the old order had also established a more efficient system of government and had made kings and lords as obsolete as capitalists are today. The great voyages and discoveries, the improvements in navigation, and the new factory system had all made the ownership of warehouses, ships, and equipment more important than the ownership of land. The basis of society had shifted from the farm to the factory, and the control of society had shifted to those who control industry.

2. Revolutionary Progress.

For all that the conservatives of those days warned that this would be the end of civilization, it was a great step forward. Whatever of the old order was serviceable to the new was kept and cultivated. What was destroyed was the feudal grab and rule that obstructed progress. Invention and industry flourished as never before. Our ways of producing and living have changed faster in the last two hundred years than in the previous two thousand. Each worker's capacity to produce is at least a hundred times what it was when business first took over. Because our standard of living has not kept

pace with invention, and cannot keep pace with it as long as business controls industry, the possibilities of abundance and leisure are wasted in depressions and wars.

Not only has modern development made the activities of the few who control industry unnecessary, it has reduced the number of that class. The growth of any large corporation requires the closing of a large number of little businesses. Today it is estimated that 7% of the population actually controls 85% of the economic life in Britain. A study made in the United States estimated that 1.6% of the population owns 32% of all the privately owned wealth, including 82.2% of all stock and 88.5% of all nongovernmental bonds.* In many third world countries the controlling clique is even smaller. Through cartel arrangements and multinational corporations a handful of people plan and control the economic life of the world. They have many servants and toadies, but few friends. Only these few would have their privileges decreased if the control of industry were taken out of their hands. The rest of us would be much better off.

3. Who Should Control?

Meanwhile the working class has grown—and it has grown in many ways. It has grown in numbers until it includes almost everybody. It has grown in knowledge and ability so that the worker of today has to understand and be able to do things that would have baffled the engineer and scientist of a century ago. In place of a class of illiterate serfs we are a working class able to read and write, with an extensive literature of our own, that can daily discuss over lunch the news of the world. And this class has grown in organized power. Every step it has taken in building its unions has been a trespass on what was previously the complete jurisdiction

*From the study made by Professor Robert J. Lampman originally published by Princeton University in 1962. Quoted from *The Rich and Super-Rich* by Ferdinand Lundberg, page 16. (Lyle Stuart, Inc., New York, 1968.)

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of the owners of industry, whether it set the hours it would work, and that consequently the machines would run, or the pay it would take, or the safety and sanitary conditions for the job. It has been fought by the business class as its mortal enemy, for, by the logic of events, that is precisely what organized labor should be. Every step forward that we take strengthens our position as the logical successor of the business class to exercise control of industry; and, because there is no class beneath us, our triumph means the first classless society since civilization began, and the end of all the horror, cruelty, stupidity, and injustice that necessarily go with class society.

The big question for today and tomorrow is this: How is industry to be controlled?

It is not so much a question of who is to own industry. Modern corporate intricacy has already made ownership almost a myth. Managerial control is what counts, and it has largely become independent of the actual investors. Those who control industry need not worry about who owns it. Who is to say whether industry is to run or stand idle? Who is to decide what is to be produced and where that product is to go? These are the important questions.

Should modern industry be controlled by a handful of business managers?

Should it be administered by a host of politicians?

Or should it be run by those who do the work?

It must be one of the three. The corporate managers through their holding companies, their merchant banks, their control over directorships and credit, seek to complete their control over the economic life of the world. But their control, by its very nature, strangles that economic life, for it does not pay to let the working class produce all that it is capable of producing. So either those in control of industry ally themselves with those in control of government, as in Hitler's Germany, to save themselves from democracy, or those in control of government extend their regulation over industry and its workers, as in Russia.

4. Industrial Democracy Wanted

The Industrial Workers of the World, and intelligent union members generally, see nothing good in this choice, whether the back seat driving is to be done by corporate managers or by politicians. Instead they want Industrial Democracy—industry run by its workers. They ask such questions as these:

If a representative government takes control of everyone's bread and butter, how can it be kept representative?

If the already vast body of rules and regulations over labor are added to, do we not become the puppets of appointed administrators?

How are we to have such a totalitarian economy and yet avoid totalitarian politics?

And what becomes of initiative and freedom?

After all, the greatest problem facing humankind is not the much discussed question of production and distribution: it is the problem of power. It *never has been* safe to let a few control the affairs of the many; it *never will be* safe. The depressions, the wars, the various other ills of the modern world, have been possible only because there was already an unsafe concentration of power in the hands of the few. What happened did happen as the result of the will of these few, not of the will of the many. Every invention that has increased our power to produce or destroy has increased the power of the few and decreased the power of the rest of us. Every improvement in communication has extended the empire of this minority. And every time we give more power to some one to try and remedy the resulting evils, we increase the problem that much further. And this holds true whether we allow that power to fall to the present managers of industry, their friends in government or their friends in the Trade Unions. Consequently the only safe choice is industrial democracy—industry run by those who do the work.

5. It's Up to Us.

We can run industry and thereby solve the problem of

power, for all the power that runs this dynamic world comes from our own efforts. Our class has only to stop doing what it is told to do and start doing what it collectively decides to do, to deprive its opposition of all the power they ever had and to acquire for itself all the power it will ever need.

Management of industry by workers organized to do the job is not a mere pipe dream. It is the historic trend. It is the pole toward which every forward move of labor has pointed, whether intended that way or not. But it cannot be achieved without deliberately planning for it, working for it, organizing for it. This the IWW has made its own special job. If that job is not done, the countertrend wins out—regimentation of everything either by all kinds of business, by all kinds of government, or most likely, by their unholy alliance, fascism.

Industrial democracy is the answer to many problems. It can keep alive this democracy that cannot survive when practiced only on election day. It can free us from want and fear, waste and war, or with modern production methods enable ordinary people to get all the material goods they can use by working about as much as they want to. It can give us security and freedom, those two most desirable ends, neither of which is possible without the other, for a person driven by want cannot be free, and the puppet is never secure. It can make organized society a harmonious whole, intelligently working for the good of all—for it is only when the general run of mankind can decide what is to be produced and what is to become of the product that it can know what it is doing.

Industrial democracy can be built only by an organized working class that is aware as a class of what it wants and how to get it, rather than giving decision-making power to "friends of labor." Working class organization must serve two purposes:

1. **It must provide the most efficient structure for carrying on our daily struggle for better conditions and better pay;**

2. **It must provide a complete solution of the industrial problem by making possible the efficient management of modern industry by organized labor.**

Fortunately, but not by coincidence, the same type of organization best serves both purposes; for by organizing the way we work, so that we have the same relations in our unions as we have in the process of production, we are lined up so as to have the most strategic advantage in our everyday struggle, and the necessary coordination for assuming the responsibility for industrialized production.

How to organize right is thus the immediate question. It is with that question that we are concerned.

THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

1. Who Makes What?

All industry is interrelated, so much so that it could be said that there is really only one industry—*the production of goods and services.*

Consider your coat and the processes necessary to its production. It required not only the labor and materials used directly in making it, but also the buildings and machinery where it was made. It required the production of the material and the dyes. It required the transportation and the planning for all the trips for all the materials in it, and for the machinery and buildings used in making them. The workers involved in all these processes could not have specialized in making cloth and dyes, in building factories and textile machinery, in operating this equipment, in transporting goods, and the like, if other workers had not specialized in building houses for them, providing food for them, and offering the various other services they needed. In fact it is difficult to think of anything that workers do anywhere that does not have some connection with the production of a simple coat.

But this work is not one vast hodge-podge. It is subdivided and organized much as your own body is subdivided and organized. It is divided first of all into six major departments:

1. **The raw materials that can be grown or raised;**
2. **The raw materials of the mine, quarry and the like;**
3. **Construction of roads and buildings, ships, docks, canals, etc.**
4. **Manufacture of the materials into food, clothing, tools, machinery, etc.;**
5. **Transportation and communication;**
6. **The various services offered by schools, hospitals, theatres, shops, and public utilities.**

Corresponding to these major divisions are the six departments in which the industrial unions are grouped in the table at the end of this pamphlet. The advantages in practical union matters in providing these departments will be pointed out later on.

Within the departments are the industries and their industrial unions. Because of the interrelations that bind all productive efforts together, it is impossible to mark off the disputed territory of each industry with indisputable precision. An industry, after all, is a social aggregate of workers, equipment, and processes only somewhat set apart from other workers by their close interrelations. The line separating the industrial unions accordingly, should not be thought of as a means for keeping workers apart but as a means for keeping them better together.

2. Industrial Classification.

To organize the working class in structures corresponding to the facts of industry is the aim of the IWW. As a system of classification for this scientific industrial unionism, it uses the decimal method, as that provides ample opportunity for any changes or additions that new inventions and industrial processes may make advisable. It is much like the system used by libraries to number their books, so that no matter what book may ever be written about any subject, there is a logical number to assign it so that it will stand in its proper relation with all other books ever written or to be written on the same subject. Similarly there is a logical grouping for

every worker in the One Big Union plan of the IWW.

Without the coordination furnished by One Big Union, it would be impossible to provide a scheme of organization that would unite workers so that they could take whatever joint action various occasions might require. The interweaving of industrial relations makes that so. For instance, the steel industry requires iron miners, workers in lime quarries, in coal mines and coke ovens and the fuel oil industry, railway, road, and marine transport workers, as well as the workers at the furnaces and rolling mills. Often these workers furnishing materials are employees of the steel companies. But for other relations it is most convenient to have these coal miners organized with other coal miners, these transportation workers organized with other transport workers. For effective working class solidarity it is necessary that they be able to plan jointly with either their fellow workers in their own industries or with their fellow workers to whom they furnish materials. Only with the sort of industrial unionism that adds up to One Big Union is this flexibility possible. The lines marking off the industrial unions are not barriers; they are universal joints.

In the table is shown in general outline the arrangement of industrial unions used by the IWW. In all instances workers on the same job are to be members of the same union, and by all workers is meant all wage and salary earners (except those who have the effective ability to hire and fire), each industrial union deciding for itself who is eligible and who is not.

3. How Employers Organize.

Workers cannot blindly imitate employer organization, but we should find it instructive.

Employers organize primarily as partnerships, corporations, etc., on an industrial basis to take direct action on the job, to run it so as to get the most out of it, which means running us so that they get the most out of us. They even set up special departments to make sure they do run us that way.

While we workers have little or no reason to compete or

quarrel with each other, and employers have many reasons to do so, yet they manage to cooperate while we don't. The chief secret for that is that they organize special bodies for special purposes, and don't mix these purposes up. One result is that they don't split up their trade association or federation over their political differences.

They have built many intricate financial structures, including worldwide companies, and through these the capitalists of even supposedly hostile nations work together. Many of their most critical undertakings depend upon an unwritten mutual understanding of their collective interest. They concertedly make it hard for any employer who does not play along with them. And they have managed to keep on running the world although they have repeatedly made a mess of it.

4. All Trades—One Union.

Somewhere in the One Big Union plan there is a logical place for every wage worker, so that all fellow workers can most effectively exercise their solidarity.

A few notes should be added about the structure of the One Big Union. Some of the Industrial Unions may appear to have too wide a scope for convenience; rolling mills, building textile machinery, and watch-making may seem to be more than one union should include. But the system of classification used permits any subdivision within the union for the formation of any section for which there may be actual practical reasons. Further it should be remembered that all the workers on one job form their own job or shop branch, and in it decide all matters that relate exclusively to that particular job.

Since some jobs include a considerable number of subordinate activities, the rule that all on that job belong in the same union often requires that workers be in different industrial unions than their occupation might lead one to expect. For instance, in a hospital, besides nurses, doctors, technicians, interns, etc., there are laundry workers, cooks, electricians, and many other hands, all of whom are in the same in-

dustry, and therefore in the same industrial union of Health Service Workers (I.U. 610).

If it were not for the One Big Union idea, such industrial organization might build some handicaps. The laundry workers in hospitals might want to meet with other laundry workers to establish standard conditions in all laundries. With One Big Union to which they all belong, they have all the facilities for doing so, and for electing any committees to carry out their decisions. Or drivers, if they work for a shop or a factory, belong in the job unit and industrial union of their fellow employees. Yet they may want to meet with other drivers to agree on a common policy in regard to loading, using helpers, or the like. One Big Union enables them to do that, too. In any job situation, apprentices, trainees, skilled and unskilled workers all have more in common with each other than with the boss. One Big Union welds them all together to fight the bosses with the combined strength of the workforce.

5. Other Practical Advantages.

Industrial Union structure is designed to unite workers in the way that will be most convenient for us. With whom can we best bargain collectively? With whom are we most likely to go out on strike? Such questions as these are the practical ones that decide in what industrial union any group of workers should be placed. The kitchen crew on an oil rig, the mess department aboard ship, the staff of a factory canteen, all do the same sort of work as that done by the employees of a restaurant, but they can bargain more effectively if they are organized respectively with other oil workers, seamen, and factory workers.

In distribution, these common sense rules must be applied. Where the workers involved distribute only one company's products, as with many gasoline stations, it will be best to organize with the workers supplying the product. The workers in the oil fields and refineries will be in a better bargaining position if they can cut off the distribution of their

product. Similarly the bargaining position of the gas station attendants is better with the backing of these other workers employed by the same company. Crews on oil tankers however may find it more convenient to organize with other seamen, but they will not touch "hot oil" in oil workers' strikes.

But where there are no such close relations with production, distribution workers will be better off organized together whether they work in department stores, clothing shops, or whatever. In all these instances it should be plain that unless industrial unionism adds up to One Big Union the labor movement will be handicapped in providing the different types of coordination that varying circumstances require.

One Big Union is the hoop that holds the industrial union staves together. Without it they tend to fall into a useless, disorganized confusion.

6. One Class–One Union.

The division between the industrial unions must not be considered as walls keeping the workers apart but as devices to unite them more effectively. In the IWW all members are directly members of the IWW itself, with voice and vote directly on their own industrial union affairs, with a free universal transfer from the industrial union covering their last job to the industrial union covering the job to which they move, but with no voice or vote on the affairs of other industrial unions. Our immediate job organization is the job or shop branch organizing the place where we work, and only those working on that job have any voice or vote on purely job issues. Each part is responsible for itself except that industrial unions must not adopt rules conflicting with the general constitution, and central and job branches must not adopt rules conflicting either with these or with the by-laws of their industrial union. The IWW is not a federation or congress of industrial unions; it is One Big Union of the working class. The interrelationships of modern industry make any other structure inadequate for the needs of labor.

The One Big Union structure further avoids disputes

about jurisdiction over workers whose classification is made doubtful by the complexities of modern production processes. For instance, it is desirable that all in the metal mining industry be in one union. But we find for example, that magnesium is obtained by chemical processes from sea water, first making milk of magnesia, then magnesium; that aluminum is obtained by electrolysis from the clay bauxite. In a federation of industrial unions there would be grounds for argument in which union to put them. In One Big Union this is of no great consequence, and they can be organized in whatever way they find most convenient. Or again, if a concern making a general line of electrical equipment turns out radios as a sideline, all employees will be metal and machinery workers, while if another concern specializing in cabinet work of different types, also makes radios, these radio workers will be organized as furniture workers.

7. Industrial Departments.

Unions in allied industries constitute industrial departments. The advantages of such organization are especially obvious in the instance of transportation. Railways, bus companies, truck companies, air lines, all provide substitute methods of transportation. If workers in these various industries are organized to act together when occasion arises for them to do so, they will have all the advantages in the struggle. So great is their united power that it might almost be said that the destiny of the world is in their hands. Think how much suffering humankind might have been saved if organized transport workers had refused to load or carry goods to any warring nation or to any nations whose transport workers would not follow the same policy. It would have been a good investment had the rest of organized labor assessed itself the small sum each it would have taken to repay these transport workers for any wages they lost in consequence of such a policy, and thus a great good could be accomplished with hardship to none. Or consider how similar arrangements

(Text continues on page 16.)


INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
ADMINISTRATION
GENERAL
I W W
100
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES
AGRICULTURE WORKERS - I.U. 110
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN FARMS, RANCHES, ORCHARDS AND PLANTATIONS.
LUMBER WORKERS - I.U. 120
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN LOGGING OPERATIONS, IN SAW AND SHINGLE MILLS, FOR FUEL AND MANU. FACTURING PURPOSES. IN PREPARING WOOD BARK AND SAP COLLECTION.
FISHERY WORKERS - I.U. 130
ALL WORKERS IN FISHING PURSUITS ON OCEANS, LAKES AND RIVERS. OYSTER AND CLAM BED KEEPERS. WORKERS ENGAGED IN COLLECTING PEARLS, CORALS AND SPONGES. WORKERS IN FISH HATCHERIES.
FLORICULTURE WORKERS - I.U.140
ALL WORKERS IN NURSERIES FLOWER GARDENS, GREEN HOUSES, CULTIVATION OF SILK, DYSTRIBUTION OF FLORAL PRODUCTS.
200
DEPARTMENT OF MINING AND MINERALS
COAL MINE WORKERS - I.U. 220
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN COAL MINING AND THE PRODUCTION OF COKE AND BRIQUETS.
OIL WORKERS - I.U. 230
ALL WORKERS IN OIL AND GAS FIELDS, REFINERIES AND PRO CESSING FACILITIES AND PRO WORKERS ENGAGED IN DIS TRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCTS.
METALS - MINE, MILL, SMELTER WORKERS - I.U. 210
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN MINING METALS AND NON-METALS. MILLS, SMELTERS AND REFINERIES REDUC TION WORKERS IN STONE AND SLATE QUARRIES ALL OTHER QUARRIES
300
DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CONSTRUCTION
GENERAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS - I.U. 310
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN CONSTRUCTION OF DOCKS, RAILROADS, HIGHWAYS, STREETS, BRIDGES, SEWERS, SUBWAYS, TUNNELS, CANALS, VIADUCTS, IRRIGATION CANALS AND PIPELINES.
SHIP BUILDERS I. U. 320
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN BUILDING AND REPAIRING SHIPS, BOATS AND SMALL HARBOR CRAFT. ALL DRYDOCK WORKERS
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS - I.U. 330
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN ERECTION AND CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSES AND BUILDINGS, AND IN DELIVERY OF MATERIALS.
400
DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURE AND GENERAL PRODUCTION
MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS - I.U. 510
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN MARINE TRANSPORTATION. ALL WORKERS ON DOCKS AND IN TERMINALS.
TEXTILE & CLOTHING WORKERS I.U. 410
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN PRODUCING CLOTH FROM NATURAL AND SYNTHETIC FIBERS AND ALL WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING AND TAILORING APPAREL.
FURNITURE WORKERS I.U. 420
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN PLANING AND MILLING WOOD AND MANUFACTURING FURNITURE AND FIXTURES. ALL WOODWORKING MACHINERY. ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN PRODUCING WOODEN CONTAINERS.
CHEMICAL WORKERS I.U. 430
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN PRODUCING, DISTRIBUTING AND SELLING DRUGS, PAINT, EXPLOSIVES, MEDICINES, CHEMICALS, PLASTICS, SYNTHETIC FIBERS AND CHEMICAL-BASED PRODUCTS
METAL AND MACHINERY WORKERS I.U. 440
ALL WORKERS IN BLAST FURNACES, STEEL MILLS, ALUMINUM, ALLOYS ETC. ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN PRODUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY, AUTOMOBILES, BICYCLES, AIRCRAFT, LEAD WORKERS, INSTRUMENTS, TOOLS, ENGINES, MOTIVES, CARS, LOCOMOTIVES, RAILROAD AND MINING MACHINERY
PRINTING & PUBLISHING WORKERS I.U. 450
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN PRODUCING PRINTED MATTER
FOODSTUFF WORKERS I.U. 460
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN PRODUCING AND PROCESSING FOODS, BEVERAGES AND TOBACCO PRODUCTS
LEATHER WORKERS I.U. 470
ALL WORKERS IN TANNERIES AND FACTORIES WHERE RAW HIDES AND SKINS ARE PROCESSED INTO LEATHER GOODS, LUGGAGE, BOOTS AND SHOES.
GLASS AND POTTERY WORKERS I.U. 480
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN GLASS MAKING, POTTERY, CHINAWARE, TILE, BRICKS, CEMENT AND CLAY PRODUCTS
PULP AND PAPER MILL WORKERS I.U. 490
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN PULP AND PAPER MILLS AND IN MAKING PAPER AND PAPER PRODUCTS
500
TRANSPORTATION COMMUNICATION
RAILROAD WORKERS - I.U. 520
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN TRANSPORTATION BY STEAM RAILROAD. ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN MOTOR FREIGHT AND PASSENGER TRANSPORTATION. ALL WORKERS IN CAR SHOPS, ROUND HOUSES AND REPAIR SHOPS. ALL WORKERS IN TRACK AND ROADBED MAINTENANCE. ALL WORKERS IN FREIGHT AND PASSENGER STATIONS AND YARDS.
MOTOR TRANSPORT WORKERS - I.U. 530
ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN MOTOR FREIGHT AND BUS TRANSPORTATION. ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN LOCAL AND LONG DISTANCE HAULING BY TRUCK. ALL WORKERS IN GARAGES, MOTOR FREIGHT AND BUS TERMINALS AND STATIONS.
MAINTENANCE OF WAY WORKERS - I.U. 540
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF HIGHWAYS, STREETS, BRIDGES, TUNNELS, SEWERS, SUBWAYS, CANALS, AND PIPELINES.
PARK AND HIGHWAY
GENERAL DISTRIBUTION WORKERS - I.U. 550
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DISTRIBUTION FACILITIES AND WAREHOUSES.
PUBLIC SERVICE WORKERS - I.U. 560
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN PUBLIC SERVICE AND OTHER SERVICE INDUSTRIES.
HOUSEHOLD SERVICE WORKERS - I.U. 570
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN PRIVATE HOMES.
600
PUBLIC SERVICE
HEALTH SERVICE WORKERS - I.U. 610
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN THE HEALTH AND HOSPITAL SERVICES.
EDUCATIONAL WORKERS - I.U. 620
ALL WORKERS IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.
RECREATIONAL WORKERS - I.U. 630
ALL WORKERS IN AMUSEMENT PARKS, PLEASURE RESORTS, RACE TRACKS, GOLF COURSES, SWIMMING POOLS, BOWLING ALLEYS, PROFESSIONAL ENTERTAINERS, ATHLETES AND ENTERTAINMENT SERVICE WORKERS.
RESTAURANT HOTEL AND BUILDING SERVICE WORKERS - I.U. 640
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN HOTELS, RESTAURANTS, CLUBS, LODGES, CHURCHES, AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS.
MUNICIPAL TRANSPORTATION WORKERS - I.U. 550
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN MUNICIPAL OWNED TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM.
AIR TRANSPORT WORKERS - I.U. 560
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN AIR TRANSPORT SERVICE AND MAINTENANCE.
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS - I.U. 580
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN TELEPHONE, TELEGRAPH, WIRELESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION OPERATION.
DATA STORAGE AND RETRIEVAL WORKERS I.U. 570
ALL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN ELECTRONIC COMPUTATION.
500
TRANSPORTATION COMMUNICATION

could make it foolish to hire scabs by making it impossible for scab-made goods to be carried. If we workers stick together right, we cannot be beaten down.

What is proposed here is the organization of the working class so that it can stick together in effective solidarity. Every union member who has talked about unionism to other workers is all too familiar with the complaint, "A union is all right, but the trouble is that the workers won't stick together." We don't believe that complaint.

We don't believe it because we have seen so often the efforts of workers to stick together, and seen those efforts shattered by faulty organization that stopped them from practicing solidarity. Things do substantially what they are built to do; the same stuff can go into making a typewriter or a sewing machine, and behaves differently because it is put together differently. The same workers can be in a loose federation of organizations formed to serve some special sets of interests, or they can be in One Big Union. If a union is designed to keep us separated, then it will not be a surprise to find that "Workers won't stick together." But if we are organized to stick, then stick we will and be strong in the fact that we can.

Scientific industrial unionism designed by the IWW to meet the conditions of modern industry emphasizes these basic rules:

1. All workers on the same job, regardless of trade, belong in the same job organization;

2. All workers in the same industry belong in the same industrial union;

3. All members of these industrial unions belong directly as members of the One Big Union of the working class;

4. Any worker changing jobs is entitled to transfer free of charge to the industrial union covering the new employment—"once a union member, always a union member";

5. No part of the labor movement should accept any obligation to work on materials furnished by strikebreakers, or to furnish material for them, or to fill the orders that

strikers were supposed to fill; or cross any picket line, or aid in any way to break the strike of any group of workers.

Such is the form of organization the IWW offers to make the working class invincible. Are you with us?

THE PRACTICAL POLICIES OF THE I.W.W.

1. Union Democracy.

The purpose of the IWW is to establish democracy in our everyday life on the job. Its practical policies are directed toward that end, and are essential to its achievement. They are determined by two basic principles: solidarity, and democracy within the union. It is necessary to avoid any practices that will interfere with the unity of our class, and it is even more necessary to make sure that the union, instead of running its members, is run by them. To leave democracy out of such an organization as the IWW is building would leave it a device for fascism, and a tremendous handicap to labor. Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Trotsky, Lenin, and their heirs and cohorts found it necessary to herd labor into an organization very much of that sort. The mighty weapon of One Big Union must be wielded by us, not over us.

As protection against any clique running this union to suit themselves, the following safeguards have been devised:

1. No officer is elected for more than one year.
2. No officer may be elected for more than three successive terms.
3. All officers are elected by referendum ballot, on which all members they represent may vote—all members on the job for a job branch officer; all members in job branches for the officers of the industrial union branches that unite them; all members in the industry for industrial union officers; and all members of the IWW for officers of the general organization.
4. All officers are subject to recall by majority vote.
5. Election, not appointment, is the uniform policy.

2. No "Checkoff."

The business methods within the union are further assurance of democracy. "The power of the purse" must be kept in the hands of the members, both in collection of dues and in control of expenditures. The IWW does not accept the "checkoff" system, where the bosses act as bankers for the union by taking union dues out of the worker's wages and handing them over to union officials. We believe that the checkoff short circuits direct control between union members and their elected representatives. It reinforces the idea (which management would like to foster) that union dues are just another unpleasant tax deduction from the paycheck. It makes the union seem more like an outside thing (such as an attorney) that we hire, rather than our own organization that we participate in and control. Furthermore, it involves management in internal union relationships that are none of its business.

If union treasurers received a check from the company for dues collected by checkoff, they might be more concerned with the goodwill of the company than the goodwill of the members; with that revenue they could hire their friends to control the union meetings, and keep themselves in power running the union as a mere dues-collecting agency in the interests of company and union officials.

On the other hand, where there is no checkoff, the way dues are paid is a direct barometer of the members' satisfaction (or lack of it) with their representatives. Union officials who don't want to listen to or try to serve their members most often want the dues checkoff. Then, if they do something the membership doesn't like, they are not faced with lagging dues payments and delinquent members. Direct collection of dues establishes that much more contact between members and officers.

For all these reasons the IWW does not accept the checkoff. Instead, the IWW has devised a simple and convenient system for the collection of dues by delegates on the job—a system which is proof against dishonesty in handling funds

and which permits shop committees and job branches to know the union standing of every member on the job. All delegates and officers must make a report to the branch meeting, and have their accounts audited by a committee elected at each meeting. With this practice it is necessary to handle business to the satisfaction of the members.

No assessments can be levied except when approved by a referendum of those who have to pay them.

3. No Clique Control.

These constitutional provisions and business methods to guard union democracy are reinforced by the removal of all motives that could lead any clique to seek control of the union. This is done by these additional safeguards:

1. There can be no financial gain in clique rule because the pay for officers must not exceed the average pay of the workers they represent, and efficient record-keeping and rigidly honest accounting are enforced with monthly as well as annual financial statements, all audited. "General Expense" accounts are forbidden.

2. No powers are given officers except those needed to carry out the instructions of the members. Strikes can not be called or called off by officers; this can only be done by the members concerned; settlements can be negotiated only by committees of the workers concerned; committee members and union officials are not allowed to confer with employers except in the presence of the committee.

3. Political or similar cliques seeking control of the union to subvert its facilities, resources, or reputation to their own ends are thwarted by the nonpolitical policies that have been adopted by our ranks to ensure our own unity.

4. No Politics in This Union.

It is sound unionism not to express a preference for one religion or one political party or candidate over another. These are not union questions, and must be settled by each member according to personal conscience. The union is

formed to reach and enforce decisions about industrial questions; its power to do this can be destroyed by the division of its members over political issues and the diversion of its resources to political campaigns. So that all workers regardless of their religious or political preference may be united to get every possible benefit out of their job, the IWW must be nonpolitical and nonreligious, letting its members attend to these matters as they personally see fit—and with the additional social consciousness, regard for their fellows, and general enlightenment that they derive from union activity.

This does not mean that the IWW is indifferent to the great social and economic questions of the day. Quite the contrary! We believe it provides the practical solutions to these questions. When the industry of the world is run by the workers for their own good, we see no chance for the stigma of unemployment, war, social conflict, or large scale crime, or any of our serious social problems to continue.

With the sort of organization the IWW is building, labor can exert any pressure required to restrain the antics of politicians and even more constructively accomplish through direct action what we have often failed to accomplish through political lobbying.

5. Job Action and Legislation.

For instance, as workers and as members of communities, we want oil storage and chemical plants kept to safe places, away from where we and our fellow workers live. One method is to try to get laws passed, and then try to have them enforced. Much simpler, much more reliable, and certainly much more helpful in developing our capacity to solve our own problems, would be for us to refuse to build in what we consider unsafe places; for us to refuse to work in plants that endanger any community. Laws are usually based on actual practice. It is best for labor to concern itself with controlling the actual practice; that makes good lawmaking easy and bad lawmaking hard. The lawmakers are mindful of the powerful ones in society; One Big Union makes labor all powerful.

Once labor is properly organized, the lawmakers will be duly mindful of it; and if they aren't, it will not matter, for what happens from then on is what the organized working class decides to make happen.

To unite the working class industrially, it is of course necessary to avoid such practices as high union dues, closed books, racial, religious, or political discrimination. What is needed is One Big Union of all workers no matter what their language, what their beliefs, or what the color of their skin may be. In the union all are equal because we are equally used by the same system. What the majority decides about any industrial question is the decision by which all must abide. For that reason it is out of order to attempt to reach decisions about questions not related to industry.

6. Efficient Unionism.

The principles underlying these policies are those of solidarity and democracy within the union. Another aspect of these same two principles is effectiveness and efficiency. Our effectiveness is achieved by our united strength; it is measured solely by what we can do. Our efficiency is measured by the relation of our gains to the cost of those gains, whether in time, money, trouble, or the other sacrifices that labor must often make. To smash a fly with a sledge hammer is no doubt effective, but it is hardly efficient. We want maximum gains at minimum cost.

That the IWW is efficient is well attested to by the fact that despite its relatively small numbers it has made disproportionate gains for labor. Its efficiency is achieved by its democracy, its rank-and-file control. There is a myth that democracy makes for inefficiency; union experience disproves that myth. In the first place, to get the results we want, we have to aim at those results. To let the direction of the union be in other hands than those of the members would be like trying to chop wood with someone else holding the axe handle.

In the second place, the more members have to say

about union matters, and the more directly we attend to union business ourselves, the greater is the union's source of strength. We do not win our fights just by paying dues into a union treasury; money can only pay for the facilities of the union; what makes the union go is the effort and enthusiasm of its members—something that cannot be bought. It is this direct participation in the union business, and the system of managing that business by elected union delegates on the job and job committees rather than by full time officials or business agents, that develops the abilities of the members and makes the IWW a force with which we can organize our own future. And thirdly, it is the organized self-reliance or autonomy of the component parts of the IWW that goes with this control, that enables us to handle problems in the most convenient and least costly way. This union is built like the hand, each joint of which can move separately, but all parts of which can be brought instantly into an effective clenched fist.

7. **Direct Action.**

This direct control of our union business is reflected in the direct action on the job for which the IWW is famous. Some years ago the IWW modernized the west coast lumber industry in the United States and Canada. Our members established the eight-hour day by blowing their own whistle at the end of eight hours and quitting work then instead of carrying on for the additional two or four hours the bosses expected. Some crews were fired, but the next crew hired blew its own whistle too, until the eight-hour day became established practice. (Later a law was passed.) The old practice had been to sleep in double-deck, muzzle-loading bunks and to carry your own blankets when looking for work. IWW-organized lumberjacks made bonfires of the bunks and the bedding, and told the companies that thereafter if they wanted men they would have to provide decent cots, mattresses, and clean sheets and blankets.

Long strikes may, at times, be unavoidable; but as far as it can the IWW avoids them. We prefer a series of short strikes

timed to do the most good; to get the same results or better at less cost to us members. We prefer even more the direct removal of grievances. Why walk out because the company refuses to get rid of an unsafe foreman? Why not have the workers under him elect one of themselves whose judgment they trust best to direct the work, thus carrying out the instructions of their own instructed delegate rather than the instructions of the company-appointed foreman? With the backing of the workers on the job this can usually be done. Why walk out because a fellow worker is fired? It costs us nothing and costs the company a lot if we go to work expressing our sorrow for such treatment in the way we work.

The secret of direct action is simple enough: If we stop doing what we are told to do and start doing what we collectively decide to do instead, there isn't anything much that can stop us. The IWW expects to build a decent world in that simple way.

Briefly, these are some of the policies that the IWW has found best in the wide and varied experience it has had in the struggles of industry since it was started in 1905. Out of the experience of the many good members who have built and maintained the IWW, it is able to offer the working class a scientific plan of industrial organization, a set of trustworthy union principles, a body of policy and method, of strategy and tactics that assure success not only in the ordinary struggle for better wages and working conditions, but in the struggle to establish a sane social order. At an IWW-organized textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, some of the women strikers picketed with a banner saying, "We want bread and roses too." When the IWW says it wants more of the good things in life, we're not just talking about getting the bosses to come over with a bit more cash, but we want a better life here and now, the new society in the shell of the old.

8. What To Do.

A sane world run by producers for the common good is an aim that should be achieved and can be achieved. The IWW

can build the sort of labor movement to achieve this. There is really only one big problem in the world: a working class too disorganized to act for its own good. The IWW has the solution to that problem. It is a disgrace to be part of the problem; it is an honor to be part of the solution. It is up to you to do your part.

If your job is unorganized, get in touch with the IWW and we will help you and your fellow workers to organize. While you are fighting for shorter hours, higher wages, better working conditions, and democratic grievance procedures, you will also have the satisfaction of helping to build the good world and solve the problem of labor.

If you are already a member of another union you can still take your place in the One Big Union movement. Many members of the IWW belong to other unions also. They belong to the IWW because otherwise they would add to the problems of the working class and not to the solution, and they know that only by making the solution bigger than the problem can the problem be solved. And they are among the most militant members of their other unions. The IWW's concern for solidarity and union democracy is satisfactory guarantee against any fear that their preference for the IWW would lead them to seek control of other unions or otherwise seek to disrupt them.

Of its members the IWW asks that they continue their membership no matter to what job they may go; that they make themselves fully acquainted with its ideas and policies so that they can be even more useful union members; that they be able and willing to explain these ideas to other workers; and that they watch for every possible opportunity for this union to grow and to be of more service to their fellow workers on their own and other jobs.

DEPARTMENTS AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS OF THE I.W.W.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES NO. 100

Agricultural Workers IU 110: All workers on farms, ranches, orchards and plantations.

Lumber Workers IU 120: All workers in forests. All workers engaged in logging operations, in saw and shingle mills, and in preparing wood for fuel and manufacturing purposes. Bark and sap collection.

Fishery Workers IU 130: All workers in fishing pursuits on oceans, lakes and rivers. Oyster and clam bed keepers. Workers engaged in collecting pearls, corals and sponges. Workers in fish hatcheries.

Floricultural Workers IU 140: All workers in nurseries, flower gardens, green- and hothouses. Cultivation of silk. Distribution of floral products.

DEPARTMENT OF MINING AND MINERALS NO. 200

Metal Mine Workers IU 210: All workers engaged in mining metals and minerals. All workers in refineries, smelters, mills and other reduction works. All workers in stone and other quarries.

Coal Mine Workers IU 220: All workers engaged in coal mining and the production of coke and briquets.

Oil Workers IU 230: All workers in oil and gas fields, refineries and processing facilities. All workers engaged in distribution of the products.

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL CONSTRUCTION NO. 300

General Construction Workers IU 310: All workers engaged in construction of docks, railroads, highways, streets, bridges, sewers, subways, tunnels, canals, viaducts, irrigation canals and pipelines.

Ship Builders IU 320: All workers engaged in building and repairing ships, boats and small harbor craft. All drydock workers.

Building Construction Workers IU 330: All workers engaged in erection and construction of houses and buildings, and in delivery of materials.

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURE AND GENERAL PRODUCTION NO. 400

Textile and Clothing Workers IU 410: All workers engaged in producing cloth from natural or synthetic fibers. All workers engaged in manufacturing wearing apparel.

Furniture Workers IU 420: All workers in planing mills and furniture factories. All workers engaged in producing wooden containers.

Chemical Workers IU 430: All workers engaged in producing drugs, paint, rubber, explosives, medicines, chemicals, plastics, synthetic fibers, and other chemically-based products.

Metal and Machinery Workers IU 440: All workers in blast furnaces, steel mills, aluminum plants, etc. All workers engaged in producing agricultural machinery, cars, locomotives, bicycles, aircraft, and various instruments. Tool makers, jewelry and watchmakers.

Printing and Publishing House Workers IU 450: All workers engaged in producing printed matter.

Foodstuff Workers IU 460: All workers, except agricultural and fishery workers, engaged in producing and processing food, beverages and tobacco products.

Leather Workers IU 470: All workers in tanneries and factories producing leather goods, luggage, boots and shoes.

Glass and Pottery Workers IU 480: All workers producing glass, chinaware, pottery, tile and bricks.

Pulp and Paper Mill Workers IU 490: All workers in pulp and paper mills engaged in making pulp, paper and paper containers.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION NO. 500

Marine Transport Workers IU 510: All workers engaged in marine transportation. All workers on docks and in terminals.

Railroad Workers IU 520: All workers engaged in long distance railway freight and passenger transportation. All workers in locomotive, car and repair shops. All workers in and around passenger and freight terminals.

Motor Transport Workers IU 530: All workers engaged in hauling freight and passengers by truck, bus and cab. All workers in and around motor freight sheds and bus passenger stations.

Municipal Transportation Workers IU 540: All workers engaged in municipal, short distance transportation service.

Air Transport Workers IU 550: All workers employed in air service and maintenance.

Communications Workers IU 560: All workers engaged in telephone, telegraph, wireless, radio and television operation.

Data Storage and Retrieval Workers IU 570: All workers engaged in electronic communication.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE NO. 600

Health Service Workers IU 610: All workers employed in hospitals and health restoration services.

Educational Workers IU 620: All workers in educational institutions.

Recreational Workers IU 630: All workers in playgrounds and places of amusement and recreation. All professional entertainers.

Restaurant, Hotel and Building Service Workers IU 640: All workers in facilities for public accommodation. All building service workers.

Park and Highway Maintenance Workers IU 650: All workers in cemeteries and all workers engaged in street and highway maintenance.

General Distribution Workers IU 660: All workers in general distribution facilities, wholesale and retail.

Public Service Workers IU 670: All workers engaged in public supply services and other instituional services.

Household Service Workers IU 680: All workers engaged in performing services in the home.



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A Centennial Pamphlet

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Born 1879

Executed 1915

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JOE HILL, IWW SONGWRITER

by Dean Nolan and Fred Thompson, 32 pages, $1.00

Issued in 1979 this pamphlet adds to the story of Hill's life some account of the effort of thousands throughout the labor movement to win him exoneration. Includes music for Casey Jones and other songs.

* * *

On orders for this or other pamphlets please add a reasonable allowance for postage.

IF YOU AGREE WITH THE IDEAS EXPRESSED IN THIS BOOKLET, that the problems faced by the working class can be resolved only through the organization and direct action of workers in solidarity, then the next logical step is for you to join the revolutionary IWW and take your place alongside your fellow workers in the common fight for emancipation. Any wage worker, employed or unemployed, is eligible for membership in the IWW. If there is no IWW hall or office in your area, or an IWW delegate on your job, write to:

General Secretary-Treasurer
Industrial Workers of the World
3435 N. Sheffield
Chicago, Illinois 60657

IF YOU WANT TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE IWW and its program, we currently carry the following literature, which you can order from the address above.

Industrial Worker, official IWW monthly newspaper. Subscriptions $4 one year, $7.50 two years, $1.50 six month trial sub.

The IWW: Its First Seventy Years, 1905–1975, by Fred Thompson and Patrick Murfin. The history of the IWW. $4.95.

The General Strike for Industrial Freedom, by Ralph Chaplin. 50¢.

A Workers' Guide to Direct Action, 25¢.

IWW Little Red Songbook, 75¢.

IWW Constitution, 30¢.

IWW Organizing Manual, 75¢.

IWW Collective Bargaining Manual, 75¢.

History of the IWW in Canada, 50¢.

WORK SHOP PRINTERS

ONE BIG UNION

OF ALL WORKERS

The

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

OF THE WORLD

Printed in Australia by Excelsior Printing Works,
634-636 Burwood Road, Hawthorn East, E.3.

INTRODUCTION

(Issued as a pamphlet by the British Administration of the Industrial Workers of the World to acquaint our fellow-workers with the aims of the Industrial Workers of the World, we re-issue it in Australia, where it has already had an enormous circulation 30 to 20 years ago.)

The more workers who understand this pamphlet the sooner we will be able to enjoy the good things of life, free from worry, want, and war. So we hope each reader digests it well and then hands it to some fellow-worker to read.

Our argument is built on two assumptions: First, that the working class should organise; second, that democracy is good.

What distinguishes the programme of the I.W.W. from that of all other organisations is that we sincerely believe these two truths and carry them out to their logical conclusions. The first conclusion inevitably is that all on the same job should be in the same job organisation; that all jobs in the same industry should be in the same industrial union, that all workers should be in One Big Union composed of these industrial unions. Otherwise you may have unions but not an organised working class. The second conclusion just as certainly, is that industry should be administered democratically by its organised workers.

Some who agree that labor should organise and that democracy is good hesitate at these conclusions because they seem revolutionary. They are. But a working class that has had to face fascism and war the world over should not be so timid that it hesitates to be logical. And any working man who understands that if we do not establish industrial democracy we expose ourselves and our children to more depressions, more wars, and more ramifications of fascism is ashamed to aim at less than the complete emancipation of mankind from these horrors.

In this spirit of Education, Organisation and Emancipation, the I.W.W. offers this first British edition of the One Big Union (brought right up to date).

THE UNION'S PLACE IN HUMAN PROGRESS

INDUSTRY—the conversion of the raw stuff of nature into the things mankind wants—is the centre and foundation of our social life. Those who *own* and control the natural resources of the earth, and the industrial equipment necessary to transform the raw material into finished products form the much smaller of the *two great classes* in modern society.

The workers, who supply the labor which gathers these raw materials and transform them into usable goods are the other, and much larger class. The interest of these two classes are opposed.

The entire social life of modern times is shaped by these facts.

The business, or capitalist, class which controls industry, is anxious to keep that control and the privileges that go with it. To make that control secure it seeks to gain or keep control of all social institutions. It wants to write and administer the laws. It wants the schools to teach respect and obedience to the privileged few. It wants the press and cinema to shape our thoughts and feelings to serve its interests. And if it cannot get rid of the organisations labor has built it wants to control them, too.

These top business men are threatened with the loss of their control by two outstanding facts:

1) Modern industrial development has made their activity unnecessary;

2) The working class is now able, once it so desires, to take control of industry and thus establish a much more efficient and satisfactory society.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

The original job of the capitalist was to furnish funds and management. To-day management is the job of a specially trained section of the class of hired hands, and funds are amply provided out of the various reserves taken from the profits. The system of corporate administration that the capitalists have built up has made them superfluous.

The business class became dominant in society as the result of long struggles against the kings and feudal land-owners who ran the world before them. They won—with the help of the common folk, who did the fighting—because new inventions, procedures and discoveries had put the feudal regime out of date. The parliamentary bodies that had been created to raise funds for the old order had also established a more efficient system of government and had made kings and lords as obsolete as capitalists are to-day. The great voyages and discoveries, the improvements in navigation, and the new factory system had all made the ownership of warehouses, ships, and equipment more important than the ownership of land. The basis of society had shifted from the farm to the factory, and control of society had shifted to those who controlled industry.

Revolutionary Progress

For all that the conservatives of those days warned that this would be the end of civilisation, it was a great step forward. Whatever of the old order was serviceable to the new was kept and cultivated. What was destroyed was the feudal grab and rule that obstructed progress. Invention and industry flourished as never before. Our ways of producing and living have changed faster in the last 200 years than in the previous two thousand. Each worker's capacity to produce is at least a hundred times what it was when business took over. Because our standard of living has not kept pace with invention, and cannot keep pace with it as long as business controls industry, the possibilities of abundance and leisure are wasted in depressions and wars—wars that the working class, had it been in control the world over, would not have allowed.

Not only has modern development made the activities of the few who control industry unnecessary, it has reduced the number of that class. The growth of any large corporation requires the closing of a large number of little businesses. To-day the economic life of Britain is controlled by a few combines and financiers aided by the State. Through cartel arrangements with a handful of people elsewhere they plan to control the economic life of the world. They have many servants and toadies, but very few friends. Only these few would have their privileges decreased if the control of industry were taken out of thir hands. The rest of mankind would be much better off.

Growth of Labor

Meanwhile the working class has grown—and it has grown in many ways. It has grown in knowledge and ability, so that the common laborer of to-day had to understand and be able to do things that would have baffled the engineer and scientist of a century ago. In place of a class of illiterate serfs we have a working class able to read and write, with an extensive literature of its own, that daily discusses over its lunch the affairs of mankind the world over. And it has grown in organised power. Every step it has taken in building its unions has been a trespass on what was previously the complete jurisdiction of the owners of industry, whether it set the hours it would work, and that consequently the machines would run, or the pay it would take, or seniority rules, or the safety and sanitary regulations for the job. It has been fought by the business class as its mortal enemy, for, by the logic of events, that is precisely what organised labor is. Every forward step that organised labor takes strengthens its position as the logical successor of the business class to exercise control of industry; and (because there is no class beneath it), its triumph means the first classless society since civilisation began, and the end of all the horror, cruelty, folly and injustice that necessarily go with class society.

The big question for to-day and to-morrow is this: How is industry to be controlled?

It is not so much a question of who is to own industry. Modern corporate intricacy has already made ownership almost a myth. Managerial control is what counts, and it has largely become independent of the actual investors. Those who control industry need not worry about who owns it. Who is to say whether industry is to run or to stand idle? Who is to decide what is to be produced and where the product is to go? These are the important questions.

Should modern industry be controlled by a handful of financiers?
Should it be administered by a host of politicians?
Or should it be run by those engaged in it?

It must be one of the three. The financiers, through their holding companies, their cartels, their control over directorships and credit, seek to complete their control over the economic life of the world. But their control, by its very nature, strangles that economic life, for it does not pay to let the working class produce all that it is willing to produce except in wars. So either those in control of industry ally themselves with those in control of government, as in Franco's Spain, to save themselves from democracy, or those in control of government extend their regulation over industry and its workers as is happening in Britain. Some propose to make this government control of industry complete.

Industrial Democracy Wanted

The Industrial Workers of the World, and intelligent union members generally, see nothing good in this choice, whether the back-seat driving is to be done by financiers or by politicians. Instead, they want industrial democracy—industry run by its workers. They ask such questions as these:

If a representative government takes control of everyone's bread and butter, how could it be kept representative?

If we add to the already vast body of rules and regulations over labor, will we not become puppets of appointed administrators?

With the tradition that "you can't strike against the government" what would become of collective bargaining?

How are we to have such a totalitarian economy and yet avoid totalitarian politics?

And what becomes of initiative and freedom?

After all, the greatest problem facing mankind is not the much discussed question of production and distribution; it is the problem of power. It never *has been* safe to let a few control the affairs of the many; it *never will* be safe. The depressions, the wars, the sundry other ills of the world in recent years, have been possible only because there was already an unsafe concentration of power in the hands of a few. What happened did happen as the result of the will of these few, not of the will of the many. Every invention that has increased our power to produce or destroy has increased the power of the few and decreased the power of the rest of us. For example, the atomic bomb. Every improvement in communication has extended the empire of the malignant minority. And every time we try to remedy the resulting evils by giving more power to some one to tell us what we can do and what we can't do, we increase the problem that much further. Consequently, the only safe choice is industrial democracy—industry run by organised labor.

It's Up to Labor

Labor, organised right, can run industry and thereby solve the problem of power, for all the power that runs this dynamic world comes from the efforts of labor. Our class has only to stop doing what it is told to do and start doing what it collectively decides to do, to deprive its opposition of all the power they ever had and to acquire for itself all the power it will ever need.

Management of industry by labor organised to do the job is not a mere dream. It is the historic trend. It is the pole toward which every forward move of labor has pointed, whether intended that way or not. But it

cannot be achieved without deliberately planning for it, working for it, organising for it. This, the I.W.W. has made its own special job. If that job is not done, the counter trend wins out—regimentation of everything, either by business, by government, or most likely, by their unholy alliance, fascism.

Industrial democracy is the answer to many problems. It can keep alive this democracy that cannot survive when practised only on election day. It can free us from want and fear and waste and war. With modern production methods it can enable the ordinary person to get all the material goods he can use by working about as much as he wants to. It can give us security and freedom, those two most desirable ends, neither of which is possible without the other, for the man driven by want cannot be free, and the puppet can never be secure. It can make organised society an harmonious whole, intelligently working for the good of all—for it is only when the general run of mankind can decide what is to be produced and what is to become of the product that it can know what it is doing.

Industrial democracy can be built only by an organised working class. Working class organisation must serve two purposes:

(a) It must provide the most efficient structure for carrying on our daily struggle for better conditions and better pay;

(b) It must provide a complete solution of the industrial problem by making possible the efficient management of modern industry by organised labor.

Fortunately, but not by coincidence, the same type of organisation best serves both purposes; for by organising the way we work, so that we have the same relations in our union as we have in the process of production, we are lined up so as to have the most strategic advantage in our everyday struggle, and the necessary co-ordination for assuming the responsibility for industrialised production.

How to organise right is thus the immediate question. It is with that question that this pamphlet is concerned.

The Organisation of Industry

All industry is inter-related, so much so that it could be said that there is really only one industry, *the production of goods and services.*

Consider your shirt and the processes necessary to its production. It required not only the labor and materials used directly in making it, but also the buildings and machinery where it was made. It required the production of the cotton and the dye. It required the transportation and the planning for all the trips, for all the materials in it, and for the machinery and buildings used in making it. The workers involved in all these processes could not have specialised in growing cotton, in making dyes, in bulding factories and textile machinery, in operating this equipment, in transporting goods, and the like, if other workers had not specialised in building houses for them, providing food for them, and offering the sundry other services they needed. In fact, it is difficult to think of anything that workers do anywhere that does not have some connection with the production of a cotton shirt.

But this work is one vast mass. It is subdivided and organised much as your own body is subdivided and organised. It is divided first of all into six major departments:

1. The raw materials that can be grown or raised;
2. The raw materials of the mine, quarry and the like;
3. Construction of roads and building, ships, wharves, canals, etc.;
4. Manufacture of the materials into food, clothing, tools, equipment, etc.;
5. Transportation and communication;
6. The various services offered by schools, hospitals, theatres, stores and public utilities.

Corresponding to these major divisions are the six departments in which the industrial unions are grouped in the chart placed in the centre of this pamphlet. The advantages in practical union matters in providing these departments will be pointed out later on.

Within the departments are the industries and their industrial unions. Because of the inter-relations that bind all productive efforts together, it is impossible to mark off the territory of each industry with indisputable precision. An industry, after all, is a social aggregate of workers, equipment, and processes only somewhat set apart from other workers by their own closer inter-relations. The lines separating the industrial unions accordingly, should not be thought of as means for keeping workers apart, but as means for keeping them better together.

Industrial Classification

To organise the working class in structures corresponding to the facts of industry is the aim of the I.W.W. As a system of classification for this scientific industrial unionism it uses the decimal method, as that provides ample opportunity for any changes or additions that new inventions and industrial processes may make advisable. It is much like the system used by libraries to number their books, so that no matter what book may ever be written about any subject, there is a logical number to assign it so that it will stand in its proper relation with all other books ever written or to be written on the same subject. Similarly, there is a logical grouping for every wage worker in the One Big Union Plan of the I.W.W.

Without the co-ordination furnished by One Big Union, it would be impossible to provide a scheme of organisation that would unite workers so that they could take whatever joint action various occasions might require. The interweaving of industrial relations makes that so. For instance, the steel industry requires iron miners, workers in lime quarries, in coal mines and coke ovens, railroad and marine transport workers, as well as the employees of the steel companies. But for other relations it is most convenient to have these coal miners organised with other coal miners, these transportation workers with other transportation workers. For effective working class solidarity it is necessary they they be able to plan jointly and to act jointly with either their fellow-workers in their own industries or with their fellow-workers in their own trades. Only with the sort of industrial unionism that adds up to One Big Union is this flexibility possible. The lines marking off the industrial unions are not barriers; they are universal joints.

On the chart in the centre of this pamphlet is depicted in general outline the arrangement of industrial unions used by the I.W.W. The following table gives further details. In all instances all workers on the same job are to be members of the same union, and by "all workers" is meant all wage and salary earners (except executives), each industrial union deciding for itself who is eligible and who is not.

DEPARTMENT No. 100—Agriculture and Fisheries.

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110

All workers on farms, ranches, orchards, cotton and sugar plantations. All workers engaged in the raising of cattle, live-stock, on fowl bird, dairy farms, etc.

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120

All workers in forests (rangers, foresters, etc.). All workers engaged in lumbering operations, in saw and shingle mills, and preparing wood for fuel and manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, bark, etc.

Fishery Workers' Industrial Union No. 130

All workers in fishery and fishing pursuits on oceans, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers.

Floricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 140

All workers engaged in nurseries, hot houses, etc., mainly devoted to

flower production, in the distribution of flowers, in landscape gardening, etc.

DEPARTMENT No. 200—Mining and Minerals

Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 210

All workers engaged in mining of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, platinum, iron, etc., etc., in mills, smelters, refineries, and other reduction works. This division also includes quarry workers, such as those engaged in the mining of salt, etc.

Coal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220

Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 230

All workers engaged in the production of oil, and in refineries, gas wells, filters, etc., and in the distribution of these products.

DEPARTMENT No. 300—Construction

General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310

All workers engaged in the construction of highways, streets, docks, railroads, bridges, subways, sewers, tunnels, levees, canals, viaducts, air fields, dams, irrigation ditches, etc.

Shipbuilding Workers' Industrial Union No. 320

All workers engaged in the building and repairing of ships, launches, boats of al lkinds; dry dock workers, etc.

Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330

All workers engaged in the erection and construction of buildings and the direct supply of building materials; or in their repair except when employed as maintenance workers.

DEPARTMENT No. 400—Manufacture and General Production

Textile and Clothing Workers' Industrial Union No. 410

(a) All workers engaged in the manufacture of threads, yarns, of fabrics, or in dyeing them, or in the manufacture of knitted wears, or of synthetic substitutes.

(b) All workers engaged in the manufacture of garments, including sewn clothing, gloves, hats, caps, furs, etc., and in the supply of their accessories.

(c) All workers employed in laundries, cleaning and dyeing establishments, and the repair of garments, etc.

Furniture Workers' Industrial Union No. 420

All workers employed in (a) planing mills, moulding factories, etc., not attached to sawmills; or (b) the production of furniture, etc., whether wood or other materials, including pianos, organs, etc., bowling and billiard equipment, and most sporting goods; photographs, radios, etc.

Chemical Workers' Industrial Union No. 430

(a) All workers engaged in the manufacture and distribution of drugs, medicines, perfumes and kindred products.

(b) All workers in the production of rubber goods and synthetic substitutes, etc.; and in the distribution of these products.

(c) All workers engaged in the production of explosives and their allied products, and the production of industrial chemicals, etc.

Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440

(a) All workers engaged in steel mills, blast furnaces, rolling electrical equipment, locomotives, outos, airplanes, industrial and household equipment, etc.

(c) All workers engaged in the production of sheets, tubes, castings, etc., and non-ferrous metals.

(d) All workers engaged in making household utensils, watches and clocks or musical and scientific instruments.

Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450

(a) All workers engaged in the production and direct distribution of newspaper and other periodicals, whether employed in the editorial, art, business or mechanical departments.

(b) All workers employed in other printing establishments, in concerns printing periodicals for their publishers, and in allied work as photo-engraving, book-binding, etc.

Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460

All workers engaged in the manufacture of foods, as in:

(a) meat and fishing plants;

(b) canneries; (c) sugar refineries;

(d) cheese and condensed milk factories, and dairies; including their distribution workers;

(e) flour, cereal and feed mills;

(f) bakeries and biscuit factories, confectioners;

(g) breweries, wineries, distilleries, and plants producing carbonated and other beverages, and workers engaged in the direct distribution of these or allied products, as yeast, malt, etc.

(h) tobacco factories;

(i) establishments for preparing and packaging teas, coffees, spices and other groceries.

Leather Workers' Industrial Union No. 470

All workers engaged in (a) canneries, etc.; (b) in making boots, shoes, and harness; (c) in the production of trunks, bags, belts and all other leather goods.

Glass and Pottery Workers' Industrial Union No. 480

All workers engaged in (a) the manufacture of glass products; (b) in the production of pottery, porcelain, chinaware; (c) cement plants, brick yards, tile and terra cotta workers, etc.

Pulp and Paper Mill Workers' Industrial Union No. 490

All workers engaged in (a) pulp and paper mills; (b) in making paper containers, etc.

DEPARTMENT No. 500—Transportation and Communication

Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510

(a) All workers engaged in loading and unloading of vessels.

(b) All workers engaged in the operation of ocean, river, lake and harbour crafts. This includes all workers aboard ships.

(c) All workers on docks, wharves, etc.

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520

All workers employed by railroads in the operation of their service, whether they operate trains, repair and clean rolling stock, maintain the road bed, etc., work in the office, or watch at a crossing.

Motor Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 530

All workers engaged in general trucking and inter-urban bus lines, including the warehouses, garages, etc., incident to this industry. (Note: The truck driver employed by a factory or store belongs in the industrial union of his fellow employees.)

Municipal Transportation Workers' Industrial Union No. 540

All workers employed in street car, bus, elevated or subway service; taxi drivers, and any truckers or day men, etc., not attached to specific industries.

Air Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 550

All workers employed in the maintenance of this service, whether in its direct operation, in repairs and maintenance of airfields and equipment, in offices or attendant services.

The One Big Union Structure

Industrial Workers of the World



A labor organisation to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First—It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the workers in their struggle for shorter hours, more wages and better job conditions.

Second—It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from strikes, gaols and scabbing.

Study the chart and observe how this organisation provides the means for control of shop affairs, provides perfect industrial unionism, and converges the strength of all organised workers to a common centre, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Communication Workers' Industrial Union No. 560

All workers engaged in communication service, such as postal, telephone, telegraph, radio, television, etc., and the maintenance of the same.

DEPARTMENT No. 600—Public Service

Health Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 610

(a) All workers employed by hospitals, sanatoria, etc., including physicians, attendants, clerks, janitors, etc.

(b) All workers employed by bath and massage establishments, barbers, beauticians, etc.

(c) All workers employed in sanitation, garbage disposals, etc.

Educational Workers' Industrial Union No. 620

All workers engaged by institutions of learning, schools, colleges, libraries, museums, research services, etc.

Recreation Workers' Industrial Union No. 630

(a) All workers engaged in the production of motion pictures (actors, mechanics, etc.) or in the operation of motion picture theatres; and all workers engaged in other theatres as actors, singers, musicians, stage hands, ushers, etc.

Hotel, Restaurant and Building Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 640

All employees of restaurants, hotels, public cafeterias, etc.

Park and Highway Maintenance Workers' Industrial Union No. 650

All workers employed in maintenance of streets, roads, parks, zoos, cemeteries, golf courses, etc.

General Distribution Workers' Industrial Union No. 660

(a) All employees in stores, warehouses, wholesale establishments, including delivery service.

(b) All employees of banks, insurance companies, etc.

(c) All wage earners engaged in general salvage and junking.

Public Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 670

All workers employed in such services as water supply, gas and power plants, central heating plants, and similar public services.

Somewhere in this One Big Union there is a logical place for every wage worker so that he can exercise his solidarity most effectively with his fellow workers.

A few notes should be added on the structure of the One Big Union. Some of the industrial unions may appear to have too wide a scope for convenience; rolling mills, brass foundries and watch-making may seem to be more than one union should include. But the system of classification used permits any sub-divisions within the union for the formation of any section for which there may be actual practical reasons. Further, it should be remembered, all the workers on one job form their own job or shop branch, and in it decide all questions that relate exclusively to that particular job.

Since some jobs include a considerable number of subordinate activities, the rule that all on that job belong in the same union often requires that workers be in different industrial unions than their occupation might lead one to expect. For instance, in a hospital, besides nurses, doctors, technicians, etc., there are laundry workers, cooks, often gardeners and carpenters. All belong in the same union.

If it were not for the One Big Union such industrial organisatio might build some handicaps. The laundry workers in a hospital might want to meet with other laundry workers to establish standard conditions in all laundries. With One Big Union to which they all belong they have all the facilities for doing so, and for electing any committees to carry out

their decisions. Or lorry drivers, if they work for a shop or a factory, belong in the job unit and industrial union of their fellow-emplolyees. Yet they may want to meet with other lorry drivers to agree on a common policy in regard to loading, using helpers, or the like. One Big Union enables them to do that, too.

Other Practical Advantages

Industrial union structure is designed to unite workers in the way that will be most convenient for them. With whom can they best bargain collectively? With whom are they most likely to go out on strike? Such questions as these are the practical ones that decide in what industrial union any group of worker should be placed. The kitchen staff in a hotel, the mess department aboard ship, the staff of an industrial cafeteria in a steel mill, all do the same sort of work as that done by the employees in a restaurant, but they can bargain more effectively if they are organised respectively with hotel workers, seamen, and steel workers.

In distribution these common sense rules must be applied. Where the workers involved distribute only one company's product, as in many petrol stations, it will be best to organise them with the workers supplying this product. The workers in the oil fields and refineries will be in a better bargaining position if they can cut off the distribution of their product. Similarly, the bargaining positon of the petrol station attendants is better with the backing of these other workers employed by the same company. Crews on oil tankers, however, find it more convenient to organise with other seamen, but they will not touch "hot oil" in oil workers' strikes.

But where there is no such close relations with production, distribution workers will be better off organised together, whether they work in chemist shops, dpartment stores, clothing shops or what. In these instances it should be plain that unless industrial unionism adds up to One Big Union the labor movement will be handicapped in providing the different types of co-ordination that varying circumstances require.

One Big Union is the hoop that holds the industrial union staves together. Without it they tend to fall into a useless, disorganised confusion.

One Class—One Union

The division between the industrial unions must not be considered as walls keeping the workers apart, but as devices to unite them more effectively. In the I.W.W. all members are directly members of the I.W.W. itself, with voice and vote directly on its general policies and officers, with voice and vote on their own industrial union affars, with a free universal transfer from the industrial union covering their last job to the industrial union covering the job to which they move, but with no voice or vote on the affairs of other industrial unions. Their immediate organisation is the job or shop branch organising the place where they work, and only those working on that job have any voice or vote on job issues. Each part is responsible for itself except that industrial unions must not adopt rules conflicting with the general constitution, and central and job branches must not adopt rules conflicting either with these or the industrial union by-laws. The I.W.W. is not a federation of industrial unions; it is One Big Union of the working class. The inter-relationships of modern industry make any other structure inadequate for the needs of labor.

The One Big Union structure further avoids disputes about jurisdiction over workers whose classification is made doubtful by the complexities of modern production processes. For instance, it is desirable that all in the metal mining industry be in one union. But we find, for example, that one metal, helium, occurs as a gas and the processes of extraction are not at all akin to metal mining; that another metal, magnesium, is obtained by chemical processes from sea water, first milk of magnesia, then magnesium; that aluminium is obtained by electrolysis from the clay bauxite. In a federation of industrial unions there would be grounds for argument in which union to put them. In One Big Union this is of no great conse-

quence, and they can be organised in whatever way they find most convenient. Or, again, if a concern making a general line of electrical equipment turns out radios as a side-line all employees will be metal and machinery workers, while if another concern, specialising in different types of cabinet work, also makes radios, these radio workers will be furniture workers.

Industrial Departments

Unions in allied industries constitute industrial departments. The advantage of such organisation are especially obvious in the instance of transportation. Railways, bus services, road transport, air lines, all provide substitute modes of transportation. If workers in these various transportation industries are organised to act together when occasions arises for them to do so, they will have all the advantages in the struggle. So great is their united power that it might also be said that the destiny of the world is in their hands. Think how much suffering mankind might have been saved if organised transportation workers in the last decade had refused to load or carry goods to any fascist nation or to any nations whose transport workers would not follow the same policy. It would have been a good investment had the rest of labor assessed itself the few pence each it would have taken to repay these transport workers for any wages they lost in consequence of such a policy, and thus a great good could have been accomplished with hardship to none. Or consider how similar arrangements could make it foolish to hire scabs by making it impossible for scab-made goods to be hauled. If workers stick together right they cannot be beaten down.

What is proposed here is the organisation of the working class so that it can "stick together" in effective solidarity. Every union man who has tried to organise his fellows is all too familiar with the complaint: "A union is all right, but the trouble is that the workers won't stick together." We don't believe that complaint.

We don't believe it because we have seen so often the efforts of workers to stick together, and seen those efforts shattered by faulty organisation that stopped them from practising solidarity. Things do substantially what they are built to do; the same stuff can go into making a typewriter or a sewing machine, and behaves differently because it is put together differently. The same workers can be in a loose federation of organisations formed to serve some special sets of interests, or they can be in One Big Union. If their union is designed to keep them separated it will not be a surprise to find that "workers won't stick together"; but if they are organised to stick, then stick they will and be joyful of the fact that they can.

Scientific industrial unionism designed by the I.W.W. to meet the conditions of modern industry emphasises these basic rules:

1. All workers on the same job regardless of trade, belong in the same job organisation;
2. All workers in the same industry belong in the same industrial union;
3. All members of these industrial unions belong directly as members of the One Big Union of the entire working class;
4. Any worker changing his job is entitled to transfer free of any charge to the industrial union covering his new employment—"once a union man, always a union man";
5. No part of the labor movement should accept any obligation to work on materials furnished by strike-breakers, or to furnish material for them, or to fill the orders that strikers were supposed to fill; or cross any picket line, or aid in any way to break the strike of any group of workers.

Such is the form of organisation the I.W.W. offers to make labor invincible. Are you with us?

The Practical Policies of the I.W.W.

The purpose of the I.W.W. is to establish democracy in our everyday life on the job. Its practical policies are directed toward that end and are essential to its achievement. They are determined by two basic principles: Solidarity and democracy within the union. It is necessary to avoid any practice that will interfere with the unity of our class, and it is even more necessary to make sure that the union, instead of running its members, is run by them. To leave democracy out of such an organisation as the I.W.W. is building would leave it a device for fascism, and a tremendous handicap for labor. Hitler and Mussolini found it necessary to herd labor into an organisation very much of that sort. The mighty weapon of One Big Union must be wielded by labor, not over labor.

As protection against any clique running this union to suit themselves the following safeguards have been devised:

1. No officer is elected for more than one year.
2. No officer may be elected for more than three successive terms.
3. All officers are elected by referendum ballot on which all members they represent may vote—all members on the job for a job branch officer; all members in job branches for the officers of the industrial union branches that unite them; all members in the industry for industrial union officers; and all members of the I.W.W. for officers of the general organisation.
4. All officers are subject to recall by majority vote.
5. Election, not appointment, is the uniform policy.

No "Check-off"

The business methods of the union are further assurance of democracy. "The power of the purse" must be kept in the hands of the members, both in the collection of dues and in the control of expenditurs. For that reason the I.W.W. does not accept the check-off. Instead, it has devised a simple and convenient system for the collection of dues by branch secretaries and delegates on the job—a system that is proof against dishonesty in handling funds, and which permits shop committees to know the union standing of every member on the job. With this practise it is necessary to handle union business to the satisfaction of the members. If the unuion treasurers received a check from the companies for dues collected by check-off they might be more concerned with the goodwill of the companies than with the goodwill of the members; with that revenue they could hire stooges to control the union meetings, and keep themselves in power running the union as a mere dues-collecting agency in the interests of company and union officials. Besides providing rank-and-file control over the power of the pnurse, the direct collection of dues establishes that much more contact between members and officers; the officers have that much more intimacy with the grievances that occur on the job and are under much more pressure to attend to those grievances.

No assessments can be levied except when approved by a referendum of those who are to pay them. The funds are decentralised in treasuries for each branch and each industrial union.

No Clique Control

These constitutional provisions and business methods to guard union democracy are reinforced by the removal of all motives that could lead any clique to seek control of the union. This is done by these additional safeguards:

1. There can be no financial gain in clique rule, because the pay for officers must not exceed the average pay of the workers they represent, and efficient record-keeping and rigidly honest accounting are enforced with monthly, as well as annual financial statements, all audited. "General expense" accounts are forbidden.
2. No powers are given officers except those needed to carry out the instructions of the members. Strikes can not be called or called off by officers; this can be done only by the members

concerned; settlements can be negotiated only by committees of the workers concerned; committee members and union officials are not allowed to confer with employers except in the presence of the committee.

3. Political or similar cliques seeking control of the union to subvert its facilities, resources, or reputation to their own ends are thwarted by the non-political policies that have been adopted primarily to assure unity in our ranks.

No Politics in This Union

It is sound unionism not to express a preference for one religion or one political party or candidate over another. These are not union questions, and must be settled by each member according to his own conscience. The union is formed to reach and enforce decisions about industrial questions; its power to do this can be destroyed by the division of its members over political issues and the diversion of its resources to political campaigns. So that all workers, regardless of their religious or political preferences, may be united to get every possible benefit out of their job, the I.W.W. must be non-political and non-religious, letting its members attend to these matters as they personally see fit—and with the additional social consciousness, regard for their fellows, and general enlightenment that they derive from their union activity.

This does not mean that the I.W.W. is indifferent to the great social and economic question of the day. Quite the contrary! We believe it provides the practical solution to those questions. When the industry of the world is run by its workers for their own good, we see no chance for unemployment, war, racial conflict, or large-scale crime, or any of our serious social problems, to continue. With the sort of organisation the I.W.W. is building, labor can exert any pressure required to restrain the antics of the politicians, and even more constructively accomplish through direct action what labor has often failed to accomplish by political lobbying.

How to Get Good Laws

For instance, railway men want trains kept to safe lengths. One method is to get laws passed and then try to have them enforced. Much simpler, much more reliable, and certainly much more helpful in developing labor's capacity to solve its own problems, is the practice of making the train the safe length, hauling it away, and leaving the extra carriages for the management to worry about. Laws usually are based on actual practice. It is best for labor to concern itself with controlling the actual practice; that makes good law-making easy and bad law-making hard. The law-makers are mindful of the powerful ones in society; One Big Union makes labor all-powerful. Once labor is properly organised the law-makers will be duly mindful of it; and if they aren't it will not matter, for what happens from then on is what the organised working class decides to make happen.

To unite the working class industrially it is, of course, necessary to avoid such practices as high initiation fees, closed books, racial, religous, or political discrimination. What is needed is One Big Union of all workers, no matter what their language, what their beliefs, or what the color of their skin may be. In the union all are equal. What the majority decides about any industrial question is the decision by which all must abide. For that reason it is out of order to attempt to reach decisions about non-industrial questions. It is up to each member to decide to what church he will go, with what people he will mingle off the job, and for whom he will vote.

Efficient Unionism

The principles underlying these policies are those of solidarity and democracy within the union. Another aspect of these same two principles is effectiveness and efficiency. Our effectiveness is achieved by our united strength; it is measured solely by what we can do. Our efficiency is

measured by the relation of our gains to the cost of those gains, whether in time, money, trouble or the other sacrifices labor must often make. To smash a mosquito with a steam-hammer is no doubt effective, but it is hardly efficient. We want maximum gains at minimum cost.

That the I.W.W. is efficient is well attested by the fact that despite its relatively small numbers it has made such disproportionate gains for labor that it has become the union most vilified and most feared by big business. Its efficiency is achieved by its democracy, its rank-and-file control. There is a myth that democracy makes for inefficiency; union experience disproves that myth. In the first place, to get the results we want, we have to aim at those results. To let the direction of the union be in other hands than those of the members would be like trying to chop wood with someone else holding the axe-handle.

In the second place, the more members have to say about union matters, and the more directly they attend to union business themselves, the greater is the union's source of strength. Labor does not win its fights just by paying dues into a union treasury; money can only pay for the facilities of the union; what makes the union go is the effort and enthusiasm of its members—something that cannot be bought. It is this direct participation in the union business, and this system of managing that business by union delegates on the job and job committees rather than by business agents, that develop the abilities of the members and make them a force able to organise the working class. And thirdly, it is the organised self-reliance or autonomy of the component parts of the I.W.W. that goes with this rank-and-file control, that enables us to handle problems in the most convenient and least costly way. This union is built like the hand, each joint of which can move separately, but all parts of which can be brought instantly into an effective clenched fist.

Direct Action

This direct control of their union business is reflected in the direct action on the job for which the I.W.W. is famous. Some years ago the I.W.W. modernised the west-coast lumber industry. Its members established the eight-hour day by blowing their own whistle at the end of eight hours and quitting. Some crews were fired, but the next crew blew its whistle, too, and the eight-hour day became established practice. (Later a law was passed.) The old practice had been to sleep in double-deck, muzzle-loading bunks, and to carry one's own bedding to the job. Organised lumberjacks made bonfires of the bunks and the bedding and told the companies that thereafter if they wanted men they would have to provide decent beds, mattresses and clean sheets and blankets.

Long strikes may, at times, be unavoidable, but as far as it can, the I.W.W. avoids them. It prefers a series of short strikes timed to do the most good; to get the same results or better at less cost to its members. It prefers even more the direct removal of grievances. Why walk out because the company refuses to get rid of an unsafe foreman? Why not have the men under him elect the man whose judgment they trust best to direct the work, and then carry out his instructions instead of the instructions of the company-appointed foreman? With the backing of their fellow-workers this sort of thing can usually be done. Why walk out because your fellow-worker is fired for union activity? It will cost you nothing and cost the company far more if you go back to work and express your sorrow by the way in which you work—and if the man fired for union activity helps the union spread more union ideas, it ought to make the companies careful about providing these additional organisers. The secret of direct action is simple enough: If workers quit doing what they are told to do, and do instead what they have collectively decided to do, there isn't anything much that can be done to stop them. The I.W.W. expects to build a decent world in that simple way.

Out of the experience of many good union men the I.W.W. is able to offer the working class a scientific plan of industrial organisation, a set of trustworthy union principles, a body of policy and method, of strategy and

tactics that assure success, not only in the ordinary struggle for better wages and working conditions, but in the struggle to establish a sane social order.

What To Do

If a man's job is not organised he should get in touch with the I.W.W. He will find the I.W.W. the most practical union for protecting himself and his fellow-workers; and he will have the additional satisfaction of helping build the good world that has been the hope of poet and prophet all through the horrors of history.

A sane world run by producers for the common good is an aim that should be achieved, and can be achiheved. The sort of labor movement that can achieve it is being built by the I.W.W. It is up to each worker to ask himself whether he is doing his bit to help build it. There is really only one big problem in the world: a working class too disorganised to act for its own good. The I.W.W. is the answer to that problem. It is a disgrace to be part of the problem; it is an honor to be part of the answer.

Those who, because of their job or for any other reason, are already members of other unions, can still take their place in the One Big Union movement. Many of the members of the I.W.W. belong to other unions also. They belong to the I.W.W. because otherwise they would add to the problem of labor and not to its answer; and they know that only by making the answer bigger than the problem can the problem be solved. And they are good members of their other unions. The I.W.W.'s concern for solidarity and union democracy is satisfactory guarantee against any fear that their preference for the I.W.W. would lead them to seek control of other unions or otherwise seek to disrupt them.

Of its members the I.W.W. asks that they continue their membership, no matter to what job they may go; that they make themselves acquainted with its ideas and policies, so that they will be even more useful union members; that they tell others about these ideas; and that they watch for every possible opportunity for this union to grow and to be of more service to their fellow-workers on their own or other jobs.

PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centreing of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the empolying class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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ONE BIG UNION

OF ALL WORKERS

The

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

OF THE WORLD

3d

INTRODUCTION

This pamphlet is issued by the British Administration of the Industrial Workers of the World to acquaint our fellow workers with the aims of this organization.

The more workers who understand this pamphlet the sooner we will be able to enjoy the good things of life, free from worry, want, and war. So we hope each reader digests it well and then hands it to some fellow worker to read.

Our argument is built on two assumptions: First, that the working class should organize; Second, that democracy is good.

What distinguishes the programme of the I.W.W. from that of all other organizations is that we sincerely believe these two truths and carry them out to their logical conclusions. The first conclusion inevitably is that all on the same job should be in the same job organization; that all jobs in the same industry should be in the same industrial union; that all workers should be in One Big Union composed of these industrial unions. Otherwise you may have unions but not an organized working class. The second conclusion just as certainly, is that industry should be administered democratically by its organized workers.

Some who agree that labour should organize and that democracy is good hesitate at these conclusions because they seem revolutionary. They are. But a working class that has had to face fascism and war the world over should not be so timid that it hesitates to be logical. And any workingman who understands that if we do not establish industrial democracy we expose ourselves and our children to more depressions, more wars, and more ramifications of fascism is ashamed to aim at less than the complete emancipation of mankind from these horrors.

In this spirit of Education, Organization and Emancipation, the I.W.W. offers this first British edition of the One Big Union.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

THE UNION'S PLACE IN HUMAN PROGRESS

INDUSTRY—the conversion of the raw stuff of nature into the things mankind wants—is the centre and foundation of our social life. Those who **own** and control the natural resources of the earth. and the industrial equipment necessary to transform the raw materials into finished products, form the much smaller of the **two great classes** in modern society.

The workers, who supply the labour which gathers these raw materials, and transforms them into usable goods, are the other, and much larger class. The interest of these two classes are opposed.

The entire social life of modern times is shaped by these facts.

The business, or capitalist class which controls industry is anxious to keep that control and the privileges that go with it. To make that control secure, it seeks to gain or keep control of all social institutions. It wants to write and administer the laws. It wants the schools to teach respect and obedience to the privileged few. It wants the press and cinema to shape our thoughts and feelings to serve its interests. And if it cannot get rid of the organisations labour has built, it wants to control them too.

These top business men are threatened with the loss of their control by two outstanding facts :

1) modern industrial development has made their activity unnecessary;

2) the working class is now able, once it so desires, to take control of industry and thus establish a much more efficient and satisfactory society.

The original job of the capitalist was to furnish funds and management. Today management is the job of a specially trained section of the class of hired hands, and funds are amply provided out of the various reserves taken from the profits. The system of corporate administration that the capitalists have built up has made them superfluous.

The business class became dominant in society as the result of long struggles against the kings and feudal land-owners who ran the world before them. They won—with the help of the common folk who did the fighting—because new inventions, procedures and discoveries had put the feudal regime out of date. The parliamentary bodies that had been created to raise funds for the old order had also established a more efficient system of government and had made kings and lords as obsolete as capitalists are today. The great voyages and discoveries, the improvements in navigation, and the new factory system had all made the ownership of warehouses, ships, and equipment more important than the ownership of land. The basis of society had shifted from the farm to the factory, and control of society had shifted to those who controlled industry.

REVOLUTIONARY PROGRESS.

For all that the conservatives of those days warned that this would be the end of civilisation, it was a great step forward. Whatever of the old order was serviceable to the new was kept and cul-

tivated. What was destroyed was the feudal grab and rule that obstructed progress. Invention and industry flourished as never before. Our ways of producing and living have changed faster in the last 200 years than in the previous two thousand. Each worker's capacity to produce is at least a hundred times what it was when business took over. Because our standard of living has not kept pace with invention, and cannot keep pace with it as long as business controls industry, the possibilities of abundance and leisure are wasted in depressions and wars—wars that the working class, had it been in control the world over, would not have allowed.

Not only has modern development made the activities of the few who control industry unnecessary, it has reduced the number of that class. The growth of any large corporation requires the closing of a large number of little businesses. To-day the economic life of Britain is controlled by a few combines and financiers aided by the State. Through cartel arrangements with a handful of people elsewhere they plan to control the economic life of the world. They have many servants and toadies, but very few friends. Only these few would have their privileges decreased if the control of industry were taken out of their hands. The rest of mankind would be much better off.

GROWTH OF LABOUR

Meanwhile the working class has grown—and it has grown in many ways. It has grown in knowledge and ability so that the common labourer of today has to understand and be able to do things that would have baffled the engineer and scientist of a century ago. In place of a class of illiterate serfs we have a working class able to read and write, with an extensive literature of its own, that daily discusses over its lunch the affairs of mankind the world over. And it has grown in organized power. Every step it has taken in building its unions has been a trepass on what was previously the complete jurisdiction of the owners of industry, whether it set the hours it would work, and that consequently the machines would run, or the pay it would take, or seniority rules, or the safety and sanitary regulations for the job. It has been fought by the business class as its mortal enemy, for, by the logic of events, that is precisely what organised labour is. Every forward step that organised labour takes strengthens its position as the logical successor of the business class to exercise control of industry; and (because there is no class beneath it), its triumph means the first classless society since civilization began, and the end of all the horror, cruelty, folly and injustice that necessarily go with class society.

The big question for to-day and to-morrow is this: How is industry to be controlled?

It is not so much a question of who is to own industry. Modern corporate intricacy has already made ownership almost a myth. Managerial control is what counts, and it has largely become independent of the actual investors. Those who control industry need not worry about who owns it. Who is to say whether industry is to run or to stand idle? Who is to decide what is to be produced and where the product is to go? These are the important questions.

Should modern industry be controlled by a handful of financiers?
Should it be administered by a host of politicians?
Or should it be run by those engaged in it?

It must be one of the three. The financiers through their holding companies, their cartels, their control over directorships and credit, seek to complete their control over the economic life of the world. But their control, by its very nature, strangles that economic life, for it does not pay to let the working class produce all that it is willing to produce except in wars. So either those in control of industry ally themselves with those in control of government, as in Franco's Spain, to save themselves from democracy, or those in control of government extend their regulation over industry and its workers as is happening in Britain. Some propose to make this government control of industry complete.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY WANTED

The Industrial Workers of the World, and intelligent union members generally, see nothing good in this choice whether the back-seat driving is to be done by financiers or by politicians. Instead they want industrial democracy—industry run by its workers. They ask such questions as these:

If a representative government takes control of everyone's bread and butter, how could it be kept representative?

If we add to the already vast body of rules and regulations over labour, will we not become puppets of appointed administrators?

With the tradition that "you can't strike against the government" what would become of collective bargaining?

How are we to have such a totalitarian economy and yet avoid totalitarian politics?

And what becomes of initiative and freedom?

After all, the greatest problem facing mankind is not the much discussed question of production and distribution; it is the problem of power. It never **has been** safe to let a few control the affairs of the many; it **never will** be safe. The depressions, the wars, the sundry other ills of the world in recent years, have been possible only because there was already an unsafe concentration of power in the hands of a few. What happened did happen as the result of the will of these few, not of the will of the many. Every invention that has increased our power to produce or destroy has increased the power of the few and decreased the power of the rest of us, for example, the atomic bomb. Every improvement in communication has extended the empire of the malignant minority. And every time we try to remedy the resulting evils by giving more power to some one to tell us what we can do and what we can't do, we increase the problem that much further. Consequently the only safe choice is industrial democracy—industry run by organized labour.

IT'S UP TO LABOUR

Labour, organized right, can run industry and thereby solve the problem of power, for all the power that runs this dynamic world comes from the efforts of labour. Our class has only to stop doing

what it is told to do and start doing what it collectively decides to do, to deprive its opposition of all the power they ever had and to acquire for itself all the power it will ever need.

Management of industry by labour organized to do the job is not a mere dream. It is the historic trend. It is the pole toward which every forward move of labour has pointed whether intended that way or not. But it cannot be achieved without deliberately planning for it, working for it, organizing for it. This, the I.W.W. has made its own special job. If that job is not done, the counter trend wins out—regimentation of everything either by business, by government, or most likely, by their unholy alliance, fascism.

Industrial democracy is the answer to many problems. It can keep alive this democracy that cannot survive when practiced only on election day. It can free us from want and fear and waste and war. With modern production methods it can enable the ordinary person to get all the material goods he can use by working about as much as he wants to. It can give us security and freedom, those two most desirable ends, neither of which is possible without the other, for the man driven by want cannot be free, and the puppet can never be secure. It can make organized society an harmonious whole, intelligently working for the good of all—for it is only when the general run of mankind can decide what is to be produced and what is to become of the product that it can know what it is doing.

Industrial democracy can be built only by an organized working class. Working class organization must serve two purposes:

(a) it must provide the most efficient structure for carrying on our daily struggle for better conditions and better pay;

(b) it must provide a complete solution of the industrial problem by making possible the efficient management of modern industry by organized labour.

Fortunately, but not by coincidence, the same type of organization best serves both purposes; for by organizing the way we work, so that we have the same relations in our union as we have in the process of production, we are lined up so as to have the most strategic advantage in our everyday struggle, and the necessary co-ordination for assuming the responsibility for industrialized production.

How to organize right is thus the immediate question. It is with that question that this pamphlet is concerned.

THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

All industry is inter-related, so much so that it could be said that there is really only one industry, **the production of goods and services.**

Consider your shirt and the processes necessary to its production. It required not only the labour and materials used directly in making it, but also the buildings and machinery where it was made. It required the production of the cotton and the dye. It required the transportation and the planning for all the trips, for all the materials in it, and for the machinery and buildings used in

making it. The workers involved in all these processes could not have specialized in growing cotton, in making dyes, in building factories and textile machinery, in operating this equipment, in transporting goods, and the like, if other workers had not specialized in building houses for them, providing food for them, and offering the sundry other services they needed. In fact it is difficult to think of anything that workers do anywhere that does not have some connection with the production of a cotton shirt.

But this work is not one vast mass. It is subdivided and organized much as your own body is subdivided and organized. It is divided first of all into six major departments:

1. **the raw materials that can be grown or raised;**
2. **the raw materials of the mine, quarry and the like;**
3. **construction of roads and building, ships, wharves, canals, etc.**
4. **manufacture of the materials into food, clothing, tools, equipment, etc.**
5. **transportation and communication;**
6. **the various services offered by schools, hospitals, theatres, stores and public utilities.**

Corresponding to these major divisions are the six departments in which the industrial unions are grouped in the chart placed in the centre of this pamphlet. The advantages in practical union matters in providing these departments will be pointed out later on.

Within the departments are the industries and their industrial unions. Because of the inter-relations that bind all productive efforts together, it is impossible to mark off the territory of each industry with indisputable precision. An industry, after all, is a social aggregate of workers, equipment, and processes only somewhat set apart from other workers by their own closer inter-relations. The lines separating the industrial unions accordingly, should not be thought of as means for keeping workers apart but as means for keeping them better together.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

To organize the working class in structures corresponding to the facts of industry is the aim of the I.W.W. As a system of classification for this scientific industrial unionism it uses the decimal method, as that provides ample opportunity for any changes or additions that new inventions and industrial processes may make advisable. It is much like the system used by libraries to number their books, so that no matter what book may ever be written about any subject, there is a logical number to assign it so that it will stand in its proper relation with all other books ever written or to be written on the same subject. Similarly there is a logical grouping for every wage worker in the One Big Union Plan of the I.W.W.

Without the co-ordination furnished by One Big Union, it would be impossible to provide a scheme of organization that would unite workers so that they could take whatever joint action various occasions might require. The interweaving of industrial relations makes that so. For instance, the steel industry requires iron miners, workers

in lime quarries, in coal mines and coke ovens, railroad and marine transport workers, as well as the employees of the steel companies. But for other relations it is most convenient to have these coal miners organized with other coal miners, these transportation workers with other transportation workers. For effective working class solidarity it is necessary that they be able to plan jointly and to act jointly with either their fellow workers in their own industries or with their fellow workers in their own trades. Only with the sort of industrial unionism that adds up to One Big Union is this flexibility possible. The lines marking off the industrial unions are not barriers; they are universal joints.

On the chart in the centre of this pamphlet is depicted in general outline the arrangement of industrial unions used by the I.W.W. The following table gives further details. In all instances all workers on the same job are to be members of the same union, and by "all workers" is meant all wage and salary earners (except executives), each industrial union deciding for itself who is eligible and who is not.

DEPARTMENT No. 100—Agriculture and Fisheries.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 110

All workers on farms, ranches, orchards, cotton and sugar plantations. All workers engaged in the raising of cattle, live-stock, on fowl bird, dairy farms, etc.

LUMBER WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 120

All workers in forests; (rangers, foresters, etc.). All workers engaged in lumbering operations, in saw and shingle mills, and preparing wood for fuel and manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, bark, etc.

FISHERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 130

All workers in fishery and fishing pursuits on oceans, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers.

FLORICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 140

All workers engaged in nurseries, hothouses, etc., mainly devoted to flower production, in the distribution of flowers,in landscape gardening, etc.

DEPARTMENT No. 200—Mining and Minerals.

METAL MINE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 210

All workers engaged in mining of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, platinum, iron, etc., etc., in mills, smelters, refineries, and other reduction works. This division also includes quarry workers, such as those engaged in the mining of salt, etc.

COAL MINE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 220

OIL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 230

All workers engaged in the production of oil, and in refineries, gas wells, filters, etc., and in the distribution of these products.

DEPARTMENT No. 300—Construction.

GENERAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 310

All workers engaged in the construction of highways, streets, docks, railroads, bridges, subways, sewers, tunnels, levees, canals, viaducts, air fields, dams, irrigation ditches, etc.

SHIPBUILDING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 320

All workers engaged in the building and repairing of ships, launches, boats of all kinds; dry dock workers, etc

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 330

All workers engaged in the erection and construction of buildings and the direct supply of building materials; or in their repair except when employed as maintenance workers.

DEPARTMENT No. 400—Manufacture and General Production.

TEXTILE AND CLOTHING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 410

(a) All workers engaged in the manufacture of threads, yarns, of fabrics, or in dyeing them, or in the manufacture of knitted wears, or of synthetic substitutes.

(b) All workers engaged in the manufacture of garments, including sewn clothing, gloves, hats, caps, furs, etc. and in the supply of their accessories.

(c) All workers employed in laundries, cleaning and dyeing establishments, and the repair of garments, etc.

FURNITURE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 420

All workers employed in (a) planing mills, molding factories, etc. not attached to sawmills; or (b) the production of furniture, etc., whether wood or other materials, including pianos, organs, etc., bowling and billiard equipment, and most sporting goods; phonographs, radios, etc.

CHEMICAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 430

(a) All workers engaged in the manufacture and distribution of drugs, medicines, perfumes and kindred products.

(b) All workers in the production of rubber goods and synthetic substitutes, etc.; and in the distribution of these products.

(c) All workers engaged in the production of explosives and their allied products, and the production of industrial Chemicals, etc.

METAL AND MACHINERY WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 440

(a) All workers engaged in steel mills, blast furnaces, rolling mills, tin-plate mills, etc.

(b) All workers engaged in the production of machinery including electrical equipment, locomotives, autos, airplanes, industrial and household equipment, etc.

(c) All workers engaged in the production of sheets, tubes, castings, etc., of non-ferrous metals.

(d) All workers engaged in making household utensils, watches and clocks or musical and scientific instruments.

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 450

(a) All workers engaged in the production and direct distribution of newspapers and other periodicals, whether employed in the editorial, art, business or mechanical departments.

(b) All workers employed in other printing establishments, in concerns printing periodicals for their publishers, and in allied work as photo-engraving, book-binding, etc.

FOODSTUFF WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 460

All workers engaged in the manufacture of foods, as in

(a) meat and fishing plants;

(b) canneries; (c) sugar refineries;

(d) cheese and condensed milk factories, and dairies; including their distribution workers;

(e) flour, cereal and feed mills;

(f) bakeries and biscuit factories, confectioners;

(g) breweries, wineries, distilleries, and plants producing carbonated and other beverages, and workers engaged in the direct distribution of these or allied products as yeast, malt, etc.

(h) tobacco factories;

(i) establishments for preparing and packaging teas, coffees, spices and other groceries.

LEATHER WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 470

All workers engaged in (a) tanneries, etc., (b) in making boots, shoes, and harness; (c) in the production of trunks, bags, belts and all other leather goods.

GLASS AND POTTERY WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 480

All workers engaged in (a) the manufacture of glass products; (b) in the production of pottery, porcelain, chinaware; (c) cement plants, brickyards, tile and terra cotta workers, etc.

PULP AND PAPER MILL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 490

All workers engaged in (a) pulp and paper mills, (b) in making paper containers, etc.

DEPARTMENT No. 500—Transportation and Communication

MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 510

(a) All workers engaged in loading and unloading of vessels.

(b) All workers engaged in the operation of ocean, river, lake and harbour crafts. This includes all workers aboard ships.

(c) All workers on docks, wharves, etc.

RAILROAD WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 520

All workers employed by railroads in the operation of their service, whether they operate trains, repair and clean rolling stock, maintain the roadbed, etc., work in the office, or watch at a crossing.

MOTOR TRANSPORT WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 530

All workers engaged in general trucking and inter-urban bus-lines, including the warehouses, garages, etc. incident to this industry. (Note: The truckdriver employed by a factory or store belongs in the industrial union of his fellow employees.)

MUNICIPAL TRANSPORTATION WORKERS' Industrial Union No. 540

All workers employed in street-car, bus, elevated or subway service; taxi drivers, and any truckers or daymen, etc., not attached to specific industries.

AIR TRANSPORT WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 550.

All workers employed in the maintenance of this service, whether in its direct operation, in repairs and maintenance of airfields and equipment, in offices or attendant services.

COMMUNICATION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 560

All workers engaged in communication service, such as postal, telephone, telegraph, radio, television, etc., and the maintenance of the same.

DEPARTMENT No. 600—Public Service.

HEALTH SERVICE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 610

a) All workers employed by hospitals, sanatoria, etc., including physicians, attendants, clerks, janitors, etc.

b) All workers employed by bath and massage establishments, barbers, beauticians, etc.

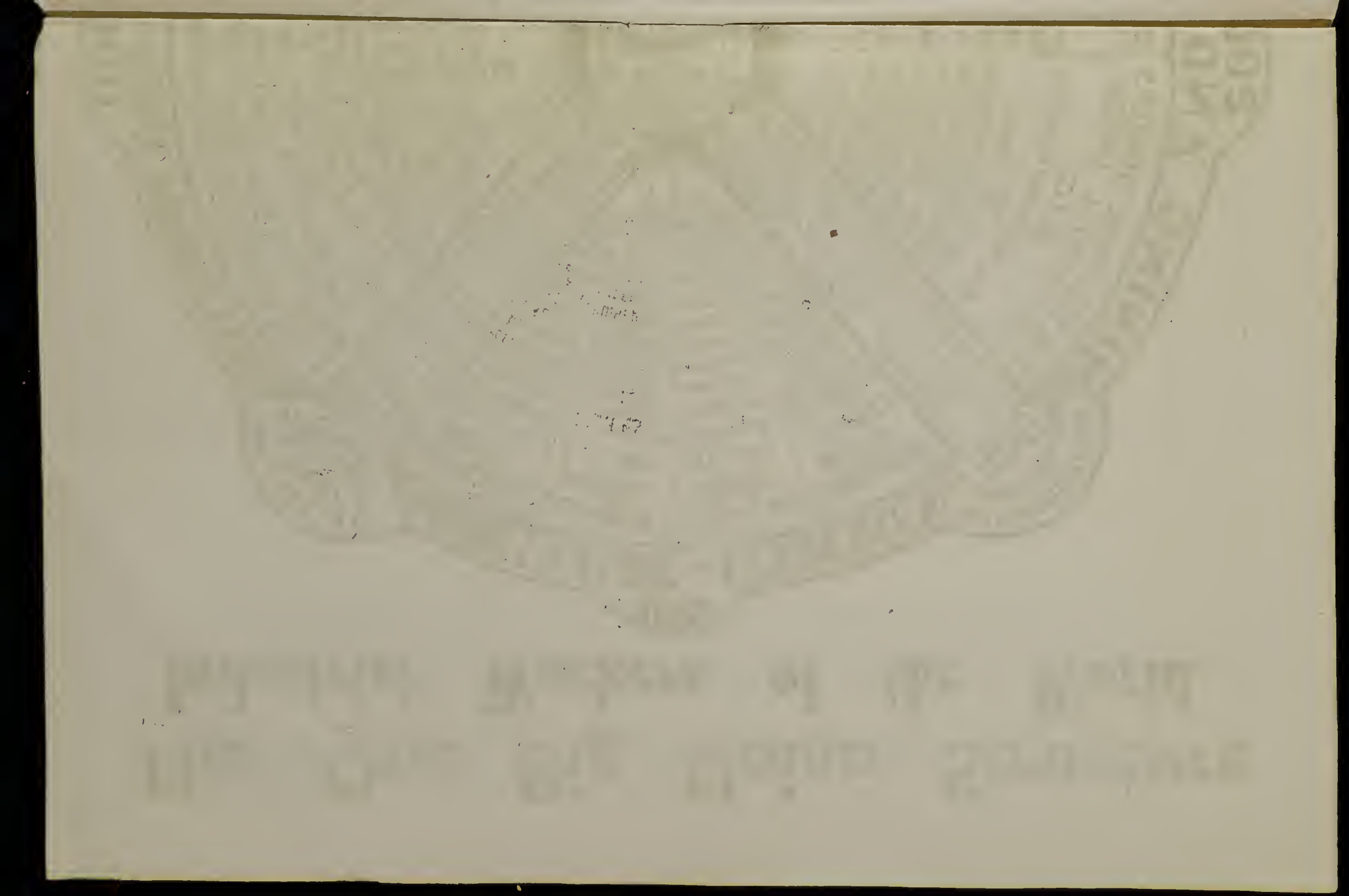
c) All workers employed in sanitation, garbage disposals, etc.

EDUCATIONAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 620.

All workers engaged by institutions of learning, schools, colleges, libraries, museums, research services, etc.

RECREATION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 630

a) All workers engaged in the production of motion pictures (actors, mechanics, etc.) or in the operation of motion picture theatres; and all workers engaged in other theatres as actors, singers, musicians, stagehands, ushers, etc.



The One Big Union Structure
Industrial Workers of the World.



A labour organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First—It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the workers in their struggle for shorter hours, more wages and better job conditions.

Second—It must offer a final solution of the labour problem—an emancipation from strikes, jails and scabbing.

Study the chart and observe how this organization provides the means for control of shop affairs, provides perfect industrial unionism, and converges the strength of all organized workers to a common centre, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

HOTEL, RESTAURANT AND BUILDING SERVICE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 640

All employees of restaurants, hotels, public cafeterias, etc.

PARK AND HIGHWAY MAINTENANCE WORKERS'. INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 650

All workers employed in maintenance of streets, roads, parks, zoos, cemeteries, golf courses, etc.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 660

(a) All employees in stores, warehouses, wholesale establishments, including delivery service.

(c) All wage earners engaged in general salvage and junking.

(b) All employees of banks, insurance companies, etc.

PUBLIC SERVICE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 670

All workers employed in such services as water supply, gas and power plants, central heating plants, and similar public services.

Somewhere in this One Big Union there is a logical place for every wage worker so that he can exercise his solidarity most effectively with his fellow workers.

A few notes should be added on the structure of the One Big Union. Some of the industrial unions may appear to have too wide a scope for convenience; rolling mills, brass foundries and watchmaking may seem to be more than one union should include. But the system of classification used permits any sub-divisions within the union for the formation of any section for which there may be actual practical reasons. Further it should be remembered, all the workers on one job form their own job or shop branch and in it decide all questions that relate exclusively to that particular job.

Since some jobs include a considerable number of subordinate activities, the rule that all on that job belong in the same union often requires that workers be in different industrial unions than their occupation might lead one to expect. For instance, in a hospital besides nurses, doctors, technicians, etc., there are laundry workers, cooks, often gardeners and carpenters. All belong in the same union.

If it were not for the One Big Union such industrial organization might build some handicaps. The laundry workers in a hospital might want to meet with other laundry workers to establish standard conditions in all laundries. With One Big Union to which they all belong they have all the facilities for doing so, and for electing any committees to carry out their decisions. Or lorry drivers, if they work for a shop or a factory, belong in the job unit and industrial union of their fellow employees. Yet they may want to meet with other lorry drivers to agree on a common policy in regard to loading, using helpers, or the like. One Big Union enables them to do that too.

OTHER PRACTICAL ADVANTAGES

Industrial union structure is designed to unite workers in the way that will be most convenient for them. With whom can they best bargain collectively? With whom are they most likely to go out on strike? Such questions as these are the practical ones that decide in what industrial union any group of worker should be

placed. The kitchen staff in a hotel, the mess department aboard ship, the staff of an industrial cafeteria in a steel mill, all do the same sort of work as that done by the employees in a restaurant, but they can bargain more effectively if they are organized respectively with hotel workers, seamen, and steel workers.

In distribution these common sense rules must be applied. Where the workers involved distribute only one company's product, as in many petrol stations, it will be best to organize them with the workers supplying this product. The workers in the oil fields and refineries will be in a better bargaining position if they can cut off the distribution of their product. Similarly the bargaining position of the petrol station attendants is better with the backing of these other workers employed by the same company. Crews on oil tankers however find it more convenient to organize with other seamen, but they will not touch "hot oil" in oil workers' strikes.

But where there is no such close relations with production, distribution workers will be better off organized together, whether they work in chemist shops, department stores, clothing shops or what. In all these instances it should be plain that unless industrial unionism adds up to One Big Union the labour movement will be handicapped in providing the different types of co-ordination that varying circumstances require.

One Big Union is the hoop that holds the industrial union staves together. Without it they tend to fall into a useless, disorganized confusion.

ONE CLASS—ONE UNION

The division between the industrial unions must not be considered as walls keeping the workers apart but as devices to unite them more effectively. In the I.W.W. all members are directly members of the I.W.W. itself, with voice and vote directly on its general policies and officers, with voice and vote on their own industrial union affairs, with a free universal transfer from the industrial union covering their last job to the industrial union covering the job to which they move, but with no voice or vote on the affairs of other industrial unions. Their immediate organization is the job or shop branch organizing the place where they work, and only those working on that job have any voice or vote on job issues. Each part is responsible for itself except that industrial unions must not adopt rules conflicting with the general constitution, and central and job branches must not adopt rules conflicting either with these or the industrial union by-laws. The I.W.W. is not a federation of industrial unions; it is One Big Union of the working class. The interrelationships of modern industry make any other structure inadequate for the needs of labour.

The One Big Union structure further avoids disputes about jurisdiction over workers whose classification is made doubtful by the complexities of modern production processes. For instance, it is desirable that all in the metal mining industry be in one union. But we find for example that one metal, helium, occurs as a gas and the processes of extraction are not at all akin to metal mining;

that another metal, magnesium, is obtained by chemical processes from sea water, first milk of magnesia, then magnesium: that aluminium is obtained by electrolysis from the clay bauxite. In a federation of industrial unions there would be grounds for argument in which union to put them. In One Big Union this is of no great consequence, and they can be organized in whatever way they find most convenient. Or again, if a concern making a general line of electrical equipment turns out radios as a side-line all employees will be metal and machinery workers, while if another concern, specializing in different types of cabinet work, also makes radios, these radio workers will be furniture workers.

INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS

Unions in allied industries constitute industrial departments. The advantage of such organization are especially obvious in the instance of transportation. Railways, bus services, road transport, air lines, all provide substitute modes of transportation. If workers in these various transportation industries are organized to act together when occasion arises for them to do so, they will have all the advantages in the struggle. So great is their united power that it might almost be said that the destiny of the world is in their hands. Think how much suffering mankind might have been saved if organized transportation workers in the last decade had refused to load or carry goods to any fascist nation or to any nations whose transport workers would not follow the same policy. It would have been a good investment had the rest of labour assessed itself the few pence each it would have taken to repay these transport workers for any wages they lost in consequence of such a policy, and thus a great good could have been accomplished with hardship to none. Or consider how similar arrangements could make it foolish to hire scabs by making it impossible for scab-made goods to be hauled. If workers stick together right, they cannot be beaten down.

What is proposed here is the organization of the working class so that it can "stick together" in effective solidarity. Every union man who has tried to organize his fellows is all too familiar with the complaint: "A union is all right, but the trouble is that the workers won't stick together." We don't believe that complaint.

We don't believe it because we have seen so often the efforts of workers to stick togther, and seen those efforts shattered by faulty organization that stopped them from practicing solidarity. Things do substantially what they are built to do; the same stuff can go into making a typewriter or a sewing machine, and behaves differently because it is put together differently. The same workers can be in a loose federation of organizations formed to serve some special sets of interests, or they can be in One Big Union. If their union is designed to keep them separated it will not be a surprise to find that "Workers won't stick together"; but if they are organized to stick, then stick they will and be joyful of the fact that they can.

Scientific industrial unionism designed by the I.W.W. to meet

the conditions of modern industry emphasises these basic rules:

1. All workers on the same job regardless of trade, belong in the same job organization;
2. All workers in the same industry belong in the same industrial union;
3. All members of these industrial unions belong directly as members of the One Big Union of the entire working class;
4. Any worker changing his job is entitled to transfer free of any charge to the industrial union covering his new employment—"once a union man, always a union man.";
5. No part of the labour movement should accept any obligation to work on materials furnished by strikebreakers, or to furnish material for them, or to fill the orders that strikers were supposed to fill; or cross any picket line, or aid in any way to break the strike of any group of workers.

Such is the form of organization the I.W.W. offers to make labour invincible. Are you with us?

THE PRACTICAL POLICIES OF THE I.W.W.

The purpose of the I.W.W. is to establish democracy in our everyday life on the job. Its practical policies are directed toward that end and are essential to its achievement. They are determined by two basic principles; Solidarity and democracy within the union. It is necessary to avoid any practice that will interfere with the unity of our class, and it is even more necessary to make sure that the union instead of running its members is run by them. To leave democracy out of such an organization as the I.W.W. is building would leave it a device for fascism, and a tremendous handicap to labour. Hitler and Mussolini found it necessary to herd labour into an organization very much of that sort. The mighty weapon of One Big Union must be wielded by labour, not over labour.

As protection against any clique running this union to suit themselves, the following safeguards have been devised;

1. No officer is elected for more than one year.
2. No officer may be elected for more than three successive terms.
3. All officers are elected by referendum ballot on which all members they represent may vote—all members on the job for a job branch officer; all members in job branches for the officers of the industrial union branches that unite them; all members in the industry for industrial union officers; and all members of the I.W.W. for officers of the general organization.
4. All officers are subject to recall by majority vote.
5. Election, not appointment, is the uniform policy.

NO "CHECK-OFF."

The business methods of the union are further assurance of democracy. "The power of the purse" must be kept in the hands of the members both in the collection of dues and in the control of expenditures. For that reason the I.W.W. does not accept the check-off. Instead it has devised a simple and convenient system

for the collection of dues by branch secretaries and delegates on the job—a system that is proof against dishonesty in handling funds and which permits shop committees to know the union standing of every member on the job. With this practice it is necessary to handle union business to the satisfaction of the members. If the union treasurers received a check from the companies for dues collected by check-off they might be more concerned with the goodwill of the companies than with the goodwill of the members; with that revenue they could hire stooges to control the union meetings, and keep themselves in power running the union as a mere dues-collecting agency in the interests of company and union officials. Besides providing rank-and-file control over the power of the purse, the direct collection of dues establishes that much more contact between members and officers; the officers have that much more intimacy with the grievances that occur on the job and are under much more pressure to attend to those grievances.

No assessments can be levied except when approved by a referendum of those who are to pay them. The funds are decentralized in treasuries for each branch and each industrial Union.

NO CLIQUE CONTROL

These constitutional provisions and business methods to guard union democracy are re-inforced by the removal of all motives that could lead any clique to seek control of the union. This is done by these additional safeguards:

1. There can be no financial gain in clique rule because the pay for officers must not exceed the average pay of the workers they represent, and efficient record-keeping and rigidly honest accounting are enforced with monthly as well as annual financial statements, all audited. "General expense" accounts are forbidden.
2. No powers are given officers except those needed to carry out the instructions of the members. Strikes can not be called or called off by officers; this can be done only by the members concerned; settlements can be negotiated only by committees of the workers concerned; committee members and union officials are not allowed to confer with employers except in the presence of the committee.
3. Political or similar cliques seeking control of the union to subvert its facilities, resources, or reputation to their own ends are thwarted by the non-political policies that have been adopted primarily to assure unity in our ranks.

NO POLITICS IN THIS UNION

It is sound unionism not to express a preference for one religion or one political party or candidate over another. These are not union questions, and must be settled by each member according to his own conscience. The union is formed to reach and enforce decisions about industrial questions; its power to do this can be destroyed by the division of its members over political issues and the diversion of its resources to political campaigns. So that all workers regardless of their religious or political preferences may be

united to get every possible benefit out of their job, the I.W.W. must be non-political and non-religious, letting its members attend to these matters as they personally see fit—and with the additional social consciousness, regard for their fellows, and general enlightenment that they derive from their union activity.

This does not mean that the I.W.W. is indifferent to the great social and economic question of the day. Quite the contrary! We believe it provides the practical solution to those questions. When the industry of the world is run by its workers for their own good, we see no chance for unemployment, war, racial conflict, or large-scale crime, or any of our serious social problems, to continue. With the sort of organization the IW.W. is building, labour can exert any pressure required to restrain the antics of the politicians and even more constructively accomplish through direct action what labour has often failed to accomplish by political lobbying.

HOW TO GET GOOD LAWS

For instance railway men want trains kept to safe lengths. One method is to get laws passed and then try to have them enforced. Much simpler, much more reliable, and certainly much more helpful in developing labour's capacity to solve its own problems, is the practice, of making the train the safe length, hauling it away, and leaving the extra carriages for the management to worry about. Laws usually are based on actual practice. It is best for labour to concern itself with controlling the actual practice; that makes good law-making easy and bad law-making hard. The law-makers are mindful of the powerful ones in society; One Big Union makes labour all-powerful. Once labour is properly organized, the law-makers will be duly mindful of it; and if they aren't it will not matter, for what happens from then on is what the organized working class decides to make happen.

To unite the working class industrially, it is of course necessary to avoid such practices as high initiation fees, closed books, racial, religious, or political discrimination. What is needed is One Big Union of all workers no matter what their language, what their beliefs, or what the colour of their skin may be. In the union all are equal. What the majority decides about any industrial question is the decision by which all must abide. For that reason it is out of order to attempt to reach decisions about non-industrial questions. It is up to each member to decide to what church he will go, with what people he will mingle off the job, and for whom he will vote.

EFFICIENT UNIONISM

The principles underlying these policies are those of solidarity and democracy within the union. Another aspect of these same two principles is effectiveness and efficiency. Our effectiveness is achieved by our united strength; it is measured solely by what we can do. Our efficiency is measured by the relation of our gains to the cost of those gains, whether in time, money, trouble or the other sacrifices labour must often make. To smash a mosquito with a steam-hammer is no doubt effective, but it is hardly efficient. We want maximum gains at minimum cost.

That the I.W.W. is efficient is well attested by the fact that despite its relatively small numbers it has made such disproportionate gains for labour that it has become the union most vilified and most feared by big business. Its efficiency is achieved by its democracy, its rank-and-file control. There is a myth that democracy makes for inefficiency; union experience disproves that myth. In the first place, to get the results we want, we have to aim at those results. To let the direction of the union be in other hands than those of the members would be like trying to chop wood with someone else holding the ax-handle.

In the second place, the more members have to say about union matters, and the more directly they attend to union business themselves, the greater is the union's source of strength. Labour does not win its fights just by paying dues into a union treasury; money can only pay for the facilities of the union; what makes the union go is the effort and enthusiasm of its members—something that cannot be bought. It is this direct participation in the union business, and this system of managing that business by union delegates on the job and job committees rather than by business agents, that develop the abilities of the members and make them a force able to organize the working class. And thirdly, it is the organized self-reliance or autonomy of the component parts of the I.W.W. that goes with this rank-and-file control, that enables us to handle problems in the most convenient and least costly way. This union is built like the hand, each joint of which can move separately, but all parts of which can be brought instantly into an effective clenched fist.

DIRECT ACTION

This direct control of their union business is reflected in the direct action on the job for which the I.W.W. is famous. Some years ago the I.W.W. modernized the west-coast lumber industry. Its members established the eight-hour day by blowing their own whistle at the end of eight hours and quitting. Some crews were fired, but the next crew blew its whistle too, and the eight-hour day became established practice. (Later a law was passed). The old practice had been to sleep in double-deck, muzzle-loading bunks and to carry one's own bedding to the job. Organized lumberjacks made bonfires of the bunks and the bedding and told the companies that thereafter if they wanted men they would have to provide decent beds, mattresses and clean sheets and blankets.

Long strikes may, at times, be unavoidable; but as far as it can, the I.W.W. avoids them. It prefers a series of short strikes timed to do the most good; to get the same results or better at less cost to its members. It prefers even more the direct removal of grievances. Why walk out because the company refuses to get rid of an unsafe foreman? Why not have the men under him elect the man whose judgment they trust best to direct the work, and then carry out his instructions instead of the instructions of the company-appointed foreman? With the backing of their fellow workers this sort of thing can usually be done. Why walk out

because your fellow worker is fired for union activity? It will cost you nothing and cost the company far more if you go to work and express your sorrow by the way in which you work—and if the man fired for union activity helps the union spread more union ideas, it ought to make the companies careful about providing these additional organizers. The secret of direct action is simple enough: If workers quit doing what they are told to do, and do instead what they have collectively decided to do, there isn't anything much that can be done to stop them. The I.W.W. expects to build a decent world in that simple way.

Out of the experience of many good union men, the I.W.W. is able to offer the working class a scientific plan of industrial organization, a set of trustworthy union principles, a body of policy and method, of strategy and tactics that assure success not only in the ordinary struggle for better wages and working conditions, but in the struggle to establish a sane social order.

WHAT TO DO

If a man's job is not organized, he should get in touch with the I.W.W. He will find the I.W.W. the most practical union for protecting himself and his fellow workers; and he will have the additional satifaction of helping build the good world that has been the hope of poet and prophet all through the horrors of history.

A sane world run by producers for the common good is an aim that should be achieved and can be achieved. The sort of labour movement that can achieve it is being built by the I.W.W. It is up to each worker to ask himself whether he is doing his bit to help build it. There is really only one big problem in the world: a working class too disorganized to act for its own good. The I.W.W. is the answer to that problem. It is a disgrace to be part of the problem; it is an honour to be part of the answer.

Those who because of their job or for any other reason are already members of other unions can still take their place in the One Big Union movement. Many of the members of the I.W.W. belong to other unions also. They belong to the I.W.W. because otherwise they would add to the problem of labour and not to its answer; and they know that only by making the answer bigger than the problem can the problem be solved. And they are good members of their other unions. The I.W.W.'s concern for solidarity and union democracy is satisfactory guarantee against any fear that their preference for the I.W.W. would lead them to seek control of other unions or otherwise seek to disrupt them.

Of its members the I.W.W .asks that they continue their membership no matter to what job they may go; that they make themselves acquainted with its ideas and policies so that they will be even more useful union members; that they tell others about these ideas; and that they watch for every possible opportunity for this union to grow and to be of more service to their fellow workers on their own or other jobs.

PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the goods things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centring of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

GLASGOW BRANCH:

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

WILLIAM JOHNSTON,

535 EGLINTON STREET,

GLASGOW.

LONDON BRANCH:

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

H. GILBERT,

58 CANTON STREET,

LONDON, E. 14.

Published by Wm. Johnston, 535 Eglinton St., Glasgow.
Printed by Pioneer Press, 24 Dowanhill St., Glasgow W.1.

ONE BIG UNION

IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY



BY EWALD KOETTGEN

PRICE 5 CENTS

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU
112 HAMILTON AVENUE CLEVELAND, OHIO

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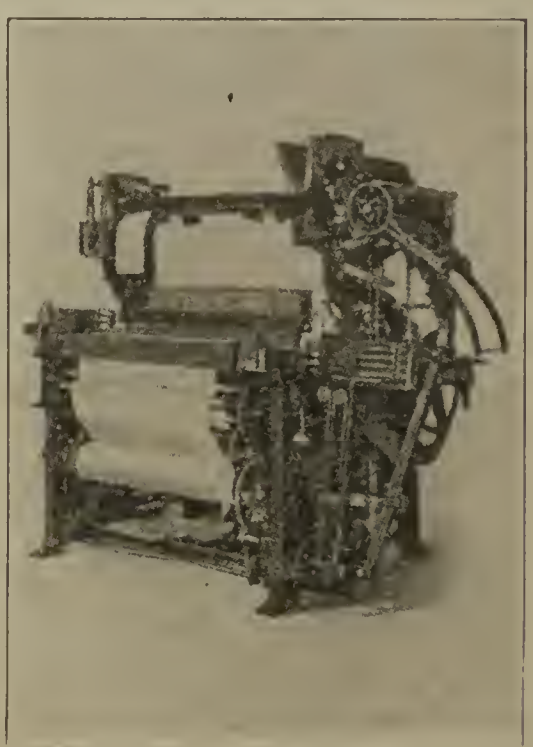


One Big Union

In The Textile Industry

Hand Loom

Power Loom



By Ewald Koettgen

PRESS OF THE
I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU
CLEVELAND



HE TEXTILE INDUSTRY, the making of cloth, is one of the oldest industries known to mankind. The development to its present high standard has been accomplished in recent years, in fact only since the advent of the power loom.

The hand loom of our grandfather differed very little from the looms of their grandfathers or great-grandfathers.

The old hand loom was constructed almost entirely of wood and consisted of four posts standing upright, joined together by cross-pieces. In many cases the weavers made their own looms. The beam holding the warp was laid in the back of the loom and in front was another beam winding up the woven cloth.

The harness consisted of two shafts, or four at the most. The lade, holding the reed had to be pushed back and forth by the hand of the weaver.

The treadle, used to part the warp had to be operated by the feet of the weaver and the shuttle had to be thrown by hand,

in fact the weaver had to sit at the loom and use both hands and feet in order to operate it. Nor was this all the weaver had to do. The thread or yarn had to be made into a warp. The warp had to be beamed and had to be entered through the harness and reed, twisted or tied on. If it was jacquard work the harness had to be made and the cards cut for the machine. The loom had to be rigged up. The filling had to be wound upon quills and after the cloth was woven, the weaver had to finish it.

The weavers in fact comprised the whole textile industry and when the cloth left the weaver it was ready to be made up into garments. The weaver was a warper, a beamer, a harness builder, a warp enterer, a twister, a loom fixer, a winder, a quill winder, a cloth picker, a finisher, etc. The weaver of old was a highly skilled mechanic and it required years of training to become efficient.

The work was carried on in their homes, and they had to work long hours and produced comparatively few yards per day.

When the weavers organized into Weavers' Unions at that time they had the whole industry organized because the weavers constituted the textile industry.

With the advent of the power-loom things began to change. The work was no longer carried on in the homes of the workers, it was done in mills built for that purpose. The work was divided and sub-divided.

Some workers would do nothing but tend looms as weavers, others became winders, quill-winders, warpers, beamers, twisters, enterers, harness-builders, reed makers, loom-fixers, card-cutters, designers, cloth-pickers, finishers, cloth-examiners, spinners, etc.

The workers became mere tenders of machines.

The weaver of old was, figuratively speaking, cut into a dozen or more different parts. Instead of being the whole industry, he became only a small part of it.

How Craft Unions Divided The Workers

The old unions, as represented by the American Federation of Labor in this country did not keep pace with this development of industry. Instead of organizing all the workers working in a textile mill or mills in a given locality into one big union of textile workers, they organized them into small unions of weavers, warpers, loom-fixers, twisters, harness-builders, card-cutters, reed-makers, designers, spinners, slashers, wool-sorters, etc., etc.

Each of these little unions would consider itself distinct and separate from all the others, making contracts with their employers, regardless of the other workers working for the same employer. This division was carried on still further. Silk weavers' unions, for instance, would not take in cotton, woolen, tapestry, passamentary weavers, etc., or vice versa.

A weaver was not allowed to become a fixer, a twister, a warper, etc. The result was that when one craft had to strike to maintain their standard or improve on it all the other workers would stay at work and thereby help the boss defeat their fellow workers on strike. For instance, when the weavers struck the loom-fixers, winders, warpers, twisters, carders, spinners, sorters, engineers, firemen, etc., would stay at work, having been organized separately and taught that their interests were different from the others. The employers were not slow to take advantage of this state of affairs. Wages were reduced gradually, one craft at a time. More work was forced onto the workers. For instance, a weaver who was operating one loom containing 18 inches of cloth was compelled to run two looms. First only on plain work, after a while he was given two looms on fancy. When this had become general he was compelled to take two looms each containing 36 inches of cloth, then two looms containing 54 inches and even 72 inches. Then the number of looms was increased to three, then to four, etc.

The winders fared just as bad. They were compelled .to tend to two sides instead of one, then to three sides, then the machines were made larger. All the other crafts got the same.

In the production of silk ribbon the 24-foot double decker loom is the order of the day. In the cotton mill it is common for a

weaver to operate from 12 to 24 looms and the woolen weavers must operate two looms on fancy. All the machinery was run at a much higher rate of speed.

The increase in the productivity of the textile workers has been tremendous. Skill has been eliminated to a great extent. Women and children have entered the mills in large numbers and today we find that about 60 or 70 per cent of all the employes in the textile industry are women and children.

The once skilled textile workers have become the most abject slaves, mere appendages to machines. The wages paid are lower than in any other industry and the profits made by the bosses are tremendous.

We are forced to ask: What are the reasons for this state of affairs? Are the textile workers unwilling to fight to get and maintain a higher standard of living? The answer must be NO.

They have fought many a noble battle, but they were always defeated by their own fellow workers, mostly with union cards in their pocket. The sole reason for their low standard is that they have clung to an old and out-of-date form of unionism and the false teachings of these organizations.

To organize weavers' unions, carders' unions, wool-sorters' unions, spinners' unions, slashers' unions, loom-fixers' unions, twisters' unions' etc., at this period of development, each of them making terms with the employer, independent of all the others,

is nothing but criminal. The false teaching of these out-of-date unions that "The interest of Capital and Labor is identical," has contributed a large part to the present miserable conditions of the textile workers. The teaching that the interests of the bosses and the workers are the same, seems logical to a group of workers who were trained in the old unions. Take a group of loom-fixers for instance. They make an agreement with the employer whereby they get an increase in wages. This increase does not come out of the profits of the boss. He reduces the wages of a group of workers who are numerically much larger than the fixers, the weavers, for instance. Out of this reduction he pays the advance of the loom-fixers. The amount gained by the employer from the reduction forced on the weavers is greater than the increase granted the fixers and this establishes the proof in the minds of the workers "that the interest of capital and labor is identical." Did not the boss, as well as the loom-fixers, gain by the bargain?

This fosters animosity among the workers, kills the class spirit and prevents solidarity, so necessary to working-class emancipation. The old form of unionism and their false teachings must go, if the textile workers ever wish to better their condition.

Solidarity and unity of action must be established and it can never be done by dividing the workers up into small groups, all fighting one another.

The New Unionism—The I. W. W.

The form of organization and principles advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World must take the place of the old craft unions as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

The I. W. W. claims that all workers working in a textile mill are necessary to operate that mill and that their interests are the same. They all have one common enemy, the boss.

The I. W. W. claims that the engineer, firemen, carpenters, machinists, etc., while working in a textile mill are textile workers and must belong to the same union together with every other worker working in that mill. If any of them change their job to any other industry, they would be given free transfer cards to the union in that industry. For instance: If the engineer changes his job from a textile mill to a brewery he would be transferred to the brewery workers' union, because then he would be a brewery worker.

All workers working in a shop or mill should meet together in their shop-meetings to discuss affairs relative to that particular shop or mill. All workers employed, engineers, firemen, carpenters, machinists, loom-fixers, warpers, weavers, winders, twisters, beamers, spinners, carders, slashers, quill-winders, blockers, cloth-pickers, dyers and helpers, finishers, designers, harness-builders, reed makers, in short every

worker employed in any capacity, must take part in the shop meeting and be a member of the same union.

Each shop or mill must have a shop committee representing as near as possible all the various departments.

This shop committee acts as the representative of the workers. Any worker who has any grievance with the employer reports it to the shop committee and if the shop committee fails to get justice for the worker, they call a meeting of all the workers in the shop or mill.

The workers decide what shall be done and if a strike is declared all the workers strike together, making it almost impossible for the boss to get his mill under operation with scabs.

Each mill or shop must elect delegates to a central committee. The delegates from each mill must report to this central committee all about the conditions in their respective mills. The action taken in the central committee must be reported back by the delegates to their respective mills. Thus the workers are always kept in close touch with one another and informed what is going on in the various mills. This form of organization creates a feeling of solidarity and enables the workers to act as a unit in any mill or all mills together if found necessary. This constitutes the Local Union of Textile Workers, embracing all the textile workers in a locality.

National And International Affiliations

The work of organization must go further than a locality, however, because the mill-owners have organized themselves and own mills in various parts of the country. If the workers in a locality strike, the employers transfer their orders to one of their other mills in another part of the country until the workers are compelled to return to work through starvation.

The workers must be in close touch with the workers in all parts of the country in order to close down all the mills of an employer in any part of the country in case of a strike, if found necessary.

This can only be done by combining all the Local Unions of Textile Workers into a National Industrial Union of Textile Workers and in turn affiliate the National Union with other National Unions of Textile Workers in other countries, thus establishing local, national and international solidarity.

The aim of the textile workers must not be merely a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. Who is to determine what constitues a fair day's wage or a fair day's work? The mill-owners consider that anything is fair that they can get the workers to work for.

Control Of Industry By The Workers

The aim must be the control of industry, and the slogan must be:

"To the workers all they produce."

The battle cry must be:

"An injury to one worker is an injury to all workers."

The whole matter is only a question of power. The workers will never get more than they have the power to make the bosses give. The only power the workers have is their power to stop industry at any time they see fit. This can only be done through a strong organization, embracing all the workers.

In a mill where there is no organization the boss is the absolute master. Whatever he says will be the law of that mill. He will determine what wages the workers shall receive, how long they shall work, under what condition they shall work, how the work shall be distributed, who shall be employed or discharged and so on. When the workers organize they will demand that they will have something to say as to what the wages shall be, how the work shall be distributed, what the sanitary conditions shall be, whether or not a worker shall be discharged or kept on, what the hours of labor shall be, etc. The stronger the workers organize, the more power they will assume. Whatever power the workers assume is taken away from the bosses and makes them so much weaker. This holds good in all industries.

Through close compact organization the workers can gain any demand by using direct action. For instance, the textile work-

ers can gain the eight-hour day by organizing in the I. W. W. When they get a good per centage organized take a vote in the organization and set the date when they want the eight-hour day. When that date comes every textile worker, leaves the mill when they have worked eight hours.

If this is done all over the country at the same time, there is no power on earth to compel the workers to work longer than eight hours. United action will get the workers anything they want. Organization, as advocated by the I. W. W., makes this possible.

Craft unionism as advocated by the United Textile Workers, A. F. of L. never.

Shop Tactics

The employers will dispute every inch of ground. They will fight hard to maintain control of industry. The weapons used by the workers in their fight for control of industry may vary greatly. Any weapons which will give the workers the desired results, the workers are justified in using. If the boss refuses to deal with a committee elected by the workers, a good move is to stop all work but stay in the mill and constitute themselves as one big committee of all the workers. Wherever this has been tried, it has been found very effective. The boss has always called for a committee, because he is very sensitive about having his whole place stopped.

Even if the boss is willing to receive a

committee it is a good idea to stop the whole mill; this helps the boss to make up his mind quickly. To strike in the mill without leaving it is often better than leaving. Make your demand, stop the mill and stay by your machines while you present your demands. After you have stopped the mill for a few hours and the boss does not give in to your demands start to work again and try the same thing again the next day. Keep this up until the boss gets tired of it and gives in to your demands.

To strike often but never very long is better than these long drawn out hunger strikes. When the workers act directly for themselves they can be relied upon to use the right methods to gain their point. They will learn by acting, and gradually gain more and more control over industry until finally they have full control.

A New Society

When all the most important industries have reached this point, the working class will be the dominant class and refuse to be slaves any longer. They will run the industries for the benefit of the workers and establish a new society where there are no masters and no slaves. We often hear the question asked: How shall this new society be constructed? While the details must depend upon future development of industry, we are safe to say that it will be constructed along industrial lines instead of geographical, or political lines. The means of

production, distribution, transportation and the land must be owned jointly by the workers. The political state with its geographical demarcation will disappear and the industrial state will take its place. The workers working in an industry will make the rules, or laws if you wish to call it that for that industry. These are the only ones qualified to do so, being the only ones who have any intricate knowledge of that industry.

Their representatives will be workers who are thoroughly familiar with the industry and are elected by all the workers working in that particular industry. For instance: The textile workers will elect representatives from among their own ranks. These representatives will be the administrative body for the textile industry, taking the place of the state representatives as we know them now in the political state. All the other industries will do the same and combined will constitute the nation, thus establishing a new society, an industrial democracy.



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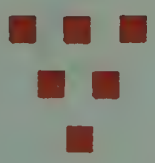
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In The Textile Industry



Most textile workers like the majority of other workers, look upon the union as something apart from themselves.

This booklet is printed to acquaint the workers with the fact, that the Textile Workers Industrial Union of the Industrial Workers of the World is their Union; the rank and file Union.

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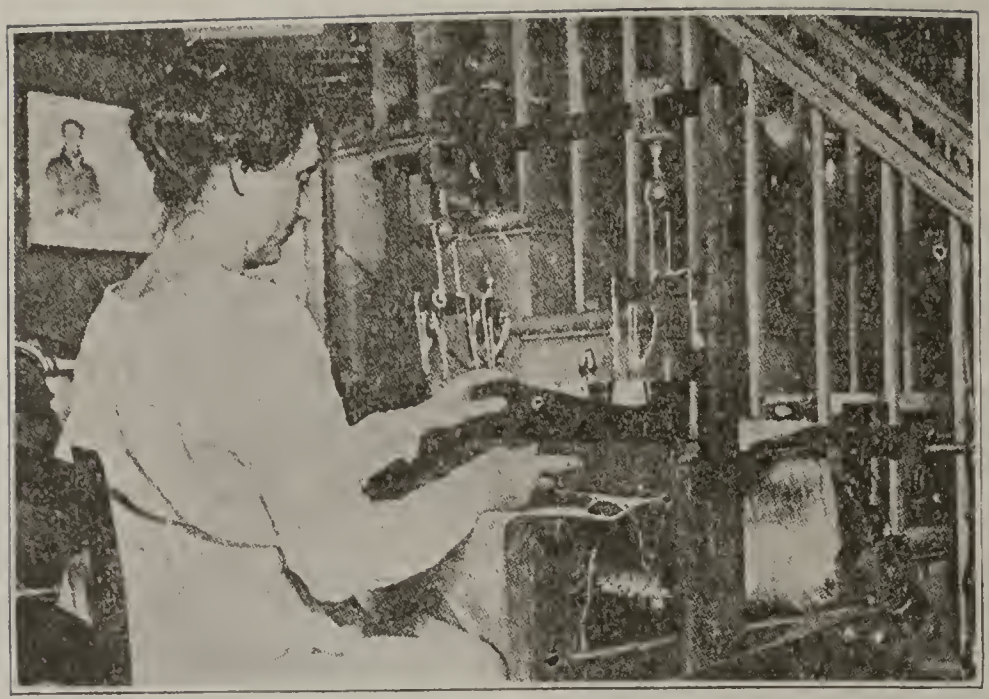
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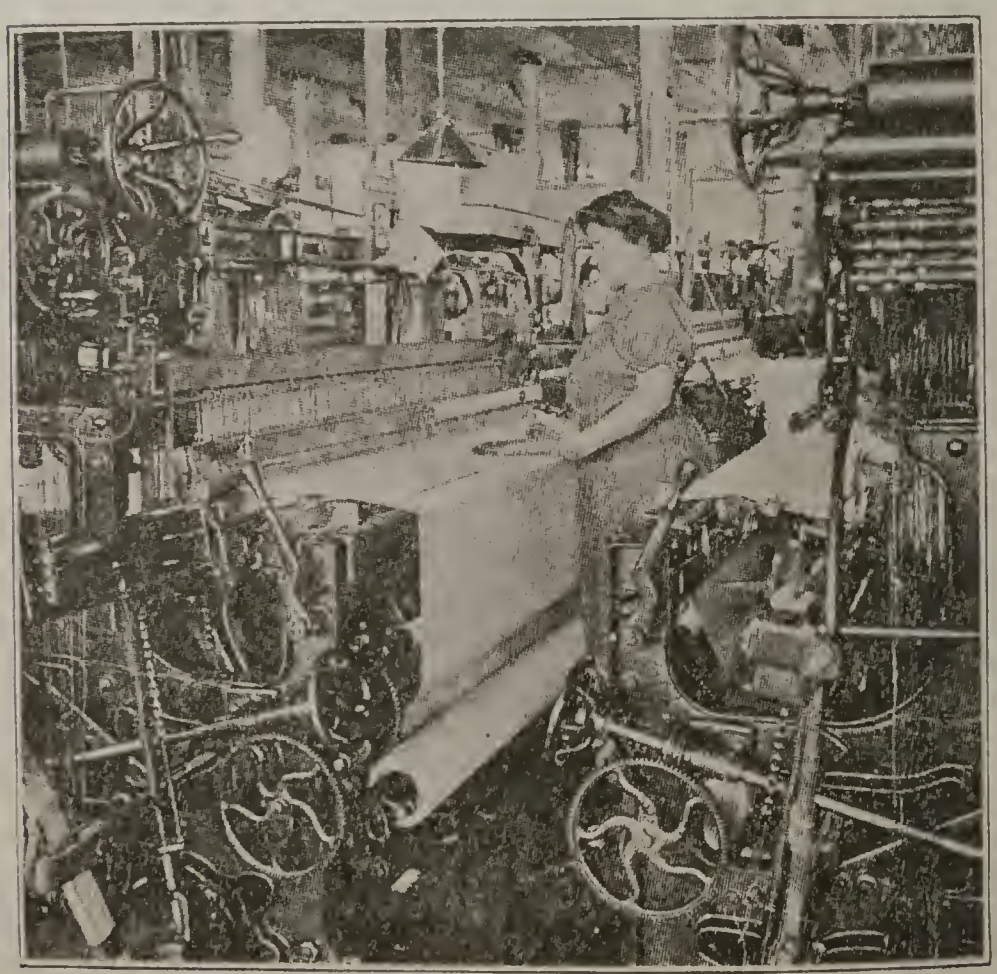
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FOREWORD

This booklet will be of interest to all the workers engaged in the various departments of the textile industry. The workers who do cloth, cotton, silk, upholstery, towel and rug weaving; those who make trimmings, such as braiders; lacemakers; those who are knitgoods workers, on hosiery, sweaters and neckties; and the workers who make garments; cutters, sewing machine operators and pressers.



HAND LOOM



POWER LOOMS

The Textile Industry

The making of cloth, is one of the oldest industries known to mankind. The development to its present high standard has been accomplished in recent years, in fact only since the advent of the power loom.

The hand loom of our grandfathers differed very little from the loom of their grandfathers or great-grandfathers.

The old hand loom was constructed almost entirely of wood and consisted of four posts standing upright, joined together by cross-pieces. In many cases the weavers made their own looms. The beam holding the warp was laid in the back of the loom and in front was another beam winding up the woven cloth.

The harness consisted of two shafts, or four at the most. The lade, holding the reed had to be pushed back and forth by the hand of the weaver.

The treadle used to part the warp, had to be operated by the feet of the weaver and the shuttle had to be thrown by hand, in fact the weaver had to sit at the loom and use both hands and feet in order to operate it. Nor was this all the weaver had to do. The thread or yarn had to be made into a warp. The warp had to be beamed and entered through the harness and reed, twisted or tied on. If it was jacquard

work the harness had to be made and the cards cut for the machine. The loom had to be rigged up. The filling had to be wound upon quills and after the cloth was woven, the weaver had to finish it.

The weavers in fact comprised the whole textile industry and when the cloth left the weaver it was ready to be made up into garments. The weaver was a warper, a beamer, a harness builder, a warp enterer, a twister, a loom fixer a winder, a quill winder, a cloth picker, a finisher, etc. The weaver of old was a highly skilled mechanic and it required years of training to become proficient.

The work was carried on in their homes, and they had to work long hours and produced comparatively few yards per day.

When the weavers organized into Weavers' Unions at that time they had the whole industry organized because the weavers constituted the textile industry.

With the advent of spinning machinery and the power-looms things began to change. The work was no longer carried on in the houses of the workers, it was done in mills built for that purpose. The work was divided and sub-divided.

Some workers would do nothing but tend looms as weavers, others became winders, quill-winders, warpers, beamers, twisters, enterers, harness-builders, reed makers, loom-fixers, card-cutters, designers, cloth-pickers, finishers, cloth-examiners, spinners, and dyers.

The workers became mere tenders of machines.

The weaver of old was, figuratively

speaking, cut into a dozen or more different parts. Instead of being the whole industry, he became only a small part of it.

How Trade Unions Divided the Workers

The old unions, as represented by the American Federation of Labor in this country did not keep pace with this development of industry. Instead of organizing all the workers in a textile mill or mills in a given locality into one big industrial union of textile workers, they organized them into small unions of weavers, warpers, loom-fixers, twisters, harness-builders, card-cutters, reed-makers, designers, spinners, slashers, wool-sorters, dyers and finishers.

Each of these little unions would consider itself distinct and separate from all the others, making contracts with their employers, regardless of the other workers, working for the same employer. This division was carried on still further.

Upholstery weavers for instance formed themselves into exclusive unions. The Art Square weavers did likewise and when their work became slack they were prevented from working in the Upholstery mills by the Upholstery weavers union in spite of the fact that those mills were in need of weavers. The result was that the Art Square weavers went to work in the Upholstery mills and a jurisdictional dispute was carried on between those two craft unions in that locality.

These disputes between the various petty

craft unions are a very common occurrence in the industries.

A weaver was not allowed to become a fixer, a twister, or a warper. The result was that when one craft had to strike to maintain their standard or improve on it all the other workers would stay at work and thereby help the boss defeat their fellow workers on strike. For instance, when the weavers struck the loom-fixers, winders, warpers, twisters, carders, spinners, sorters, engineers, firemen, etc., would stay at work, having been organized separately and taught that their interests were different from the others. The employers were not slow to take advantage of this state of affairs. Wages were reduced gradually, one craft at a time. More work was forced onto the workers. For instance, a weaver who was operating one loom containing 18 inches of cloth was compelled to run two looms. First only on plain work, after a while he was given two looms on fancy. When this had become general he was compelled to take two looms each containing 36 inches of cloth, then two looms containing 54 inches and even 72 inches. Then the number of looms was increased to three, then to four, etc.

The winders fared just as bad. They were compelled to tend to two sides instead of one, then to three sides, then the machines were made larger.

In the silk mills conditions have grown worse. Twenty years ago a ribbon loom would contain about 500 or 600 lignes. Today 1800 or 2000 lignes on a ribbon loom is customary. The circular batton is rapidly

disappearing and the 25 foot loom is the order of the day.

In many mills a broad silk weaver must operate two jacquard box looms, each containing 48 to 54 inches of cloth. In many other silk mills the weavers are compelled to operate three and four looms, each containing 36 inches of cloth, while in some mills silk weavers tend four and five looms.

The material furnished is weighed down in the dye houses to such an extent that the silk does not run as good as in the past.

In the cotton mills, in different localities, the number of looms per weaver have been increased, until in many mills a weaver is compelled to tend from 12 to 16 looms on plain work and upward to 10 looms on fancy. While in some cotton mills a weaver is compelled to tend from 16 upward to 24 looms on plain. In a number of woolen mills weavers operate two looms on fancy. All the machinery is run at a much higher rate of speed.

In many mills automatic looms of latest design are now being installed.

In the Knitting mills the installation of new, automatic knitting machinery is rapidly taking place. Hosiery mills have not only adopted automatic knitting machinery but are rapidly adopting automatic boarding, drying and stripping machines.

In the trimmings mills newly improved braiding machines have been introduced. Many of these mills are having their own special machinery made and one large Trimmings mill is even manufacturing their own machines.

Among the garment workers conditions are constantly growing worse. With the modern development of the power sewing machine, the work has been further subdivided. Each sewing machine operator works on a particular part of the garment. Also button-hole machines, hemstitching machines, pleating machines, and embroidery machinery of various designs have been introduced.

With the introduction of the cutting machines and their further improvement, the work of the skilled cutter is being eliminated to a great extent. These machines when put on the cutting table and operated by the cutter; cuts through many layers of fabrics; thus doing the work so much faster.

This is gradually throwing out of work many cutters whose services are no longer required.

A few years ago some craft unionists stated that there were no connections between the Textile workers and the Clothing workers. In Philadelphia a shirt manufacturing corporation have installed looms on one of the floors of their large Shirt factory and are making their own fabrics. Other large shirt factories are adopting this system.

As shirts are more standarized than other clothing it can only be practically predicted that this tendency will be the future development of the Textile Industry.

These same craft unionists are criticizing and condemning the I. W. W. for trying to get together the Textile and Clothing Workers in One Big Industrial Union; for united action; in order to safeguard

themselves against the reduction of wages and the lengthening of working hours.

The application of improved and new machinery into practically every branch of the Textile Industry has increased the productivity of the textile workers tremendously.

Skill has been eliminated to a great extent. Women and children have entered the mills in large numbers.

The once skilled textile workers have become the most abject slaves, mere servants to the automatic machines. The wages paid are lower than in any other industry and the profits made by the bosses are tremendous.

While the wages of the textile workers are continuously decreased the profits of the mill owners are continuously increased. While the working hours are lengthened, the mill owners are securing more profits because of the fact, that production is greatly increased without the necessity of installing more machinery and the enlargment of their mills or building new mills. When times are slack, the long work day is kept in vogue, in preparation for future large orders when the mill owners will again want increased production. The results are that large numbers of workers are thrown out of work and the large army of unemployed textile workers are used to keep the employed textile workers in submission to work under worse shop conditions; long hours and for less pay.

While the number of machines a textile worker must operate are gradually, but continually increased, the textile man-

ufacturers obtain the maximum of efficiency out of each worker and the very life blood of the textile workers are ground into more and more profits for the mill owners. These speed up efficiency systems throw many more workers out of work, because of the fact that one textile worker does the work that was formerly done by two, three or more of his fellow workers.

These conditions secure more profits for the employing class who consume the fruits of labor of the working class, in luxury and idleness; while the textile workers are doled out, long hours, wage cuts, unemployment and misery.

Why are the textile workers in such a sad plight? Why are their conditions continuously growing worse? Why are the majority of textile workers unorganized?

The tragedy of the matter is that the trade unions, as exemplified by the United Textile Workers and those trade unions masquerading under different names as independent unions, have failed and cannot function in the interests of the textile workers; because they divided the workers into different unions all fighting and scabbing on one another. **Trade unions are obsolete, they do not fit the modern development of industries. In plain words, trade unions are out of date.**

On the other hand, the mill owners are organized to keep the workers in subjection. They secured their great power by organizing in the Textile Manufacturing Association, which is the One Big Industrial Union of the mill owners in the textile industry. Each industrial group of employ-

ers have an association for their particular industry, which is in fact an industrial union of manufacturers. These various associations are brought together into that powerful organization, "The United States Chamber of Commerce" which is the ONE BIG UNION of capitalists.

While the textile industry is one of the basic industries in the world; the workers who toil in that industry, who produce cloth, cotton and silks; that clothe the world, are themselves, one of the most poorly dressed people of the working class.

While the textile workers produce all the finery that the employing class wear, they, themselves must wear shoddy clothing all year round.

How will the Textile Workers raise their standard of living? How will they improve their conditions?

How will they cope with the powerful Organization of the mill owners?

This is the answer of the I. W. W.,—**To give the Textile Workers a form of organization that will make them invincible.**

One Big Industrial Union in the Textile Industry:—The Textile Workers' Industrial Union of the Industrial Workers of the World.

I.	W.	W.
Education.	Organization.	Emancipation.

First:—Education in the principles as explained in the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

'Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work', we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system.'

'It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Next:—Industrial Union Organization

The Textile Workers Industrial Union of the Industrial Workers of the World, claims that all workers in a textile mill are necessary to operate that mill and that their interests are the same. They all have one common enemy, the mill owners.

The I. W. W. state that the engineer, fireman, carpenter, electrician, machinist, packer, shipper and yes, even the worker that sweeps the floors, while working in a textile mill are textile workers and must belong to the same union together with every one else working in that mill.

All workers in a shop or mill should meet together in their shop-meetings to discuss affairs relative to that particular shop or mill. All workers employed, loom-fixers, warpers, weavers, winders, twisters, beamers, spinners, carders, slashers, quill-winders, blockers, cloth-pickers, dyers and helpers, finishers, designers, harness-builders, reed makers, electricians, machinists, etc., every worker employed in any capacity, must take part in the shop meeting and be a member of the same union.

Each shop or mill must have a shop committee representing all the various departments.

This shop committee acts as the representative of the workers. Any worker who has any grievance with the employer reports it to the shop committee and if the shop committee fails to get justice for the worker, they call a meeting of all the workers in the shop or mill.

The workers decide what shall be done and if a strike is declared all the workers

strike together, making it almost impossible for the boss to get his mill under operation with scabs.

Each mill or shop must elect delegates to a Shop Delegate Industrial District Council. The delegates from each mill must report to this council all about the conditions in their respective mills. The action taken in the Shop Delegate Industrial District Council must be reported back by the delegates to their respective mills. Thus the workers are always kept in close touch with one another and informed what is going on in the various mills. This form of organization creates a feeling of solidarity and enables the workers to act as a unit in any mill or all mills together if found necessary.

The Shop Unions are united in the Local Branch Industrial Union, embracing all the Textile Workers in a locality. The rank and file decide on matters pertaining to conditions in the locality and vicinity at the meetings of the Local Branch Industrial Union. However; the work of organization must go further than a locality, because the mill-owners have organized themselves and own mills in various parts of the country. If the workers in a locality strike, the employers transfer their orders to one of their other mills in another part of the country until the workers are compelled to return to work through starvation.

The workers must be in close touch with the workers in all parts of the country in order to close down all the mills of an employer in any part of the country in case of a strike if found necessary.

This can be done because the Local Branch Industrial Union of each locality is an organization unit of the Textile Workers Industrial Union which is the One Big Industrial Union in the Textile Industry.

The whole matter is only a question of power. The workers will never get more than they have the power to make the bosses give. The only power the workers have is their power to stop industry at any time they see fit. This can only be done through a strong organization, embracing all the workers.

In a mill where there is no organization the boss is the absolute master. Whatever he says will be the law of that mill. He will determine what wages the workers shall receive, how long they shall work, under what conditions they shall work, how the work shall be distributed, who shall be employed or discharged and so on. When the workers organize they will demand that they will have something to say as to what the wages shall be, how the work shall be distributed, what the sanitary conditions shall be, whether or not a worker shall be discharged or kept on, what the hours of labor shall be, etc. The stronger the workers organize, the more power they will assume. Whatever power the workers assume is taken away from the bosses and makes the bosses so much weaker. This holds good in all industries.

Through close compact organization the workers can gain any demand by using direct action. For instance the textile workers can gain the six-hour day by organizing in the I. W. W. When they get a good

percentage organized, take a vote in the organization and set the date when they want the six-hour day. When that date comes every textile worker, leaves the mill when they have worked six hours.

If this is done all over the country at the same time, there is no power on earth to compel the workers to work longer than six hours. United action will get the workers anything they want.

Organization in the TEXTILE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION makes this possible.

Shop Tactics of the I. W. W.

The employers will dispute every inch of ground. They will fight hard to maintain control of industry. The weapons used by the workers in their fight for control of industry may vary greatly. Any weapons which will give the workers the desired results, the workers are justified in using. If the boss refuses to deal with a committee elected by the workers, a good move is to stop all work but stay in the mill and constitute themselves as one big committee of all the workers. Wherever this has been tried, it has been found very effective. The boss has always called for a committee, because he is very sensitive about having his whole place stopped.

Even if the boss is willing to receive a committee it is a good idea to stop the whole mill; this helps the boss to make up his mind quickly. To strike in the mill without leaving it is often better than leaving. Make your demand, stop the mill and stay by your machines while you present

your demands. After you have stopped the mill for a few hours and the boss does not give in to your demands start to work again and try the same thing again the next day. Keep this up until the boss gets tired of it and gives in to your demands.

When the textile workers act directly for themselves they can be relied upon to use the right methods to gain their point. They will learn by acting, and gradually gain more and more control over the Textile Industry.

The Textile Workers' Industrial Union and the other Industrial Unions of the

Industrial Workers of the World

construct the real

ONE BIG UNION

of the working class. (The name explains). Universal transfer from one Industrial Union to another Industrial Union, in the One Big Union by means of the universal one-card membership system makes the motto: "Once a unionist always a unionist." Therefore the textile workers can understand that the Industrial Workers of the World is not a temporary organization but a permanent labor organization that every textile worker will sooner or later join.

The Industrial Workers of the World is the reconstruction of the labor movement to fit the modern development of industries.

The I. W. W. state that the best defense against the further enslavement of the working class by the employing class is for labor to take the offensive; that every favorable opportunity must be taken ad-

vantage of by the working class in their struggle against the employing class for the control of the industries.

Final:—Emancipation

LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES. Which means that labor must EMANCIPATE itself from wage slavery. The solution to the problem is embodied in the last paragraph of the I. W. W. preamble, which states:—

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."



JOIN THE ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION

In The Textile Industry.

The only organization that has materially bettered conditions in the Textile Industry. A Six-Hour Day and better conditions in general are possible NOW, with the help of every Textile Worker. If there is no Industrial Union in your shop, address requests for information, on how to ORGANIZE, Shop Delegates, Supplies, Organizers and Speakers, to:

TEXTILE WORKERS'
INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 410
OF THE I. W. W.
(Industrial Union Headquarters)
1001 West Madison Street
Chicago, Ill.

FOR INFORMATION

As to ORGANIZATION work in industries other than the textile address the:

General Secretary-Treasurer,
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1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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PUBLISHED BY
THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER
P. O. BOX 2129 SPOKANE, WASH.

PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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SIGNS OF THE APPROACHING CHANGE.

Everywhere in the modern world evidences of the coming revolution are apparent. In all lands the workers are beginning to assert themselves in an effort to wrest from the master class more of the good things of life. The awakening of the workers logically brings forth attempts on the part of the employing class and their agents to intimidate and cow the workers into abandoning the struggle for economic freedom.

South America in the year past has witnessed acts of official brutality that are past belief. In Russia the ruling class has in the year past given further proof of the lengths to which the rulers will go in order to maintain themselves upon the backs of the workers. In France, Germany, England and America the past year has witnessed many outrages inflicted upon the workers that the rights of private property and privilege of exploiting the workers be maintained.

All of these signs are but evidence that the workers in ever increasing numbers are awakening and that the near future

will see the struggle for economic freedom actually on the world over.

Not the least evidence of the approaching struggle is to be seen in the cowardice and treachery displayed by the politicians who assume for themselves the right to represent the workers in the rotten political state of the employing class. At a time when courage and determination are demanded above every other qualification, when the times call for an aggressive policy, and correct education upon the fundamental principles upon which the revolution must be fought, these elements in the labor movement are found deserting every pretense of being revolutionary and seeking to avoid personal danger by proving to the employers that they are committed to nothing more revolutionary than a few phrases and high sounding platitudes. They attempt to shield their professed revolutionary desires behind a declaration that they are committed to a "legal" revolution. A legal revolution means nothing less than to say that they do not propose to change the existing order of things except with the consent of that class who today are the beneficiaries

of the present system of wage slavery.

This attitude of the politicians is not without its good effects. In every occasion in which they, the leaders of the political parties, have an opportunity to show themselves, they are furnishing indisputable evidence to the workers that they are but patch-work reformers whose only function is to feed at the pie counter of the master class for less than old party politicians exact in return for their services.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION.

Not the least significant struggle of the workers for economic freedom, is the efforts being made by the Mexicans peons to wrest economic freedom for themselves in the confines of their own country.

Regardless of the many complications that exist in this struggle, we recognize that it is at the base an effort of the disinherited native workers of Old Mexico to gain for themselves their economic independence.

We are glad to be able to report that in this struggle, members of the I. W. W. have been able to lend some assistance and we sincerely hope the near future will

see the efforts of the Mexican wage workers crowned with success and the fruits of victory, for which they have struggled against great odds and with great suffering, in their possession.

THE McNAMARA CASE.

Since the adjournment of the last Convention, the National Erectors Association and Manufacturers and Merchants Association of California, operating through the Burns Detective Agency, arrested J. B. McNamara, Ortie MacManigal and J. J. McNamara, charged with dynamiting the Los Angeles Times building at Los Angeles, California.

The two first named were arrested at Detroit, Mich., and J. J. McNamara at Indianapolis, Ind. The methods used in arresting these men and conveying them across the country to California, was in violation of all due process of law and furnishes another glaring example of what legal statutes do not mean when the liberty and lives of members of the working class are involved.

The arrest of these men was followed by a series of illegal and unlawful raids upon the records and property of the or-

ganization with which they are connected. Upon news of the arrest being made public, the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. issued a call for a general strike of all organized and unorganized workers in the country, as a protest against the high handed methods used by the States and private detective agencies in the case.

After many months in jail, the trial of J. B. McNamara was commenced and while the jury was still being selected, a compromise was arranged between the State and Defense whereby J. B. and J. J. McNamara plead guilty and consented to take a sentence of life and fifteen years, respectively. With the guilt or innocence of these men, we are not concerned, nor are we in any position to find fault with the plea of guilt entered by them. Believing as we do, however, that the case in itself holds valuable lessons for the working class, we desire to call the attention of the membership to those phases of the case which, in our judgment, are worthy of careful consideration.

The case, in the first place, demonstrates beyond doubt, that no legal safeguard that can be invoked to protect any

member of the working class who incurs the enmity of the employers by standing between them and unlimited exploitation of the workers. Second, in spite of the fact that the International Union to which these men belonged, was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that organization did not come to their assistance as it should have done. The position of the A. F. of L. in the case was one of half-hearted support and assurances that all they desired was a fair and impartial trial, when the history of the past proves that it is not possible for any member of the working class to get a fair and impartial trial in the courts of the employers. The only exceptions to this rule are cases wherein the workers of this country have been sufficiently aroused and sufficient money collected to enable the Defense to meet forces of the employers on equal terms. In the case of the McNamaras, the financial resources of the Defense were not sufficient to enable their attorneys to cope with the prosecution and the moral support guaranteed these members of the working class was practically nil, so far as the American

Federation of Labor was concerned. The most striking object lesson of the case in our mind, however, is the fact that in spite of the handicap set forth above, the Defense were enabled to force the prosecution to agree to a compromise verdict and the National Erectors Association and Manufacturers and Merchants Association of California, were forced to content themselves with imprisoning these two men instead of having them executed according to their original plan. In our judgment, this compromise is but an indication of the progress that has been made in the past twenty-five years in this country. We do not believe that the interests concerned in the prosecution of the McNamaras are any less blood-thirsty than those who were instrumental in executing Spies, Parsons and their comrades in 1887. We do believe, however, that the working class of this country have progressed to the extent that the real rulers of the United States recognize the danger that existed for themselves and their class if the lives of these men were taken as a sacrifice to the greed of the National Erectors Association.

We believe that the progress made in the past 25 years should tend to encourage every fighter in the ranks of labor to redouble their efforts in the years that are to come and we feel sure that if they do so, it will not be many years until the struggle for economic freedom will have been won and jails and gallows will no more claim the victims of capitalist greed.

THE LAWRENCE STRIKE.

On the 12th day of January, the workers in the textile mills of Lawrence, Mass., walked out on a spontaneous strike against a reduction of wages instituted by the mill owners in reply to a law passed by the Massachusetts Legislature reducing the hours of work for women and children from fifty-six to fifty-four hours per week. Approximately 25,000 mill workers were actively involved in the strike. The strikers were of twenty-seven different nationalities, speaking forty-three different languages and dialects.

Indirectly there were some 60,000 people involved in the strike—families not actually at work in the mills but whose parents and relatives were so employed.

Of the total number of workers involved in the strike, not over 1,500 were enrolled as members of any labor organization. Of this number 1,200 were members of Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 20, of Lawrence, Mass., affiliated with the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers of the I. W. W. The balance, 300, were connected with the United Textile Workers of America, holding a charter from the A. F. of L. or in independent craft unions.

When it is known that the average wages of the textile workers of Lawrence prior to the strike were $5.82 per week, and this average included the wages paid the superintendents as well as the higher paid workers, it can be readily seen that the strikers had very little in the way of financial resources with which to sustain themselves while on strike.

This one fact of itself furnishes convincing evidence that the conditions in the mills and rate of wages had reached the point where further submission was out of the question.

In the middle of winter, without food or fuel at hand, these workers thought

they could be no worse off starving and freezing in the streets of Lawrence than they were slaving in the mills and starving at the same time.

At the beginning of the strike, the strikers wired to New York for General Executive Board Member Joseph J. Ettor, who prior to the strike had assisted in carrying the message of Industrial Solidarity to the wage slaves of Lawrence.

Ettor immediately left for the scene of the struggle and with him went Fellow Worker Arturo Giovannitti, the Editor of "IL PROLETARIO," the official organ of the Italian Socialist Federation.

With the arrival of these two men upon the scene, the work of organizing the strikers was pushed with all energy and ability at their command. Within the short space of a week, order was brought out of chaos, and the strikers were so effectively organized that all the powers at the command of the mill owners failed to destroy the solidarity of the strikers in the nine weeks of bitter and brutal struggle that followed.

In less than a week after the strike had started, the state militia were ordered in-

to the strike district for the purpose of breaking the spirit of the workers and driving them back into the slave pens under the conditions against which they had rebelled.

The militia was reinforced by the state detective force and a horde of private detectives and thugs in the service of the mill owners and city of Lawrence virtually.

The city was placed under martial law and a reign of terror was inaugurated in the name of law and order.

As a result two of the strikers lost their lives. One a boy, 17 years of age, who was stabbed through the back by a member of the militia. The other, an Italian girl, a striker who was shot during an attack made upon the pickets by the police and detectives.

The testimony of eye witnesses tends to establish the fact that the shot which resulted in the death of this girl striker was fired by a policeman.

The record does not show that the killing of an unarmed boy by an armed militiaman was even investigated.

The killing of the girl striker was used

as a pretext for arresting Ettor and Giovannitti who were charged with being responsible for the death of the girl as accessories before the fact.

The city and state authorities hoped by arresting these men to deprive the strikers of their aid and counsel in conducting the strike and discourage the strikers, thinking that they would stampede back into the mills.

The arrest of Ettor and Giovannitti failed in its purpose. Instead of discouraging the strikers it made them all the more determined.

The general strike committee having the strike in charge established relief stations and issued an appeal for funds with which to provide relief for the strikers.

The response to the appeal for support was generous. The heroism of the men, women and children who were facing starvation and cold in the struggle for better conditions brought a ready and generous response from all quarters of the country. The relief stations were thus enabled to care for the most pressing needs of the strikers and the handicap of being without funds under which the

strike started was overcome.

As a further measure of relief, the committees in charge decided to ask the workers of other localities to provide food, clothing and shelter for the children of the strikers. This request also met with a ready response and 120 of the children were sent to the workers of New York to be cared for until the strike was over.

The arrival of the children in New York furnished the outside world with evidence that could not be contradicted as to the actual conditions existing in the textile industry of Lawrence.

This move of the strike committee was met by the mill owners and their agents, the police, deciding to prevent the children from being taken care of in that manner.

As a result, when the committee attempted to send a delegation of children to Philadelphia, the acting marshal of Lawrence, backed by the military forces of the state, forcibly prevented the children from leaving the city. The horrors of the scene at the depot that morning need not be repeated in this report. Suffice it to say that the official brutality

displayed entitles the marshal of Lawrence to a place in infamy as the most degenerate thug that ever disgraced the earth with his presence in this or any other age of the world's history.

Finding that every effort to break the strike was of no avail, the mill owners finally surrendered to the strikers and granted an increase of wages ranging from 5 per cent for the higher paid workers to 25 per cent for the lowest paid workers. The working conditions in the mills were improved and the bonus or premium system modified so that its most harmful features were abolished.

Thus ended the Lawrence strike. The first and only victory achieved by the textile workers since modern industrial conditions were established in that industry.

It is here we desire to record our deep sense of gratitude to any and all who assisted in making a victory for the strikers possible. We are firmly convinced that all aid and assistance rendered was in the spirit of class solidarity so far as the workers are concerned and from a spirit of sympathy where relief was given by

those who are not of the working class.

Credit for the Lawrence victory cannot be claimed by any one individual or set of individuals. Nor can the result be laid to any single circumstance that contributed to the successful ending of the fight. If credit is due to any, more than others, it is due to the strikers themselves, because they had the courage to dare to rebel against unbearable conditions and had the good judgment to refuse to allow themselves to be tricked by the employing class or any of their agencies. If credit is due to any one circumstance more than others, it is due to the heroism and fortitude of the strikers who refused to be cowed by the show of force and actual brutality of the mill owners' hirelings. An exhibition of splendid solidarity that won for them the support of the workers everywhere and finally forced the surrender of the mill owners.

We are not unaware that individuals and institutions are today making claims that they and they alone are responsible for the success of the Lawrence strike. To all such we say "To the extent that you aided in making victory possible, full

credit is coming to you, but when you for the purpose of self aggrandizement attempt to use the victory of the Lawrence strike to further mislead and delude the workers of this country, then we point out to you the many strikes that have been lost in the last few years, and ask you to explain to the workers of America, if you can, why it is that you did not also win those strikes for the workers involved? Why if your power is so great did you not use it before the workers were forced to face starvation and the militia in an effort to change their conditions?''

THE ETTOR AND GIOVANITTI CASE.

One of the developments in the successful revolt by the textile slaves of the Lawrence Textile Mills, was the arrest on the 26th day of January of one member of the organization, Joseph J. Ettor, G. E. B. Member, and Arturo Giovanitti, Editor of IL PROLETARIO organ of the Italian Socialist Federation. These fellow workers have been confined in the Essex County Jail up to date, on the charge of being accessories before the fact to the murder of an Italian girl striker, Anna Lo Pizza.

The evidence at hand all goes to prove that the shot which resulted in the death of Fellow Worker Anna Lo Pizza, was fired either by a police officer of the city of Lawrence, or by some thug acting with and under the protection of the police department of that city.

The arrest of these two fellow workers was a desperate effort on the part of the mill owners to break the spirit of the men, women and children involved in the strike. It was hoped that the arrest of Ettor and Giovanitti would create confusion that would result in a stampede back to the mills upon the mill owners terms. Failing to secure this result, the authorities of Essex County have been forced to make an attempt to secure a conviction in order that they may justify the arrest and continued imprisonment of Fellow Workers Ettor and Giovanitti.

The date of the trial is set for September 30th. During the past eight months, the committee in charge of the defense of the fellow workers has been carrying on a campaign of publicity and appealing for aid and financial assistance to all the workers of this country. De-

fense conferences have been organized in many of the large industrial centers and the present outlook is that the workers are being aroused to a proper understanding of what this case means from a working class standpoint. And unless the fellow workers are acquitted, the industries of this country will feel the power of the workers expressed in a general tie-up in all industries, and further, the workers of other lands, as an expression of international solidarity, are willing and will be found inflicting financial damage upon the American employers to the full extent of their power and ability.

STRIKE FINANCES.

An estimate of the amount of money expended for relief and other expenses incidental to handling strikes in the year past, shows that $101,504.05 were expended in handling strikes involving a total of 75,152 strikers and their families, lasting over a period of seventy-four weeks in the aggregate.

The problem of financing strikes is a question that should commend the earnest attention, not only of this convention, but of each and every local union after the

close of the convention. It is a foregone conclusion that there is a limit to the ability of the workers to contribute to the support of strikes. With the ever growing tendency to involve larger and larger bodies of workers in the struggles for better conditions, it is but a question of a short time until this limit will be reached. The present and future conditions of modern industry do now and will continue to make it necessary that large numbers of the workers take an active part in every struggle for better conditions. There is but one way in which this situation can be met. That is, that the workers must be educated to carry on the struggle for better conditions without leaving the shops, except when it is absolutely necessary. In which event, they must be educated to adapt themselves to every requirement of each particular case and be prepared to return to work with their organization intact before they are starved into submission.

It is safe to assume that the employers will resort to the use of the lockout in order to meet these tactics and an effective answer to the lockout will have to be

devised by the members of this organization. In our humble judgment the answer to the lockout is to extend the influence of the organization so that whenever necessary the workers can paralyze every industry in the country by a general strike of short duration repeated as often as is necessary to get results.

We think that it will be found that the employing class will not be willing to lose the profits accruing to them from the labor of 15,000,000 workers because some part of the employing class uses the lockout to subjugate a part of the workers.

STRIKE AND LEGAL EXPENSE.

The cost of defending members of the working class that are selected as victims to appease the wrath of the employers, will also increase as time goes on. The membership of the I. W. W. must strive with all the energy that they have, to perfect the organization to such an extent that they will be able to cause the employers to lose profits whenever they attempt to victimize any member of the working class because of that worker's activity and ability in the labor movement.

The only effective weapon that the workers have with which to meet this condition, is to render unproductive the machinery of production with which they labor, and have access to. Militant direct action in the industries of the world is the weapon upon which they must rely and which they must learn to use.

It is imperative that the attention of the membership be called to the obligation that follows the receipt of financial and other help from their fellow workers.

It is with a deep sense of gratitude that we acknowledge the solidarity so well expressed by the members of the working class who rallied to the support of the members in all sections of the country when they were engaged in the struggle for better conditions.

This sense of gratitude cannot be repaid by an expression of appreciation alone, and it should be the effort of every member of this organization to see that our sense of gratitude and solidarity finds expression in a substantial manner whenever any part of the workers are engaged in a struggle with the boss.

It is incumbent, however, that the organization at all times keep in mind that it is a fighting organization, and as such does not depend upon its financial resources in order to successfully fight the employing class. This point should be emphasized in the future as it has been in the past. The struggles just closed have furnished proof that the contentions of the I. W. W. in this regard have been based upon solid ground. They have stood the test and proved to be correct.

The attack made by the emissaries of the employing class through the medium of their courts upon the strike funds of the Lawrence strike, is but a warning as to what can be expected along that line in the future.

QUESTION OF VIOLENCE.

The enemies of the I. W. W., the employing class and their paid hirelings—are devoting a great deal of their time and energy charging that the organization is committed to a program of violence in order to accomplish the overthrow of the wage system. This charge is made with all the variations that can be thought of by the upholders of the present rulers of

society. Craft Union leaders, politicians of alleged revolutionary tendencies and labor misleaders of every stripe, are to be found echoing the charges formulated by the employing class and their agencies. On the question of violence, we desire to call the attention of the delegates and through them, the membership of this organization, to the lessons that history contains. This lesson in brief is that it is not the subject class of any society that dictates whether or not its progress shall be accompanied by violence. At all times, it is the rulers, who being in power, are in position to determine in a great measure, just how and when the struggle will be fought. The history of the past has been that the privileged class respect no law and will stop at nothing to maintain their position in society. It is they, who in the past have resorted to violence in order to perpetuate their reign and in the struggle of today and those that are to come, it is the employing class and their agencies who provoke violence and then cry out the loudest against its use.

The program of the I. W. W. offers the only possible solution of the wage ques-

tion whereby violence can be avoided, or at the very worst, reduced to a minimum. To all opponents of the organization wherever found, we desire to state that this organization will to the best of its power and ability, bend every effort towards making that program effective. We also desire to serve notice upon the ruling class and all its defenders, that whatever form, the struggle may take, we are determined to continue in spite of all odds until victory has been achieved by the working class. If the ruling class of today decide as its prototypes of the past have decided, that violence will be the arbiter of the question, then we will cheerfully accept their decision and meet them to the best of our ability and we do not fear the result.

Certain elements in the revolutionary movement with profuse sophistry, put forth the claim of having a shield behind which they can fight the capitalist class in security and escape the consequences of attempting to revolutionize society. To all such we say, that the I. W. W. has nothing to shield and having nothing to shield, we have no use for a shield even

though one existed. Those whose purpose needs a shield, let them use it. For us, our object is declared open and above board and that object will be pursued with all the ability and power at our command.

POLICE AGENTS.

In almost every publication catering to the good will of the workers and working class organizations, the hue and cry against police agents is raised today.

In this connection, we desire to point out to the membership of the I. W. W. and to the working class in general, that those individuals holding positions as labor editors and editors of political publications claiming to represent the interest of the working class and who use such positions to repeat the slanders and false accusations hurled against the workers in times of struggle for better conditions, are in our humble judgment proving themselves to be the most efficient police agents at the command of the capitalist interests in this country today. Not only are they most efficient, but they are likewise the cheapest servants of the capitalist class, because through their pretensions of fealty to the working class, they are en-

abled to work without pay from the capitalist class.

THE EIGHT HOUR DAY.

The present need for a shorter work day in the industries of the country is bound to make itself felt. To the end that the agitation for the shorter work day may get results, the membership should provide ways and means for the necessary literature in all foreign languages.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

The necessity for an integral organization, international in scope, will become more and more apparent as time goes on. It is to be hoped that the membership of the I. W. W. will provide ways and means whereby this organization can fulfill their part in the formation of a revolutionary international in the near future.

CENTRALIZATION.

We are not unmindful of the danger that will ever live in centralized power, but it does not follow that to centralize the administrative machinery of your organization necessarily means a centralized power.

The only means by which centralization

of power can be avoided is by correct education and a thoroughly intelligent membership, each fully realizing the duties and obligations incumbent upon them as members and each discharging those duties and obligations to the fullest extent of their ability.

With an intelligent membership it will be impossible for any official to usurp or attempt to usurp power.

Without an intelligent membership it will be an easy matter for designing individuals to usurp power, and no provisions, constitutional or otherwise, can be made that will prove a safeguard to the organization.

The greater efficiency that is obtained by having the machinery of the organization as compact as possible will offset the danger of power being usurped by any officials.

FAKE INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND BORING FROM WITHIN.

During the fiscal year past, different advocates offering to the working class something "just as good" as Industrial Unionism, have attempted to secure a

recognition of their theories in the different local unions of the I. W. W., claiming to advocate the policy of boring from within the A. F. of L. With few exceptions, these individuals have confined their activities solely to an attempt to disrupt the I. W. W.

The year past furnishes some valuable illustrations as to the lack of merit in the policy of attempting to change the structure and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Most glaring of these examples is the strike of the Shop Men on the S. P. and Illinois Central Railroads. This strike is now in its 11th month and so far as indicated on the surface, the operation of these roads has not been seriously crippled by the strike. In fact, the history of this strike is the same old story of a part of the workers in an industry fighting the boss, while the rest of their fellow workers stay at work and help to operate the railroads involved.

The newspaper strike in Chicago, wherein members of the Pressmen's Union were locked out by the newspaper association of that city, to the credit of

the newspaper drivers, newsboys and stereotypers, members of these organizations responded by refusing to assist the newspaper publishers in their efforts to crush the Pressmen's Union.

This evidence of solidarity on the part of the stereotypers has brought about their expulsion from the International Union of which they were members, and the scabs who took their places were granted a charter.

This particular case proves that even if the workers were paying tax to the A. F. of L. or any part of it, they are not furnished any protection from being scabbed upon by other craft unions working under contract with the same employers.

The strike of the water front federation employes in New York city recently closed, also resulted in a defeat of the workers, due to the treachery of parts of the International Unions involved at the beginning of the struggle. The struggle, in common with the others mentioned, proves that the federation plan of organization with local and international autonomy, furnishes a weapon that is as

ineffective as the independent craft union.

It is not with any sense of satisfaction that we record defeats of the workers in struggles for better conditions. Our only object in mentioning these cases is that the workers in general and the membership of the I. W. W. in particular may profit by the lessons which they contain, using their best efforts to develop and establish the form of organization that will permit the necessary solidarity and encourage the fighting spirit required to gain victory in the struggles for better conditions.

ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS.

It is to be expected that as the organization of the workers grows in power and influence, it will be met with every weapon at the command of the employing class. So long as the employing class relies upon open and hostile moves against the organization, we need have no fear as to the outcome of the contest. Such opposition, however bitter and brutal it may become, will but prove the fitness of the membership of this organization for the position that they have preempted for themselves as the vanguard

of the army of labor in its march to economic freedom.

Open opposition will but serve to develop the necessary qualifications that fit the workers to undertake and accomplish the freedom of the human race from the bondage of wage slavery.

It is only when the employers recognize that the policy of open opposition will not get the desired result for them, and begin to cater to, and fraternize with, the I. W. W. that real danger will face the organization. It is then that the membership will have to double their vigilance and repel every overture of friendship that may be made to the organization or any part of it. Friendship of the employing class or any part of it will mean death to any organization of the workers so far as the interests of the workers as a class are concerned.

The only safeguard that the membership of the organization have against this danger is the proper education of the membership as to their real class interests; the steadfast adherence to the policy of at all times keeping the class lines distinctly drawn in the organization and the

rejection of any and all alliances with any organizations other than those composed wholly of members of the wage working class and standing upon the fundamental basis of the class struggle for possession of the machinery of production for and by the workers as a class; no alliance open or otherwise with any organization not committed to the waging of that struggle at the point of production only —in the work shops of the world. No entangling alliances with any part of the employing class should be tolerated, however alluring the prospect that is held out as an excuse for such alliance or the prospects for immediate gain may be.

With the gaining of a greater amount of economic control by the workers enrolled as members of the I. W. W. it is but natural to see the batteries of the employing class loosed upon the organization. A campaign of vituperation and slander has been inaugurated that should serve to firmly establish the conviction that the organization is on the right road to the goal of working class dominion over industry. It is to be expected that in proportion as the position of the I. W.

W. is correct, it will be reflected in the bitterness of the opposition that it will encounter from the agents of the employing class in every walk of life and wherever found. It is likewise to be expected that this campaign of slander and abuse will serve to deceive some members of the working class who lack the experience and the knowledge flowing from experience to enable them to judge the reasons for this opposition.

Not the least effective weapon in this program of deceiving and misleading the workers as to their true economic interest is the aid and assistance rendered the employing class by the small coterie of mental bankrupts that have infested the socialist movement of America. One wing of this degenerate aggregation, composed of millionaire silk mill owners, petty business men of doubtful business ability and totally devoid of integrity, a small number of deluded workers with petrified tissues where their brains should be, and a number of barrel house bums whose sole claim to distinction is that they periodically appear upon a ballot appealing for the suffrage of the voters in order that

they may avoid some useful service in return for their sustenance, devote most of their time repeating, with parrot-like brilliancy of intellect, every foul slander that has been coined by mouth pieces of the existing order of things since the world's workers first began the struggle for supremacy. The other wing composed of a larger number of deluded wage workers, whose misery and desire for economic freedom is taken advantage of, by as unscrupulous a gang of parasites as ever traded upon the ignorance and misery of any people; business failures who, not successful in establishing themselves securely upon the backs of the workers, are devoting their petty talents to further misleading them in order to curry favor with the masters of the bread and thus enable them to win a place at the pie counter of politics; self appointed saviors who failed to make a livelihood at the profession of saving souls who now mouth revolutionary phrases with all the unction that they once exhorted their superstitious dupes to place their hopes for relief in another and—for all they knew to the contrary—non-existent world; shyster

lawyers whose mental equipment prevented them from success in competition with better equipped members of that profession, all join in the campaign of slander against a real expression of the workers and their efforts to perfect an organization on class lines that will be effective in the struggle for freedom. With few notable exceptions, the press of this institution is filled with parrot-like repetitions of the abuse always used against the workers by agents of the employing class. The agents of the employing class have at least the excuse that they are paid to do the dirty work of their masters. These others have no excuse except it be that they are desirous of scabbing the ones now holding the job out of their positions.

Professing to be neutral, they use up barrels of ink in parroting the false accusations hurled against the organization by the Kirbys, Posts, and Otis of the employing class. In times of struggle they are silent until forced to take some note of the fights made by the organization, or in hopes of making campaign material out of the success attending the efforts of the workers in the struggles. Then they will

be found in the front making claims as to the value of their services that only serve to establish them as petty politicians attempting to take credit to themselves for success achieved by those whom they have reviled and ridiculed to the best of their mean ability.

Your organization has been accused of preaching violence in spite of the fact that in no word or line in the literature of the organization can be quoted to prove the accusation.

You are charged with being murderers in spite of the fact that in the many struggles taken part in by the organization no human life has been taken by any member of the organization regardless of the provocation offered.

You are charged with advocating a policy that will lead to bloodshed when the fact is that the program advocated by your organization offers the only possible method by which bloodshed can be avoided or reduced to a minimum.

Deprived of an opportunity to labor except at uncertain periods, forced by present circumstances to be content with a small portion of the wealth that your

brain and muscle brings into being, you are characterized as bums, tramps and worthless loafers by the very individuals who spoil good paper coining excuses for the parasite classes, because, forsooth, they, the parasites, "are victims of the system."

Professing to be for the overthrow of capitalist property, they are found endeavoring to instill into the minds of the now awakening proletariat a reverence for capitalist property that can serve no other purpose than to prolong the reign of capitalism.

We desire to emphasize in this report that we place no strictures upon any members of the working class who in all sincerity are connected with the same institution as those who are proving themselves only too willing to do the work of capitalist agents. To these, we have but one feeling—that of class solidarity and we earnestly request all members of the working class who today are being misled and duped by this element in the revolutionary movement to thoroughly investigate the conduct of those with whom they are associated, and we believe that if they

will do so, their class interests will demonstrate to them that the role played by their officials and press, can but react against the interest of the working class.

It would be unwise in reviewing the past year of the organization's progress if we omitted to call the attention of the members to the pretensions of friendship that are beginning to be manifested for the organization in many other quarters.

Success breeds friends as well as enemies. When the organization struggled against tremendous odds for its very existence there were none so poor as to render it homage. When success seems to crown the struggle, all are more than willing to put forward their claim as being THE factor that is responsible for the victories won and the progress made. To all such, we have but one answer. That answer is,—that the Industrial Workers of the World is an organization of workers who are conscious of their class interests, who know what they want and how to get what they want; who appeal only to members of the wage working class, and that we will resent with all our power any attempt on the part of indi-

viduals or organizations to interfere with the affairs of the organization or attempt to exercise a guardianship over it. As an organization of the useful members of society, the wealth producers, we propose to compel homage from all other elements in society and render reverence to none. As the fighting organization of the working class in the industries of the world, we will be guided only by our experience gained in the struggles of the past and future.

We sincerely trust that the record made by the organization will never be sullied by an act of treachery to any part of the working class; that the progress of the past year will be multiplied in the year to come, and the near future will see the workers in possession of the machinery of production.

With best wishes, we remain

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

THOMAS HALCRO.
F. H. LITTLE.
EWALD KOETTGEN.
GEORGE SPEED.
General Executive Board.

WHAT IS THE I. W. W.?

By WALKER C. SMITH.

The Industrial Workers of the World is without doubt the most revolutionary body in the world today. It is the concrete expression of the spirit of revolt against economic oppression.

It is more than a labor organization. It is an IDEA and an IDEAL. It represents the dispossessed and disinherited toilers united in action for the purpose of taking back what has been stolen from them.

In membership the I. W. W. is composed of wage workers only. These are of all nationalities, speaking all tongues, bearing the characteristic markings of all races yet all of one nation—THE WORKING CLASS.

Herein are assembled men and women, children, too, young and old, born here and abroad, skilled and unskilled, home-guard and blanket stiff, alike using the term "fellow worker" in addressing each other. There is no barrier of race, creed, color, sex, age or skill, to entrance into its fighting ranks.

Its members pay allegiance to no imaginary boundary lines, and claim no coun-

try except the world. Being propertyless and landless they have no patriotism nor reason for patriotism. They are simply rebellious slaves striving to gain industrial freedom.

The I. W. W. is filled with the spirit of direct action. It seeks organization at the point of production for the purpose of gaining immediate benefits and finally securing industrial control. It would have the tool users be the tool owners. It would have the products go to the producers. It stands for the WORLD FOR THE WORKERS.

The abolition of the wage system and the creation of a new social order is its IDEAL. For this ideal the members will suffer hunger, brave the blacklist, rot in the bastile, and fight—ever fight, for the freedom that awaits them when the rest of the workers awaken.

This new and virile labor organization realizes that the workers themselves must strike the shackles from their limbs. It knows that no slave class ever framed a law and that freedom was never handed by the oppressors to the oppressed. To it has come the knowledge that justice, liberty, rights, etc., are but empty words,

and POWER alone is real. Refusing to even try to delegate its power, it stands committed to the policy of DIRECT ACTION.

Declining to even try to match the pennies of the propertyless workers against the millions of the master class, it proposes a system of low dues and low initiation fees that are just sufficient for operating expenses. It strives to have the workers realize the tremendous power tied up in their muscle and mind—a power that represents the measure of the masters' weakness. The workers are asked to withhold their labor power, to refuse to apply it to the machine, or to apply it so that the machine does not function properly, and thus defeat the masters. It holds that the only power of the master class lies in the ignorance of the workers as to their economic might, for once the workers know that their labor alone creates value, they will seize and hold the machinery of production and distribution and operate it in their own interests.

It sees skill displaced by the machine and by the sub-division of labor and so marshals its army into ONE BIG UNION upon the broad basis of industry. It

scorns the disappearing craft with its claims of superiority and its endless train of jurisdictional quarrels among the toilers. Its locals and branches are formed so as to avoid all unnecessary dispute and at the same time give full play for the carrying out of shop and language details. By organizing industrially the I. W. W. gains immeasurably in solidarity, and, what is of more vital importance, it forms thereby the firm foundation for the future order of society.

From bitter experience it has gained the knowledge that the charging of a new initiation fee with each change of occupation is simply to fine the worker for his desire for unity, and so it advocates a universal transfer card. This card entitles the holder to recognition in all lines of industry without the necessity of again paying toll for the privilege of joining hands with his brother slaves.

The I. W. W. is a portent of the approaching change. It is a sign that the workers are no longer content to be submissive slaves in the industrial hells on earth in hopes of a happy hereafter in a mythical heaven. It calls upon the workers to refuse to meekly and humbly starve

while the warehouses and granaries are filled to overflowing with the good things of life which they alone have produced. It refuses to accept the ideas and institutions of the master class, for it knows that such acceptance means death to all working class hopes and aspirations. It teaches no fallacy of a **legal** revolution and takes no part in upholding any of the props that support the profit system. Such labor as its members do under capitalism is performed unwillingly and they refuse to take pride in their work until such time as they are laboring on their own behalf.

The Industrial Workers of the World, in striving to gain better immediate conditions, seeks no mere reform. There is no thought of being contented with the gains that are made. In wresting immediate benefits from the employers its main thought is to gain control of industry to that extent and thus force the toilers to fit themselves for the management of Industry when Capitalism shall have been overthrown.

This is the I. W. W. Will you join today?

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An Open Letter To President Harding

From 52 Members of the I. W. W. In Leavenworth Penitentiary Who Refuse to Apply for Individual Clemency : : : : : :

Published by the General Defense Committee
1001 West Madison Street : : Chicago, Ill.

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An Open Letter to the President From 52 Members of the I. W. W. Now In Leavenworth Penitentiary

Hon. Warren G. Harding,
President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

SIR:—

When the General Defense Committee's petition in behalf of the political prisoners was placed before you on July 19, it was brought out that 52 of us had ref sed to file applications for individual clemency. You were surprised at this, expressing wonder that any man should refuse to make such an application, that he should be unwilling in this way to justify his innocence if he were innocent.

This open letter is an attempt to outline the circumstances which have made it imposible for the majority of the 71 I. W. W. prisoners in Leavenworth to apply for clemency. The method we use in presenting our case may be blunt, or "self-serving" as they say in law, but we ask leave to tell our story in our own way.

We are not criminals and are not in prison because we committed crimes or conspired to commit them. From the beginning justice has been denied us, and the truth of our case withheld from the consideration of the public. We have been surrounded continuously by a network of false accusations,

and even now, crimes never mentioned during our trials are charged against us. We were "framed up" by the newspapers and business interests.

In spite of the many largely mythical offenses charged in the court room and since, in numerous "confidential reports" emanating from the Attorney General's office, we are innocent of any crime or intent to commit crime. We are workingmen, conscious of our position in society and guilty only of championing the cause of the class to which we belong. We expressed our views about the struggle as we felt we had a legal and moral right to do. Naturally those views were "unpopular" with the vested interests and the thousands of newspapers which uphold those interests.

Our conviction was obtained upon a narrow margin of legal interpretation at a time when sane judgment was impossible. But previously we had been convicted by the capitalist press, wielding its mighty power as always only to serve the rich and powerful and relying upon the weirdly sensational rather than the simple truth to sell its products. In the capitalist newspaper the I. W. W. is like the Mexican in the movie show; he is always the villain.

Our Beliefs Remain Unchanged.

We know that we are now in prison solely for exercising the constitutional right of free speech at a time when discretion might have been the better part of altruism. If it is a crime to exercise the right for which our fathers laid down their lives, then we have no apology to offer. Free speech has always been the one thing we have prized above all others. In this regard we are unchanged. And we cannot bring ourselves to make application for clemency because we wish to avoid being forced into an action that would make hypocrites of us all.

Liberty is sweet to any man in prison, but not sweet enough to us to be purchased at the price of principle. We feel we owe it to the loyal men

and women outside of these walls who still believe in freedom of speech, assemblage and the press, to remain steadfast and uphold these ideals even at the cost of continued incarceration. We cannot do otherwise than refuse to recant. We must continue to refuse to beg for a pardon which in common justice ought to have been accorded to us long ago.

We realize how insignificant are the misfortunes of a handful of imprisoned union men in a world that has witnessed the slaughter and mutilation of millions of its young men, a world that is staggering through disorganization, famine and misery to readjust itself to post-war conditions.

These Ideas Are Vital To All Who Work.

But insignificant as we are and little as we count in the universal scheme of things, the ideals we stand for are not insignificant. They are big and vital and dynamic. They concern every man, woman and child in the working class of America. It matters little what happens to us, but if the American people lose the right of free speech, the loss will be irreparable.

There are other reasons, too, why we must decline to make individual applications for clemency. **We were not convicted as individuals, but as a group. We were convicted of a "conspiracy" of which we are all equally innocent or all equally guilty.** We believe that it would be a base act for us to sign individual applications and leave the Attorney General's office to select which of our numbers should remain in prison and which should go free.

Because of Mr. Daugherty's action in giving out false information about our cases (see for instance the report of the Federal Council of Churches concerning his letter to the Chicago Church Federation) we have little confidence in his motives or in those of the Department which he heads. Frankly, we are fearful that applications for clemency would

give the Attorney General an opportunity to make a gesture of fairness, by releasing some of us and holding the rest to serve out the savage sentences imposed by the courts.

Rather than face this probability, we prefer to stand together as a group, just as we were convicted. We do not believe that the Attorney General's office is acting in good faith in complaining that we have not made proper application. **Recently to put the matter to a test, we prevailed upon one of our number to make application in the customary manner. We selected a young man who is slowly dying of tuberculosis in the prison isolation ward. This man complied with all the regulations. His application was coldly and cynically rejected.**

Another of our number, also in the tuberculosis ward, was released only after he had suffered twelve hemorrhages in one day, it evidently being considered expedient to permit him to die outside the walls.

By refusing, we do not wish it understood that we desire to force the officials of the government to admit that we have been in the "right" and they in the "wrong". This is a question to which only time can give answer.

Our conviction was the result of exceptional circumstances—the stress and tension of the early days of the war and the charging of fantastic crimes against us in the press, making it impossible for us to receive the semblance of a fair hearing.

In the heat of anger an individual may often say or do things he is afterward ashamed of. It is possible, we suggest, that nations are at times capable of doing identically the same thing. It will always remain a shameful memory that the business interests of America, with the connivance of the press, succeeded in manipulating the laws of this war-distracted nation to their own ends as they did in our case.

Our indictment and conviction followed a campaign of intense vilification and suppression directed against us as members of an unpopular labor organization. Previous to this, and subsequently, we endured onslaughts of class cruelty to be compared only with the burning of witches and the persecution of the abolitionists. Exile and torture and deliberate murder in Bisbee, Tulsa, Red Lodge and Butte and in a host of other towns have been our lot.

Officials Are Not Above Criticism.

If there is reason to believe that injustice has been done, there is no reason why all this injustice should remain hidden—even if the blame falls to some extent upon elected and appointed officials at Washington. Those gentlemen are not above the criticism of the American people, when it appears that they have been using their power for unjust ends. Officials are, in theory at least, the servants of the people, and whenever those servants forget their duty to the great majority and serve only the rich and powerful, it is time the nation knew that fact.

What was the crime charged against us? We will quote from the indictment. The majority of the prisoners now in Leavenworth were convicted under the initial indictment at Chicago, Count Four of which is the keynote of the Sacramento and Wichita indictments as well. Count Four is all that remains of the original Chicago and Wichita indictments (and by logical inference all that remains also of the Sacramento conviction.)* For the appeals courts in both the Chicago and Wichita cases threw out as unproven the "industrial" counts charging sabotage, destruction of property and all m ıner of newspaper-made charges.

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* Further comment on the legal status of the Sacramento case is contained further on in this letter, and is outlined at length in the statement presented to you with the General Defense Committee's petition.

Count Four follows: ". . . . the offense of unlawfully, feloniously and wilfully causing and attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States when the United States was at war; and this through and by means of personal solicitation, **of public speeches, of articles printed in certain newspapers** called 'Solidarity', 'Industrial Worker', 'A Bermunkas', 'Darbunenku Balsas', 'Il Proletario', 'Industrial Unionist', 'Rabochy', 'El Rebelde', 'A Luz', 'Allarm', 'Solidarnosc', etc."

As appears clearly from the above, **we are, under the law, serving sentences for the expression of opinion and for nothing else.** This fact has been cleverly disguised by some of the gentlemen in the Attorney General's office, for when persons interested in us have visited Washington, they have been told—and are sometimes frightened away by—all manner of fabulous and misleading "confidential information", which it is claimed has been gathered by the agents of the Department of Justice.

It may be asserted that the Department officials accepted these reports in good faith. If so, there is absolutely no justification for using wild and unproven charges to keep men in prison, when the prisoners themselves are ignorant of the charges and are not permitted to face their accusers and when even the trial court and jury were not permitted to consider the accusations.

Apocryphal Evidence Brought Into Play.

Just a few days ago it was seriously charged in one of the "confidential reports" that it was our purpose in 1917 to call a strike of the I. W. W. marine transport workers in Philadelphia and other ports shipping munitions. This, it was claimed, was to have been the culminating act of our "conspiracy" to cripple the government in conducting the war. It was further claimed that this sinister plan was thwarted only by the timely raids by

Department of Justice agents in September, 1917. Nothing of this sort was charged against us in the trial and no evidence was introduced to prove that at any time we had considered such a move.

Many reputations have been made by small men with big ambitions who were shrewd enough to exploit the bad name the papers had given us. **Nearly every one of our persecutors, who was not found guilty of grafting, has since been promoted to a remunerative position. It has been the same in prison. Even the atavistic negro who beat our boys into insensibility in the prison dungeon with a club was given his liberty as a reward.** A few days later he was arrested for committing another murder and is now serving a life sentence in Indiana.

Technically we are not behind the bars for hindering the government's prosecution of the war. No overt act of this kind was charged against us nor proved. We are charged with **conspiring** to hinder the war **by means of spoken and printed words.** This is the charge, but the truth is that we are in prison for recognizing the irrefutable fact of the class struggle and for advocating the solidarity of labor.

Our prosecution, in the light of recent events, is seen to have been the first step of the organized employing interests to crush and demoralize the forces of organized labor. Our imprisonment was the starting point of the open shop drive, of the movement toward establishing the Industrial Court, the Landis Award, and the recent wage-cutting union-wrecking campaign of the militant employing class.

Old-Line Unions Now Under Fire.

We claimed at the beginning that if the old line unions unresistingly permitted the I. W. W. to be persecuted for their loyalty to labor, those very unions shortly would be called upon to face the same ordeal themselves. Our prediction was all

too true. With us, at the psychological moment, the war was used as convenient camouflage to obtain a conviction which could not otherwise have been obtained. But with the "conservative" unions the employers have now let down the mask, and they are out to defeat all organized workers in order to keep labor divided and unresisting in the face of unrestricted exploitation.

It is pretty generally known to intelligent wage workers and to students of social science that the Industrial Workers of the World is a labor union, and not a mere anti-war nor anti-militaristic organization. Its avowed object is to create among the disinherited workers a spirit of solidarity similar to that enjoyed by the employing class, which at present owns and controls practically all of the earth and the machinery of production.

We Oppose All Capitalistic Wars.

The purpose of this solidarity, as stated in the preamble of the I. W. W., is "to enable the workers to carry on the every-day struggle with the employing class and to carry on production when capitalism is overthrown." But it is true that the admittedly small membership of the I. W. W. and its elected officials were opposed to capitalistic wars as a matter of general principle. Both the officials and the rank-and-file were endeavoring to build, in their modest way, a civilization in which war and human exploitation would be impossible. To this end our efforts were unceasingly directed.

We believed in 1917, and we believe now, that the present social and economic order is wasteful, planless, chaotic and criminal. We are frankly dissatisfied with this arrangement of things, which we call capitalism. We seek to replace it with a well-ordered and scientifically managed system in which the actual producers will own, democratically control and have access to the earth and machinery of production carrying on the production of goods for

the benefit of the many instead of the enrichment of the few.

We want to help build up a system of society without class hatreds or class struggles—without any classes at all—a system wherein social parasitism and exploitation of man by man will forever be impossible. We believe this system will be one of productive co-operation instead of commercial competition, and that the workingmen, farmers and engineers can so order the world that the only distinctions between various groups of human beings will be those of culture, personality, refinement and the ability to serve the common good. **We are striving, in short, to build up a civilization worthy of the intelligence of man.**

We believe this change to be inevitable—the next step in the evolution of human society. Five years of brutal persecution have not changed our conviction about those things in the least.

With these views in mind it should be easy for any one to understand how a group entertaining them would stand on the subject of war. **We did not look upon the war in Europe with approval, but at the same time we did not elect to advise our members not to register, nor to desert, nor to be mutinous or disloyal. Such a procedure, by reason of its recklessness and obvious futility, would have endangered the very existence of our organization.** It happens that such interpretations were tortured out of our publications and letters, but only at the expense of truth and fair dealing.

Our "conspiracy" to oppose the war consisted in pointing out the economic causes of all wars and in showing that unemployment, reaction and misery invariably follow in their wake. We tried to show that war, in spite of all pretense about its noble purposes and beneficial effects, usually results in making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The prosecution contended that by doing these things we

were discouraging enlistment. After having read all about our organization in the newspapers, the jurors who tried us were no doubt convinced that this was one of our minor offenses. In 1918, it would have been possible to have convicted us of anything, no matter how preposterous.

Members of the I. W. W. were advised (in our weekly newspaper Solidarity) to register, but to register as "I. W. W. opposed to war." This was done in order to record a moral protest against what we conceived to be the inevitable onrush toward world disaster. **Further than this expression of disapproval, we committed no act that could possibly be construed as criminal or "overt".**

We did not rashly seek to array our feeble strength against the colossal sweep of the world conflagration. No matter how sharp our disapproval, nor how clearly we foresaw the ruin and devastation it would bring, we were not so foolish as to imagine that we could stop the war. We felt we had done all in our power by stating the truth as we saw it. Among the 166 of us who were indicted in the Chicago case, three were dead, two had never existed, one had never been a member, and three were out of the country. There was only one eligible for military service who failed to register.

Very few of us knew one another until we were herded together in the dark cells of the Cook county jail in Chicago. Only a minority of those arrested were paid officials of the union; the majority were miners, loggers, and other workers indicted hit-or-miss, so they might serve as an example to terrify other workers.

Punishment Severest In America

The reaction of our union to the war was identical with that of the advanced section of the labor movement the world over. Surely the war lords of America did not expect every one in the land to

agree with their project at once and without discussion of any kind! At that time, wisely or unwisely, we raised our voices in dissent. If that was a culpable act, we have been punished for it far more savagely than the dissenters of any other civilized country on the globe.

Persecution is not new to us. Some day the truth about the incredible atrocities perpetrated upon class-conscious workers in the Land of the Free will become known to the people. At present one could hardly recount them to the average press-chloroformed citizen without being suspected of *dementia persecutoria.* Our imprisonment is only one episode in the story of the labor movement of America, only an incident in the history of the union to which we belong.

Raiding of numberless union halls, indiscriminate shooting and slugging of union workers, the tar and feathers of Tulsa, the rifles and machine guns of the mob at Bisbee, the rope which broke the neck of Frank Little, who was taken from the bed where he lay with a broken leg—these and many other crimes against us were winked at by the capitalist press and actually aided and abetted by the officials whose business it was to penalize such offenses. The victims of these outrages, and not the perpetrators of them, languish in prison.

Nation Swept By Storm Of Lies

This was the atmosphere which pervaded the country when we were arrested. Even the minds of well-meaning persons, with no reason to hate us, were lashed into fury by lies in the press, in the movies, and from the rostrum. "Spies" and "disloyalists" must be hunted down at all costs and without delay.

There was an ear at every keyhole, and an eye at every pane. Every one was watched except those respectable and patriotic grafters, who thinking in terms of millions and whooping it up for the war,

already had their arms in government funds up to the elbows. Cant was rewarded with preferment and real devotion to the country's welfare with abuse and imprisonment.

The profiteers of big business were as secure then as now, despite the weak gesture now being made to bring them to justice. It was the period of the White Terror in America, a dark hour never dreamed of by the pioneers who turned the virgin sod, nor by the revolutionary idealists who promulgated the Declaration of Independence as a challenge to the political tyrannies of the world.

Our homes and halls were raided without proper authority. Our private effects and correspondence were destroyed or seized without proper warrants and used against us both before the grand juries for indictments and before trial juries for convictions. The sabre rattled continually during our day in court, and the scraping of the spurs of army officers who fought the war in swivel-chairs was frequently heard.

The first jury panel in the Chicago case was dismissed upon the flimsiest of pretexts by a vindictive and thwarted prosecution. Defense witnesses, before our very eyes, were intimidated, brow-beaten, or arrested. And what was even more disastrous to us, the efforts of our friends to raise funds for our defense were hampered in every conceivable way.

The government did everything possible to wreck our defense. The following facts are matters of record, which have never been disputed.

After our arrest in 1917, the General Defense Committee was organized in Chicago to protect our interests. Realizing the desperate need for publicity about the various I. W. W. cases, the committee caused tracts to be published in an effort to set forth our side of the controversy. Numerically these were of little importance compared with the ocean

of newspaper lies which deluged us daily. But they were all we had.

On December 17, 1917, an army of United States marshals and detectives raided the General Defense Committee's headquarters on a search warrant admittedly void (in fact the warrants used against us were stated by the U. S. Court of Appeals to have been defective). All work in the printing department and defense offices was arbitrarily stopped—mailing, addressing, everything. The defense committee was put out of touch with attorneys, witnesses, investigators, and all contributors to the defense funds.

For twelve days the police camped on the premises. On the twelfth day they were compelled by a court order to vacate. **But before the police relieved the place of their presence, government agents swooped down with a ten-ton auto truck and carted off vast quantities of defense literature, circulars, envelopes, contribution lists, and even more or less valuable blank paper—practically everything we had. Up to the present writing none of this property has been returned Resultant injury to our defense was incalculable.**

During our trial many documents tending to disprove the government's accusations were not to be found. This was not the case with anything which could be construed by the prosecution as evidence of "guilt".

On February 1, 1918, the Chicago post office authorities, without giving any warning, suddenly held up all mail from our defense headquarters. All letters and bundles were labeled "Nixie, I. W. W." What happened to them we have never learned. The General Defense Committee first heard of this move when correspondents in various parts of the country complained that they had received no

acknowledgment of letters and funds sent to the defense.

On February 10, the Chicago Tribune announced that **300 bags of defense mail had been held up by government order at the Chicago post office. No reason for this action was given. At no time was it claimed that our defense literature was "seditious."** It was not seditious in any sense, but simply truthful.

Evidently the express companies had been admonished to adopt a similar policy, for when the Defense Committee sent them bundles of printed matter for forwarding, the bundles were returned marked "Refused by order of the U. S. government". Not until after our conviction did the express companies alter this policy.

Such tyrannous and illegal practices could have no other aim than the absolute crippling of our defense. The government succeeded in depriving the defense of many thousands of dollars, much invaluable information, and numerous witnesses needed to counteract the charges made in court. Large quantities of letters and money orders never reached the defense. Many arrived too late to be of help in the trial. **After he had been in prison more than a year one defendant received a letter from a prospective witness offering to testify in his behalf!**

In the Chicago case the accused were held in jail for a year before the trial. A military band ensconced conveniently below the courtroom windows, kept up an almost incessant blare of patriotic music while their "crime" was being considered by the jury. A movie theatre near the federal building where the trial was staged, displayed conspicuously a flaming poster advertising "The Menace of the I. W. W." This advertisement was lurid with bombs, torches and bags of German gold. It was in

plain view of the jurors when they went out for meals or recreation.

Verdict Returned In 55 Minutes

Surrounded by this atmosphere, is it surprising that twelve "good men and true" took only 55 minutes to consider the cases of one hundred men—and to convict? A judge whose bitterness in "loyalty" and labor cases has since caused the reversal of at least one case tried before him, sentenced the Chicago group alone to serve 878 years in prison and to pay fines totalling $1,500,000.

Even more flagrant is the Wichita case. The defendants indicted at Wichita were held in jails unspeakably vile and unsanitary for more than two years before being taken to court to have their innocence or guilt determined by a jury of their peers. **Not a fragment of evidence was introduced to show that any of them had ever expressed themselves on the subject of war.** They were members of the I. W. W. That was sufficient.

As a piece of brazen injustice and brutality, the Sacramento case is without parallel in American history. Here the "third degree" was applied so ruthlessly that one defendant, an Oxford graduate, was driven insane. This brutal method was employed in an attempt to force a "confession".

The Sacramento men, with the legal farce of the Chicago trial fresh in their minds and despairing of justice in an American court, refused to participate in their own legal lynching, and remained consistently silent throughout their trial. Stool pigeons, spies and perjurers appeared against them, each laden with envenomed and untruthful evidence. Absurd as these charges were, the Sacramento men disdained to answer. "What would have been the use?" they say. "The trial was only a hollow formality. We were convicted before we went to court just as were the Chicago and Wichita

defendants." This is the attitude they took in adopting the "silent defense".

Sacramento Case Stands Alone

And because no defense was offered and no exceptions made to the irregularity of their trial it was impossible to appeal the Sacramento case and have the industrial counts reversed as was done in the other cases. The injustice of this case stands out by itself because, in contrast to the Chicago trial in which numerous defendants were paid officials of the union, none of these men had been in the employ of the organization. They were common workers selected from thousands in California as a "horrible example". Any of the others among the thousands would have served the purpose as well, and would have been convicted as easily.

Captain Alexander Sydney Lanier, of the U. S. Military Intelligence Corps, in a painstaking review of the evidence against the I. W. W. in the Chicago case saw clearly the injustice done to us. With the facts of that case resting heavily on his conscience, as he said, he made a noteworthy appeal to President Wilson.

"I am of the opinion," he declared, "that these men were convicted contrary to the law and the evidence, solely because they were leaders in a revolutionary organization against which public sentiment was incensed and the verdict rendered was in obedience to public hysteria and popular demand, due to the hysteria of the time."

The I. W. W. cases were tried in widely separated parts of the country—Chicago, Kansas City, Kansas; and Sacramento, California. The sentences imposed by the trial judges ranged from twenty years to nothing at all!

And how is one to explain the inequality of the sentences given to the members of the three groups of prisoners? The three groups were tried before different judges, under a blanket indictment, and

for the same offense. On a trumped-up "conspiracy" charge of this sort the work of determining the various degrees of technical "guilt" must be very difficult indeed.

In the Chicago case, 15 men were sentenced to 20 years each; 33 men to 10 years each; 33 men to five years each; one man to 18 months; 12 men to one year and one day; two men to 10 days in the county jail; while four received no sentence at all. The irony of this unprecedented example of judicial barbarity is made keener, to one familiar with the facts of the case, by the haphazard manner in which these sentences were parcelled out.

Judge Had Prima-Donna Nerves

Two Chicago I. W. W., for instance, suddenly had their time extended from a year and a day to 20 years because of remarks uttered by them which ruffled the judge's prima-donna nerves. A moment later His Honor saw fit to drop from the case one of the foreign-language editors, a man long active in the I. W. W. organization. With one exception, the remaining editors were given the maximum sentence of 20 years. "Wisely or unwisely," Judge Landis often remarked, "the law has given **me** the power to decide what sentences shall be imposed."

Mr. Daugherty has said this: "In the Debs and similar cases, a reasonable punishment is necessary as an example to others, and when this is accomplished, there is no justification for further punishment. Debs has been imprisoned for two years and eight months. The law has been vindicated and a lesson taught which will never be eradicated from the pages of history . . . **Undoubtedly in the case of Debs a far heavier sentence was imposed than would have been imposed upon another citizen for like utterances."**

But Debs received a sentence of only 10 years, while 15 I. W. W. members received sentences of 20 years each. In the light of Mr. Daugherty's state-

ments, what are we to conclude from the fact that relatively unknown workers who were convicted on the same charge as Debs were given sentences twice as heavy, have served twice as long, and are still behind the bars?

During the Christmas "act of grace" last year, a man was released from Leavenworth who had been sentenced for the crime of leaving the United States illegally during the war and selling the plans of American machine guns to German officers in Mexico. This man was released by commutation.

His crime was forgiven, but more than 100 I. W. W. remained behind the walls! Is this also a "lesson that will never be eradicated from the pages of history?"

Our trials, such as they were, and the appeals accorded us, are said to have filled all the requirements of justice. Our conviction, in part, has been upheld by the Appellate Courts, and in all three cases refused consideration by the United States Supreme Court. In the estimation of the enemies of labor we are the type of men who belong in prison on general principles.

According to the records in the prison office, we shall remain here until our sentences of 10 or 20 years are served—the last of us leaving the big front gate, if we serve our full sentence, in 1940. And now we are told that we must either beg mercy for a crime that we did not commit, and make the proper gesture of repentance, or remain in prison until we are released by expiration of sentence.

We Stand Unshaken, Cost What It May

In the face of such an alternative, we have decided to stand by our principles, no matter what the cost. We cannot see that an application for clemency would be anything but a repudiation of the principles of civil liberty we were arrested for upholding. The I. W. W. has waged many free speech fights in the past. Its members have always

stood firm whenever the right of free speech was threatened. We are standing firm now.

We are not opposed to applications for clemency on general grounds. We can conceive of circumstances which would make it expedient for labor prisoners to make such applications, if the ends of the labor movement would be served by so doing. In such cases we are not seeking to establish a precedent. But in matters of principle, conscience and civil rights, we believe men can serve best by unfaltering devotion to the ideas they are committed to uphold.

From the time of our arraignment until now, we have steadfastly maintained our innocence. And we do not feel disposed to lie ourselves into freedom now—not even as a matter of expediency in filling out the forms conforming to Departmental procedure. We are well aware that the machinery of justice does not recognize that innocent men may be in prison, but when such is the fact we believe it is asking too much to expect the victims themselves to gloss over the delinquencies of their persecutors.

We decline for several reasons to make the hypocritical gesture of recantation, but chiefly because we are convinced that history will some day vindicate our stand and brand our vindictive persecution as one of the things of which America has just reason to be ashamed.

Ideals Cannot Be Altered By Force

We believe in and uphold civil liberties because we are convinced that only through open and free discussion can the right idea prevail. Ideals are matters which cannot be altered by force. We claim that the honest convictions of the human mind cannot be caged with iron bars; we claim that the stream of human progress cannot be dammed with prison walls.

Our bitterness does not count; it is only to be

expected. But the thing which does count is that for years the incidents of our persecution will be remembered with growing exacerbation by our friends outside of these walls. These things will be recalled by the workers of America every time the injunction, the bayonet, and the anti-labor laws are used against them when they strike to better their conditions. It will serve as an example of class discrimination in a republic that pretends to treat rich and poor alike.

What We Are Asked To Give Up

Unjust imprisonment everywhere breeds more bitterness than repentance, more hatred than fear, more impatience with the law than respect for it. In our case we are told to remain in prison until we give up certain ideas which we have long held.

What are those opinions which we are called upon to give up?

First, the class struggle. We believe the class struggle to be a scientific fact, like the circulation of the blood or the law of gravitation, and that understanding of the class struggle makes possible the only logical explanation of the history of the race. Are we to be kept in torture until, like Galileo we recant, reserving the *e pur si muove* for the consolation of our own souls?

Second, the idea of the solidarity of labor. We must forever forswear our belief in the necessity for a One Big Union of Labor, or we will not be permitted to associate with our fellow men. This we cannot and will not do. Every man among us will die firm in the belief that the unification of the divided forces of labor is the only salvation for the working class.

Third, our criticism of the so-called "rights of private property." We still believe it criminal for a few social parasites to be permitted to own the means of production upon which the masses of mankind depend for food, clothing and shelter. Our

belief in the social ownership of the socially-used machinery of production will remain unshaken in spite of all the further persecutions that may be heaped upon us.

Fourth and last, our conviction that wars are largely the result of capitalistic intrigues for plunder and spheres of influence. We still believe that wars are a calamity and a curse rather than a benefit to the human race. And we believe that only an enlightened working class can make wars impossible. Nothing we have learned of world events since we came to prison has tended to show that we are wrong in our estimate of these things.

We serve notice upon the men who directed our inquisition that their medieval methods of seeking to change the convictions of human minds by force have failed. If it is their intention to keep us in prison until we admit we are wrong about those things, they might as well throw away the keys at once. They will never need them.

It may be said that we are not behind the bars for our opinions, but for a "conspiracy" to violate specific laws. Why then, we ask, are only workingmen, adhering to the above mentioned industrial heresies, held in prison? Why were all the alleged violators of war laws, save ourselves, released long ago? From A. Mitchell Palmer's report, as Attorney General, we understand that **there were 946 convictions under the so-called Espionage Act. Of that number 418 were convicted in court. But out of the 418 convicted, only 71 I. W. W. members and five others are now behind the bars.**

To those who are inclined to doubt our assertion that we are imprisoned for the crime of being workingmen with "unpopular" opinions, we wish to call attention to the following men convicted in the United States courts for violating the Espionage

Act. These men never entered prison. They are all bankers, politicians, millionaires:

Rolf, Vermont, millionaire manufacturer. Pardoned.

Peters, Minnesota, millionaire politician. Pardoned.

Bliss, Virginia, millionaire politician. Dismissed.

Scodny, New York, millionaire politician. Dismissed.

Spivey, Arkansas, millionaire politician. Pardoned.

McElfish, New Jersey, carpet king. Pardoned.

Ramsey, Rhode Island, button king. Pardoned.

Dierks, Ohio, banker. (Served six days). Pardoned.

In addition to these, we know of many men convicted on criminal charges, like O'Connor and Powell, given leniency because they were "moneyed men", and James Dorsey, millionaire dealer in tubercular cattle. Dorsey's sentence was cut repeatedly, until he was finally released without doing more than a small portion of his sentence. We know of no case where poor men were shown similar consideration.

If it is still contended that we are guilty in some degree of working against the prosecution of the government's war aims, we call attention to the following convicted German agents—all caught red-handed while doing the sordid work of the Imperial German Government. These men served their little

time with us, but have long since gone into the world again:

Von Bopp, plotter and dynamiter. Paroled to Germany.

Von Shack, plotter, dynamiter and spy. Paroled to Germany.

Von Rintelen, plotter, dynamiter and spy. Paroled to Germany.

Von Brinken, plotter, dynamiter and spy. Commuted.

Von Hausen, plotter, dynamiter and spy. Commuted.

Von Lichten, plotter, dynamiter and spy. Commuted.

There may be mentioned also Ritz, commuted after 63 days in prison; Froewerck, paroled after his sentence had been cut from 10 years to one year and a day; Sipert (partner of Froewerck) who received a commutation of sentence. But probably the most atrocious of the German spy cases is that of Jacobsen (of Welland Canal plot fame) known as Germany's arch-spy, dynamiter, and poisoner and the man who financed many of Germany's anti-war intrigues in the United States, Canada, and the Orient. This worthy was commuted after serving only 64 days in prison. He was frequently heard to boast that he "had too much money to remain in prison." Jacobsen was not even deported! At present he is managing a profitable real estate business in Chicago.

Comparatively few bona fide German spies were ever prosecuted under the Espionage Act. To the best of our knowledge, none of them is now in prison.

We are under the impression that the Espionage

Act was designed, as the name implies, to rid the country of the menace of **espionage**—spying in the interests of hostile powers. We believe that the American people thought this law was to be used against men like those mentioned above, instead of against American workingmen like ourselves.

The conclusion forced upon us by all this is that we are not being held as bona fide violators of the Espionage Act, nor for working against the government's war program, as did the German spies and dynamiters. All the spies and dynamiters have long been at liberty. They were all pardoned, commuted or paroled.

For some reason our crime is considered more heinous than theirs, more reprehensible than the crimes of thieves, pimps, perverts and paranoiacs. **Four thousand men convicted of felonious offenses have entered and departed from these walls since we were brought here.** We are now reckoned among the "old-timers". There are at present only a hundred odd men in Leavenworth who were here when we arrived.

Even the confessed and convicted German spy receives commutation without application, while we are expected to beg for mercy.

Seven of our number have died, four have gone insane, two with virulent tuberculosis are slowly dying in the steel-barred T. B. ward. One boy is doing his third year in isolation—in The Hole. There is not one of us who will not bear the scars of the prison until he dies.

We rest our case, Mr. President, with the highest court of all, the great mass of thinking workers in America. We know that if they could know the truth about our case, they would not consent to our further imprisonment.

To those who do know the truth, we say:

"Go, traveller, to Sparta, and say that we lie here on the spot at which we were stationed to defend our country."

Signed at Leavenworth Penitentiary on a day in August, 1922, by the following 52 members of the Industrial Workers of the World:

20-Year Prisoners

A. V. Azuara
Richard Brazier
Ralph Chaplin
Forrest Edwards
Charles L. Lambert
James Rowan
Sam Scarlett

10-Year Prisoners

Elmer Anderson
G. J. Bourg
Harry Brewer
Robert Connellan
Alexander Cournos
C. W. Davis
Pete De Bernardi
Mortimer Downing
Frank Elliott
Joe Graber
John Graves
Harry Gray
Peter Green
Henry Hammer
William Hood
Bert Lorton
Chris Luber
J. A. MacDonald
Philip McLaughlin

10-Year Prisoners

George O'Connell
John Potthast
James Quinlan
Vincent Santelli
Don Sheridan
Archie Sinclair
James Slovick
Myron Sprague
James P. Thompson
J. Tori
John I. Turner
George Voetter
John Walsh

5 to 9-Year Prisoners

Edward Carey
J. T. Doran
John Foss
Wencil Francik
F. J. Gallagher
Harrison George
Oscar Gordon
H. F. Kane
W. H. Lewis
Harry Lloyd
Charles H. MacKinnon
Michael Sapper
Herbert Stredwick

EDITOR'S NOTE.—In addition to the 52 men whose signatures appear above, there should be mentioned the names of three others who reluctantly made application for individual consideration

when urged to do so by the 52, because of the critical state of their health. These three are Caesar Tabib and Edward Quigley, who are now going down the dark road of tuberculosis in the prison hospital at Leavenworth, and Frederick Esmond, who is in St. Elizabeth's Hospital at Washington, D. C.



YOU WHO ARE NOT IN PRISON OWE SOMETHING TO THESE MEN

This vital human document must be put into the hands of 1,000,000 workers. It is a new chapter of American history, a record of the shameful deeds perpetrated against a group of uncompromising workers in the name of the war in Europe.

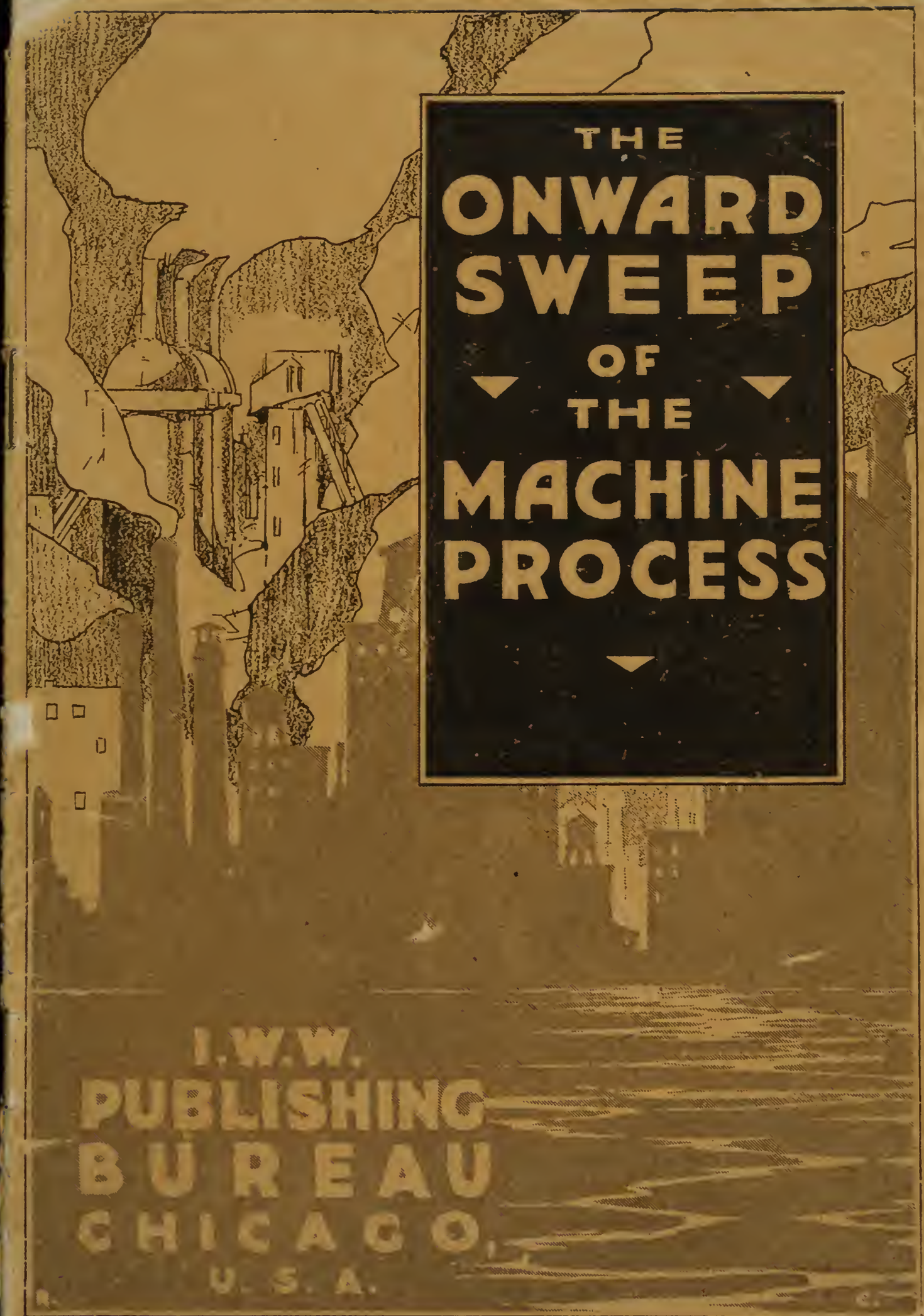
These men have been in prison five years. Two of them are slowly dying of tuberculosis in Leavenworth, another is broken with neuritis, two have been driven insane, but they have clung to their principles that the lines for free speech in America might be kept open.

You who are not behind the bars owe something to these workers. They took the brunt of the attack upon the fundamental liberties of the people. They did not recant, even when freedom was promised as a reward.

We need money to issue another edition of this pamphlet immediately. We need your active untiring work in circulating it.

How much will you give toward the cost of printing and mailing? Send your contribution today. And send us names of people to whom this Leavenworth statement ought to be sent.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.



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The Onward Sweep of the Machine Process.

By Nils H. Hanson.

In the good old times, when the machine was just beginning to come in to do the work done by the human hand, it happened something like this:

The Past.

Mr. Jones is a shoemaker employing one hundred men. Mr. Smith owns another factory employing the same number of men. In both these factories the shoes are made by hand. No machines are used. Every bit of leather is cut by hand, and every stitch made by hand. All polishing is done by hand, and one man makes the whole pair of shoes. He takes the piece of leather, cuts it, sews it, puts it together, and finishes the shoe. He gets hold of more leather and makes another pair, and so another and another. He keeps it up, fitting, nailing, sewing, and brushing pair after pair.

There are no big factories. Most work is done in small shops, and by individuals, one or two or a few men perhaps being hired. This holds good not only in the process of making shoes, but also in other lines of work. We see the dressmakers and the tailors sitting sewing clothes by hand, with a few men or women helping them, besides some apprentices learning the trade.

In these days there is no machinery at all. We hear no factory whistles blow; no trains send their shriek

through the mountains; no street cars clang; and no trucks rumble along loaded with the necessities of life. Transportation is done by horse teams. Everything is done on a small scale. Most stores are small mixed stores, about the size of the country grocery of modern times.

A Change.

But while everything is going on so slowly, and the people are living quietly, there comes the invention of machinery. Someone, for example, saw it was easier to turn a rock with a bar than by hand. He began to figure whether or not that couldn't be used to a larger degree in different walks of life. The idea spread out and like wildfire it seems to be apparent most everywhere at once. Instead of the old horse-back methods, stages, and the slow transportation, trains are beginning to run and the factory whistle blows.

Instead of making shoes by hand the machine comes in to do the greater part of the work. And, to use the illustration we started with, Mr. Jones, having a trifle more cleverness than his rival, installs some machinery. He rubs his hands with delight on finding that with the machine he won't need more than half of the men he now employs. The machines in his factory, he lays off fifty of his men, because he can now get as much work done by fifty as before by a hundred hands. Also he can make his shoes cheaper than can that other fellow, Smith. He can put down the price of shoes and still be able to pay for all the machinery he has bought. So he sells his shoes at a lower price, and gains more customers. Smith sees this, begins to scratch his head, and finally decides that in order to keep up in competition he also has got to install machinery. So Smith buys some machines and lays off about half of his men also.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Smith both have now installed machinery, which, put together, displaces one hundred men. With fifty men each they are able to make just as many

pairs of shoes a day as they used to do with a hundred, and to sell their product cheaper and still make more profit.

The Result.

So we see that those two shoemakers alone lay off one hundred men. Each one still has fifty men working for, say, $2 a day. As time passes and the one hundred men outside can't find any work—because machinery is coming in rapidly in other branches of work also, and consequently men are being laid off everywhere—some of these fifty who used to work for Smith come to him and say: "Mr. Smith, I want some work. I've got to live; I've got a wife and some kids depending on me, and we've got to live somehow. If you'll only give me a chance to work again, I'll work for 25 or 50 cents less a day than I used to."

Smith's face begins to shine, because now he sees a chance to make more money yet. He sees a chance of cutting the wages. So after he has his scheme worked out he walks over to some of those working for him, saying: "Boys, I have a proposition to make. I've got to have this work done cheaper; I can't pay you more than $1.50 a day, and I can't use anybody who won't work for that."

This causes some of the men working for him to quit. As they leave, Smith opens the window, waves his hand to some of those fifty he laid off when the machines came along, and tells them if they want to work for $1.50, all right; if not, he can't use any of them. Some of them are already so hungry they eagerly shout at the top of their voices that they will work for $1.25 a day, if only given a chance.

Over in Jones' shop the same thing is happening. So now we have the wages down to $1.50 and $1.25, and still more men are outside ready soon to work for a dollar a day. Then something happens: Someone gets an idea into his head that if that keeps up, pretty soon they

won't get any wages at all. So he proposes that, in order to uphold their interests, those outside the factory get together with those working in the factory.

And thus we have a union in embryo. The men begin to realize that if they want to live they will have to get together, all of them, and by so doing force their employers to pay them something for their work.

The Master's Method.

The above may not be exactly as it did happen, when the machinery came, but it is an illustration that holds good in general.

Since that time machinery has been improved; instead of the small individual workshop we have today the modern factory employing thousands of men and women. But the conditions created by the first machines still exist—although today we don't see the slaves in fifties or hundreds only outside the working places, but by the thousands, hundreds of thousands, and millions. Today they are standing outside the shops, factories, mills and mines, the same as the fifty, where the first machine factory whistle blew. And as machinery began to become dominant in society, those owning this machinery began to form organizations also, till today we have the employers' organizations—the trusts and the merchants' and manufacturers' associations. Since the time when the first machines made the workers get together they have kept on getting together—and they are still at it.

At first the shoemaker stood alone, competing with the other shoemakers. Then came the organizing of these "shoemakers" or shoe manufacturers, in order to uphold their interests. Today no shoes, or very few, are made by hand. They are mostly made in big factories, employing thousands of men and women. Not one of these workers could make a whole pair of shoes if he tried to. Everything is specialized; each worker does one little part of the whole, then it goes to the next, and so on down the line. The human being gets so used to his

movements that his body becomes formed accordingly—he becomes a living mechanism of production.

The Skilled Man—The Molder.

Of late years machinery has been installed rapidly. There isn't one line of work which cannot be done, to some extent at least, by machines. Take the molder's trade for instance. No molder of 25 or 30 years ago dreamed that there would ever be any machines doing molding. He knew that it required the sensitive touch of the artist to finish a mold; he knew that the sand had to be just so hard, and never did he think that a dead thing, a machine, could pack the sand just right. But today there are foundries having machines which ram the sand for more than fifty men. Five men can do more work with these machines than could sixty by hand. Everything fits together, and there is hardly a sensitive touch by the human hand needed any more. The sand is shoveled in (in some foundries the sand comes down from above and no shovel is needed, either); the flask is put on a "gumper" (name of one kind of machine used for heavy work), the molder turns a handle, and the machine gives a jerk which packs the sand together; the molder counts the jerks and, what would perhaps have needed all day to do by hand, takes only a couple or a few seconds to perform with the machine.

And there are dozens of different molding machines. Some small ones, used on bench work, make one mold every minute. So this trade, which used to take (and is still SUPPOSED to take, of course) three or four years to learn, can now be picked up in a few days, a few weeks or few months at the limit. Now in case the molders go out a few unskilled can soon be broken in to do the work. As old molders usually say: "Nowadays they bring him in at seven in the morning and at ten he is a molder." Of course there is still some molding that requires skill, but it is getting less every year and will soon be a thing of the past. And so it is in

every line of work. "The machine of wood and iron is taking the place of the machine of flesh and blood."

When the machines first appeared, the workers began to organize in small bodies—just big enough to fight the small masters of those days. As these masters began to get bigger, it was a natural consequence that the workers' organizations had to get bigger also. And as the employers began to organize to get control, not only of one shop or a few shops, one town or a few towns, but of the industries from coast to coast, from one land to another, the workers saw that the only way to fight them would be by organizing on the same lines as they did. Therefore the workers' organization grew from the small one to the big body of men—with units in every part of the country and with similar organizations seeking to form an international.

In the beginning, when the masters were only partly organized, an organization of the workers by craft was apparently sufficient to safeguard their interests. Within the limits only of each separate trade or craft these unions organized (and still organize) the workers; each one of these unions pulled each in its own direction, and solidarity of labor was an impossibility.

Another thing was that the masters got together in big industrial organizations; it began to be hard for the craft unions to cope with the situation—and so the industrial union was born. In this union all the workers in any industry stand together side by side, and strike together so as to completely stop the production of the shop or of the entire industry, when strikes are necessary.

Unfortunately, we still have the craft organization, as well as the contract system. The workers are split up, so that when the miners, for instance, go on strike in one place or one part of the country other "organized" miners in other parts of the country are working overtime to fill the orders. They have signed a "contract" with the employers (a piece of paper which "binds" them together, though it never binds the employers), so they can't

help each other or get unity of action. But there are thousands of workers who are beginning to realize that they have nothing in common with the employer they are working for. While the craft unions (the American Federation of Labor) says that the workers must organize to get a "fair share" of what they produce, the industrial organization (the Industrial Workers of the World) says that the workers must organize to get all they produce. The I. W. W. also says: "The workers made the machines, and the workers run the machines; therefore, by God, the machines should also belong to the workers."

The Future.

The number of those making millions out of the hides of the workers is increasing, at the same time as the number of those starving is increasing. In 1861 there was only one millionaire in the United States; today there are over 40,000 of them, with a good many owning hundreds of millions.

The number of parasites is increasing constantly and at the same time the bread lines are getting longer and larger. No longer are there individual shoemakers, or fifty or a hundred men only thrown out of work—but today we have the whole of organized society, with its murderous institutions, jails, pens, militia, armies and navies, pitted against the men and women who are closed out because of modern machinery. In order to change this and to do away with the misery, injustice and degradation caused by this grinding "civilization," the workers must organize on such lines that they can all stand together and meet the organized masters with a union just as widely, well, and powerfully organized as is their enemy's; and thus, by tying up ALL THE INDUSTRIES at once, change the whole to a better world—a world of the workers.

That is what the workers of all ages have been after—a better world. No one knows the suffering better than the slave himself, and therefore it must be he who must free himself from the lash of the masters. Noth-

ing can be stronger than the working class, when all the workers are properly organized; when they all stand together, the same as the masters do today. And none are higher and better than the ones who produce everything needed in sustaining life.

The machines are today used to enslave the workers, while they could be used to help the workers and society as a whole. Practically all inventions and everything worth while are made by the workers; and as soon as they wake up to the fact that everything—machines, industries and all should belong to those only who produce, and who do useful labor—then they need not suffer any longer, because then the machine—the real organizer—will be a blessing to the human race, instead of a curse as it is today.

Then will come the time about which poets all through the ages have dreamed; the time which broken-hearted, sweating toilers, men and women, have suffered for; the time which the Industrial Workers of the World is fighting for, and will fight for until the workers come to their own, and the master and the slave shall have disappeared from the earth.

Industrial Efficiency and Its Antidote.

By T. Glynn.

If indications count for anything, Australia is shortly going to be quite up to date in the science of exploitation. Though local exploiters have never exhibited any other tendencies than those characteristic of their class throughout the world in this respect, still their economic experts and politicians, Labor and Liberal alike, would appear to be of the opinion that there are a few tips on the "scientific" management of labor which their Australian paymasters would do well to study. So the various State Governments have jointly agreed to import a gentleman from U. S. A., "the land of the free and the home of the slave," where the art of wringing the last ounce of surplus-value out of the worker's hide has of late years made more progress than in any other country in the world.

The subject of "Industrial Efficiency" was briefly dealt with in a recent issue of "Direct Action" in reply to an article which appeared on the subject in the Sydney "Sun," but as the matter is evidently going to develop into something more than a "pious wish" on the part of the master class and their press, a more detailed explanation of the manner in which "scientific management" works out, so far as the worker is concerned, is necessary.

Perhaps one could not do better in this respect than

quote the following extract from an article on the subject in the Sydney "Morning Herald" of June 19:

After pointing out that in "an ideal state of things the savings effected would be distributed between all three," capitalist, wage-worker, and consumer, the writer lets the cat out of the bag, so far as the capitalist system being "an ideal State" is concerned, by informing us that: "At the Bethlehem Steel Works wages were increased 60 per cent in this way. The new system of work here raised the output of iron per man from 16 to 59 tons, and the aggregate wages bill, despite the increase in the rate, was cut down by about $80,000 per annum. The net result, as Hobson points out, was in this case all in favor of the employers."

Whoever "Hobson" may be, it was scarcely necessary for him to point out such a very obvious fact. As we are not given the value of the total wages, or the value of the aggregate output, it is impossible in this case to determine the rate of surplus value (the proportion of profits to wages) realized by the employers; but, nevertheless, it is clear that if the rate of wages increased by 60 per cent (which, by the way, may be taken with the proverbial grain of salt), and the aggregate wages decreased by $80,000, somewhere in the neighborhood of 50 per cent of the workers formerly employed went to swell the "capitalist reserve army," the unemployed.

This is, as a matter of fact, how every scheme for intensifying exploitation, whether it be euphoniously called "scientific management" or any other name, must eventually, by the natural laws of capitalist production, work out.

Let us assume that the total social capital advanced in wages for a given period be equal to 100. If, in the process of production, values equal to 200 are produced we have a rate of surplus value equal to 100 per cent. (We leave aside the consideration of the value of the raw material, etc., as such value is always incorporated

in the new product, and, therefore, in the long run, costs the capitalist nothing.)

Now if, by "scientific management" or other schemes for increasing the intensity of labor, the total values produced are increased to 250, we have still the same result, so far as the material position of the worker is concerned, only the rate of surplus-value, or, to put it more boldly, the rate at which he is robbed, has increased by 50 per cent.

The capitalist plea for Industrial Efficiency therefore, at best, merely amounts to saying to the worker: "The more you allow me to rob you, the more of the proceeds of the robbery I will be enabled to pay you." If, however, values equal to 200 are only needed to supply the solvent demand, we have the same result as that pointed out by the "Herald" scribe in the case of the Bethlehem Steel Works. Hand in hand with the increase in the intensity of labor goes unemployment, with the starvation and misery which follows in its train. And yet we have "economists" who pretend that the education of the working class is their first desire, and politicians of every stripe, informing us that the salvation of the workers lies in increased efficiency!

It may be contended that, as in the case of the Bethlehem Steel Works, the workers actually employed benefit by increased wages. Even assuming this to be the case, what of it? The position of the working class as a whole, is more insecure, more unstable, more parlous than ever. Competition for jobs grows more keen, unemployment becomes intensified in all spheres of industry, and wages ultimately fall, in consequence, to their former level.

II.

The capitalist system of production is conditioned upon three essentials: First, the value of the raw materials, wear and tear of machinery, etc., must be incorporated in the new product; in the second place, the laborer must reproduce the value of his own wages, and,

thirdly, a surplus over and above the value of the capital advanced by the capitalist for the aforementioned requisites. Unless these conditions are fulfilled, we have not the capitalist system of production, but some other; consequently, when we hear reformers, politicians and Labor leaders wailing for "industrial efficiency first, and then a more equitable distribution of wealth," the cry arises either from ignorance of the economic laws underlying capitalism, or from a desire on the part of those who know better to lead the workers into economic quagmires.

It must be obvious at once that any method for increasing surplus value by increased efficiency, longer hours of labor, new inventions, etc., must be welcome to the capitalist; but what is not so apparent, and what the economic apologists of the capitalist system like to conceal, is that such increases have no internal relation whatever to the laws governing wages.

Labor-power being a commodity, its value, like all other commodities, is determined by its cost of production, and, being somewhat inseparable from the laborer, its value, therefore, is based on the minimum of the physical means of subsistence. It may rise above this minimum, according to the standard of social development, the degree of organized resistance to exploitation, or it may fall below, as in times of industrial depression, when unemployment is rife, and when, as frequently happens, the workers starve, not because of "decreased efficiency," but for the very opposite reason, that the markets are glutted with the products of their labor. What must be borne in mind is, and it is fully confirmed by the industrial history of capitalism, that the means of subsistence is the determining factor, the starting point from which all fluctuations in wages must be explained, and not as our "Industrial Efficiency" experts would have us believe, from the total product of the laborer.

Here it might be expedient to ask these advocates of efficiency a pertinent question or two.

If it is a fact that wages are determined by the pro-

ductivity of the laborer, why is it that in the last half-century, when the productiveness of labor by new discoveries and inventions, has been increased a hundredfold, when with the modern means of transportation and communication, the natural resources of what our forefathers called "the ends of the earth" have been brought within helloing distance, so to speak, of the great centers of European population—why is it that the great mass of workers are still getting but the bare means of subsistence and living in constant dread of the bread-line? Or, to make the question easier for our local "economists," why is it, as the figures of the Commonwealth Statistician show, that the Australian worker is receiving today a smaller proportion of his product than ten years ago, despite the fact that, as shown by the same statistics, the laborer's productivity has increased enormously?

Of course these gentry, whose hearts are overflowing with good intentions (?) towards the working class will tell us that things should not be so, that there is "room for improvement in the distribution of wealth," that "nobody sympathizes with the position of the workers more than I do," etc., etc.; but all this is merely equivalent to saying that Capitalism should not be Capitalism; that the capitalist system of production should not bring along its own natural laws; but the workers do not benefit by this insufferable hypocrisy and patronage. As well might they regret the tendency and danger of a smoldering volcano to work havoc among the adjacent inhabitants as soon as a certain degree of heat has been reached. Pious vaporings about an "ideal state of things" and what the worker "ought to get" won't alter facts.

III.

It is sometimes contended that every increase in the employer's profits increases his available capital, and, therefore, enables him to give employment to more wage-laborers, but this plea, as already indicated, is merely a case of robbing Peter to pay Paul. There is another

aspect of the question, however. With the development of the Trust, production, in accordance with the economic demand, is more and more being regulated, always keeping in mind, of course, the solvent demand. As the Trust develops, therefore, there will be an increasing tendency to convert only that portion of the products of labor into capital which is actually needed to supply the economic requirements of society; hence, every increase in the intensity of labor, every method for increasing the total product, "industrial efficiency," in a word, which is so dear to the hearts of our exploiters, will have the very opposite effect to that claimed for it, as a lesser quantity of that portion of capital advanced as wages will be required.

So far as those spheres of industry are concerned, in which the Trust has not yet found a footing, the future of the worker is no less precarious—assuming, of course, that the little schemes of the capitalist class and their efficiency experts are allowed to come to maturity. The history of the capitalist system affords many illustrations of how blind competition among capitalists, with the resultant phenomenon of over-production, affects the economic and social well-being of the workers.

Marx throws a flood of light on this question of over-production in his third volume of "Capital" in dealing with the cotton crisis in Lancashire following the year 1860. Many authorities state that more cotton goods were produced in that year than were absorbed by the world's markets in the following three. As a result, over 50 per cent of the workers were thrown out of employment; those actually employed were obliged to offer themselves for any wages the manufacturers in their benevolence offered, 4 or 5 shillings ($0.96 or $1.20) per week being considered something above the ordinary; young girls left the factories because they could not earn as much as one shilling per week, and begged to be taken into the charitable institutions. One factory inspector reported that "had information concerning self-acting

minders, that is to say, men who operate a few self-actors, who had earned 8/11 ($2.14) after fourteen days of full employment, and their house-rent was deducted from this sum. The manufacturer returned one-half of this rent to them as a gift." Marx parenthetically remarks, "how generous!" Thousands were obliged to accept employment on relief work at "a bare ordinary charity sum," those being lucky enough to obtain such work getting the magnificent wages of from 5 to 12 shillings ($1.20 to $2.88) per week, this last mentioned amount only being given to men with families of eight!

"It was," says Marx, "in a way, a golden age for the manufacturers, for the laborers had either to starve or work at any price profitable for the bourgeois. The Assistance Committee acted as watch-dogs. At the same time the manufacturers, in secret agreement with the Government, hindered emigration as much as possible, either for the purpose of having their capital, invested in the flesh and blood of the laborers, ready at hand, or of safe-guarding the squeezing of rent out of the laborers."

To what does all this point? Unmistakably to the fact that every minute worked by the cotton operatives, over and above the time actually required to reproduce their wages, every time a worker hastened across the floor of the factory when he might have walked more leisurely, every time a machine was oiled, when it ought to be allowed to run hot, every device of the capitalist for improving efficiency, but hastened the coming of the time when the workers should find themselves on the street corner, the unpitied wretches of a system that rewards them for their industry by starving them.

"But," someone will say, "this was in the sixties." Capitalism has not changed its nature since. Whatever restraint may have been placed on the Beast since those days—and it does not amount to much—his natural tendency is still to run amuck, and the advocates of "efficiency" are just the gentlemen who desire the workers

to slacken their hold on the reins. Besides, if it were necessary, numerous occurrences of late years could be given as an example of the effects of over-production, its demoralizing effects upon the condition of the working class. The reader probably will doubtless recall some instances in which he himself was perilously near the bread-line after the boss had informed him "the job was finished" or "times were slack." Enough has been said to show that where competition reigns in production, every wail for industrial efficiency on the part of the master class and their satellites is at bottom but a cry for more profits, and should sound a note of warning to the workers if an increased proportion of their numbers is not to be dumped on the human scrap-heap.

IV.

To the student of economic development, this loudly manifested anxiety of the capitalist class for productive efficiency comes as no surprise. The rapidity with which Japan, South America and other hitherto backward countries, have entered into the arena of capitalist production is, wherever industry is not internationally trustified, engendering an ever keener competition for markets between the capitalists of the various countries, and the kudos will naturally gravitate towards that country where efficiency has reached the highest pitch; in other words, the country where "scientific management of the human factor," as the "Herald" expresses, has increased the rate of surplus value above all others.

Unfortunately, in Australia statistical returns give us but a bare indication of what that rate may be in this country. The figures for the manufacturing industries in 1913, for instance, tell us (and it must not be forgotten that the statistician is more or less dependent upon the good faith of the manufacturers) that the value added in the labor process to the materials of production was 65 millions, and the total wages paid 33 millions. At first glance this would indicate a rate of surplus value of approximately 100 per cent. But the

capital advanced as wages may not have been one-fifth of 33 million pounds. It depends, among other things, upon the turn-over.

Let us take a simple illustration: I invest a capital of £200 in productive industry, £100 for raw material —the further consideration of which is immaterial for the present argument—and £100 as capital reserved for wages. Assuming the capital is turned over four times a year, and that the value added in the labor process, as in Australian manufactures, exceeds wages by 100 per cent, at the end of three months I realize the total capital advanced as wages, with an additional value of £100. The process is repeated in the second, third and fourth quarters of the year, at the end of which, with a smile of complacency at my munificence, I hand the Government official, whose business it is to collect such data, a return bearing the items, "wages paid, £400," "value added by manufacture, £800." The figures are duly published in the capitalist press, and the wages bill is exclusively dwelt upon to the exclusion of all else; the workers are castigated for "trying to cripple industry," and leading articles and speeches on "Industrial Efficency," if the same wages are to be maintained, are the order of the day. I wink the other eye, for deep down in the business department of my capitalistic heart I know that the total capital advanced by me as wages did not exceed £100 at any period during the year, and the rate of surplus value was, therefore, in reality, not 100 per cent, but 400. I began the old year with a capital of £100 reserved for wages. I enter the new with the same capital, after all dead expenses have been met, and a nice little bonus ungrudgingly handed over to me by the workers, who are duly grateful for my being so kind as to give them—work! They will be given "work" till eternity, provided they give me, as formerly, the product. Nay, I may also (provided the slave market is abundantly stocked, in case of trouble) take the tip of my "economic experts" and put the stop-watch and

cinematograph on their movements, in order that some of them may doubly appreciate the "benefits" of work when they find themselves unemployed as a consequence of my "scientific management."

Is not this the game that is being played before the workers' eyes at this moment? What is the solution? "One Big Union," replies some one. But One Big Union won't materialize in a day. *The antidote to the "Industrial Efficiency" cry lies in an immediate agitation for a shorter work-day, combined with the intelligent adoption of ca' canny, "go easy" and other methods of sabotage on the job. This is vitally necessary for all workers, irrespective of their beliefs as to methods of organization, political, religious or racial prejudices. The Surplus Value of the capitalist class must be curtailed, for its every increase strengthens the bonds of slavery. One Big Union alone can entirely strike off the shackles.*

The master class are fully alive to the situation, and, while they are at this particular juncture preying on the workers' credulity with the hypocritical cry of "no classes," they are insidiously and unscrupulously laying their plans for the prosecution of the class war with their usual brutal disregard for the workers' welfare. Let us remember, then, that devolution is possible in human society as well as evolution, that deterioration must as surely follow apathy as progress in our material conditions will follow intelligent agitation and action. "Scientific Management" must be met by "Scientific Sabotage" if the "Law of Progress" is not a law of which the boss is to be left a monopoly.

(Note.—Since the above was written, events brought about by the war indicate that the ruling class is determined to have "increased efficiency" in the workshop, even if it has to be enforced at the point of the bayonet.

The Munitions Act in England is a new move in this direction, and while the war may be the immediate cause of the introduction of this Act, there can scarcely be a doubt that if it becomes justified from the efficiency

standpoint, the principle of compulsion, which means no more nor less than industrial conscription, has come to stay in industry, so far as the master class is concerned.

All this goes once more to show what the I. W. W. unceasingly teaches, that the war against exploitation must of necessity in the future be carried out on the job. Every new move of the master class to increase the intensity of labor, and thereby the total product, calls for a counter move and new tactics on the part of the workers right where such products are created.

This is bound to raise a howl of execration from the efficiency experts; but the revolt of the South Wales miners at present in progress affords a striking illustration of the hypocrisy and falsehood of their economic teaching, showing conclusively that though the workers' output be ever so large, they have to fight stubbornly for every cent wrested from the rapacious hand of the class alone which benefits by efficiency.

This strike also shows that, despite the chloroforming propensities of war-mad jingoes, the instinct of the workers is, at bottom, correct, and affords a better criterion of what constitutes economic truth than all the theorizing of the spectacled "experts" who study the production and distribution of wealth, and the class struggle arising therefrom, from the comfortable depths of an arm-chair.

It is manifest that the war must cause a considerable shortage of labor-power in the market when peace is again restored, as compared with the previous supply. Every possible effort is therefore going to be made to get the last ounce of value out of the labor-power available, and that the master class is fully alive to the occasion the following cable from a recent issue of the "Sun" amply proves:—

SCIENCE IN INDUSTRY.
AN IMPORTANT MOVEMENT.
(Published in the Times.)

LONDON, Tuesday,

A Government White Paper outlines a scheme of

organising and developing industrial scientific research with the object of establishing a permanent body consisting of a Privy Council committee, with a small advisory council, the Privy Council committee to include the Lord President, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary for Scotland, the Presidents of the Boards of Trade and Education, Lord Haldane, Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland, and Mr. Pike Pease.

The advisory council is to consist of the best scientific brains of the country, and its scope will be to promote and organise scientific research in trades and industry, particularly in regard to those suffering through inability to reproduce trade processes which are localized abroad, principally in Germany.

This is significant when judged in conjunction with the clamor for efficiency, now a daily feature in the capitalist press. A shining light of that pet organization of capitalists, known as the Workers' Educational Association, only recently let himself go to the extent of a third of a column in the Sydney "Herald," pointing out that the pensioning of "one-armed, one-legged, one-eyed and stiff-jointed soldiers," when they ought to be employed in industry, was a shameful waste of "productive energy."

There arises too a louder and bolder demand for female and child labor in nearly all branches of industry. The "Weekly Trade Report," the private organ of the Merchants' and Traders' Association of Australasia, not many weeks ago, for instance, brazenly declared that factory legislation must be thrust aside, that, whatever the unions may do, employers must be allowed to take advantage of "women, boys and girls who are willing (!) to work for low wages and long hours!"

Workers would, therefore, do well to hearken to the masters' battle-cry, a cry for their sweat and blood, and

recognize that the real industrial struggles of the class war have yet to be fought. The vacillating and compromising policy of Trade Unionism will no longer suffice. A virile organization knowing no law but that of expediency, ready at all times and by the adoption of any means, to advance the interests of the working class, is an absolute necessity, if we are not to sink into a slavery more damnable than any that history knows of.—T. G.

The Diesel Motor.

By Barbara Lily Frankenthal

Day by day more of the work of the world is taken up by machinery. In a bulletin recently issued by the United States Government, it is estimated that four and one-half million factory hands of the United States turn out a product equal to the hand labor of forty-five million men.

This means that 90 per cent. of the work in the factories is done by machinery, or that one man, with the help of machines, is enabled to produce ten times more than he needs; in other words, to satisfy the wants of one man for one day, a factory worker requires only one hour, instead of ten, as he is working now. For whom does he work the remaining nine hours?

The bankers, brokers, merchants, soldiers and the whole gang of parasites do not produce one day's need in their whole lifetime; they make money, but do not create wealth. But, one might say, the capitalists furnish the machines. But it was the steel mill workers who did that. The capitalists keep them alive while they

are building the machines and then take the machines away from the workers, by power of police, if necessary.

But to come back to the story. A very large part of the machinery in use is driven by steam power, which means largely coal power, and both the getting and the burning of this coal involves a terrible waste of human labor.

First the coal is dug from the mines, where one-third of it is lost or left in such shape that it cannot be used. After being brought to daylight, it is shipped by railroads or ships, sometimes thousands of miles before it comes to the steam engine. Here it is shoveled and burned beneath the boiler to transform the water into steam, by which operation perhaps 90 per cent. of the heat escapes unused through the chimneys.

The steam is led into the cylinder to give the piston the to-and-fro movement through its expansive energy, thereby turning the power wheel. It so happens that ordinarily not more than five per cent. of the stored energy in the coal becomes available for human needs. Even the finest quadruple-expansion engines with all the modern devices for superheated steam, etc., to augment their capacity, do not use more than 15 per cent.

By far a greater advance is represented by the gas engines, in which, by first turning the coal into gas and then exploding this in the motors, more than double the amount of energy now becomes available. In the best types of gas engines the yield rises as high as 25 per cent.; and in Germany the residual products from turning the coal into gas far more than pay the cost of doing this, so that the gain is clear. But all this is commercially feasible only in the great manufacturing centers and the cities, and, consequently, the gas engine, in spite of the great saving it achieves, has yet but a restricted field.

For quite other reasons the same is true of the gasoline, benzine and similar motors such as are used in automobiles. Here the price of petrol is almost pro-

hibitive for commercial purposes and has become increasingly so with the enormous extension of the use of motor cars.

However, we are now on the eve of a new epoch in this line through the invention of Dr. Rudolph Diesel, the German engineer, who so mysteriously disappeared last October on his voyage to England.

It is now 20 years since Dr. Diesel published the first sketch of his remarkable theory and of the motor which was to realize his idea. The motor is simplicity itself. Every schoolboy knows that if air is compressed very sharply it becomes hot and can be used to explode powder, etc., in a tube. Dr. Diesel's plan was to use the stroke of the piston to compress a considerable volume of air into a very small space, so as to put it under a very high pressure; and at the instant the pressure reached a maximum, to force into this chamber a jet of vaporized oil. The compression was to be so high that the air would instantly ignite the oil and burn it under highly favorable conditions. It is a true burning, and not an explosion, as in the ordinary gasoline motor of the automobiles. His idea was taken up by some of the engine works in Germany, but it required fully four years to effect a commercial device. The superiority of the new motor was evident from the first. Actually it realized a full third of the theoretical heat energy of the oil, and this latter did not need to be gasoline or other expensive essence, but could be ordinary crude oil, such as comes out of the earth. The device is self-igniting, requires no auxiliary system and little or no attention.

It was soon found, however, that the new motor had to be made with exceptional care, and that, therefore, the cost of its development for commercial use was high. The fact that capitalists are not interested in progress as such, but in profit, explains why it is that, in spite of the great economies it achieves, the Diesel motor is now only becoming widely known.

In Germany, at the current price of crude oil, the

Diesel motor produces power at from a quarter to a half cent per horse-power-hour. In the United States the cost is rather less. This is far beyond the economy of any other form of engine, and four or five times cheaper than the ordinary steam engine. Its only concurrent is waterpower, and waterpower is not everywhere available, and often requires a heavy outlay that it may be utilized. Crude oil, on the other hand, may be shipped and stored much more easily than coal, and the supply of it is very large and widely distributed over the earth.

The escaping hot gas from the Diesel motor can be employed for heating, and the by-products which can be obtained from it will, it is estimated, under proper conditions, more than cover the cost of the original fuel, so that the Diesel motor promises to rival the waterfall in future as a producer of the world's power. Like the waterfall, it will, under the most favorable conditions, mean that the expense will be simply the fixed charges of a plant and the cost of maintenance.

It is already evident that the Diesel motor will largely displace steam and this will first make itself felt upon the ships, not merely because it realizes four or five times the power from the amount or volume of fuel, but it only occupies, together with the motor, about a quarter of the space required for a steam engine and its boilers and coal bunkers. This new motor has been successfully tried on railroad locomotives and experiments are under way with a view to introduce it for driving automobiles. Most of the leading engine works in Europe have taken up the construction of the Diesel motor in all sizes. A large number of middle-sized ships and various municipal power plants are already driven by it. In the United States a powerful company has just been organized for the purpose of constructing these motors, and the General Petroleum Company in California is going to erect a plant in San Franciso for the construction of motor

ships for the coastwise trade, which, of course, will force the owners of steamers to follow.

Indeed, the development of the crude-oil and coal-tar industry has been so rapid that the running of a Diesel motor may become a source of profit sufficient to cover all charges, and will actually mean power without cost. Consider what this will mean when, at no distant day, nine-tenths of the work of the world will be done by machines operated free of expense!

What the Diesel Motor Means to the Unskilled Laborer.

Unskilled labor is synonymous with cheap manual labor. Why is it cheap labor? Because it is worth little? No, quite the contrary; all the brains of the world could not accomplish anything without the manual, executive labor. It is the creative part of work, while brain effort is the directive one. What is the use of a man that has superior brain and excellent ideas, but no arms to bring them into reality?

The low valuation of manual labor has no original basis. The workers, not having free access to either the sources or the means of production of wealth, are compelled to sell their labor power at the market price. The market price of any commodity is determined by the cost of production of that commodity, varying somewhat according to the relation of supply to demand. The market price of labor power is determined by the cost of production of that labor power, not by the production of that labor's product. Unskilled or manual labor is cheapest everywhere because there are so many who have a chance to do that kind of work, as there is nothing to learn. If so many had a chance to become lawyers, the municipal lodging houses would be besieged by lawyers. As to the cheapness of production, the labor power of the Diesel motor leaves everything far behind. A Chinese laborer in China receives about 10 cents for

a day's work, because it does not require more to keep him alive. One horse power of the Diesel motor turns out at least three or four times the amount of the work of the Chinese laborer for sixty minutes every hour and twenty-four hours every day, without grumbling, rest or sleep, and all this for 10 cents. All the "Diesel motor man" requires is a little oil for his stomach and a little bit of oil for his joints; he never strikes, nor does he care for holidays. This machine requires no food when out of work. In short, this is indeed a "willing and loyal" worker for the employer.

To give an idea of the fearful competition of the Diesel motor, one must imagine an invasion of hordes of strong and tireless men from an unknown country that are willing to work incessantly for twenty-four hours every day for about 10 cents. Wherever there is work done by a gang that possibly can be done by machine power, the "Diesel motor men" will take it away from the unskilled laborers, those extravagant gentlemen who ask a fair wage for a fair day's work.

To Firemen and Machinists.

Fireman? The Diesel motor will fire him. It has no use for firemen, no more than it has for coal-passers. A turn of the valve of the oil-supply pipe is all that is necessary to do away with the drudgerous work of the firemen and coal-passers.

The motor itself is so simple and so well regulated that trained machinists can be dispensed with. While they might be preferred, the number of their jobs will be greatly reduced. So, for instance, in the engine and boiler-rooms of these big modern ocean steamers about 300 to 400 coal-passers, firemen and machinists, are now employed. If Diesel motors are installed, thirty or forty machinists and helpers will be amply sufficient to run them.

To Coal Miners and Railroad Men.

Without going into details as to what extent the

world's output of coal will be affected by the advent of the Diesel motor as a power and heat-producing means, it is safe to say that coal miners will lose their best weapon in the struggle against the oppressing class by it.

When the Diesel motor has supplanted the steam engine of the private and municipal plants, also of railways and steamships, the necessity of coal will be no more of such an imperative nature as it is today. Coal will then occupy but a secondary position in modern industries.

Therefore, the future strikes of the coal miners will not have the same compelling strength and important consequences as they have at present. No more will it be possible to stop the country's railroads, to shut down factories and to cripple the world's commerce by tying up the steamships as it has been attained lately during the coal miners' strike in Great Britain.

The same is the case with the railroad men. A well-organized railroad strike has the same, if not a stronger, effect than a miner's strike; the coal is of no use in front of the mines, the railroad men must first bring it to the place where it is needed. The coal traffic is indeed the chief item of railroad transportation, at least this is so in the United States. Not even a combined strike of the miners and the railroad men will have a reasonable fraction of the fundamental effect that a strike of either has today. The reason for this is that the oil for the Diesel motors undoubtedly will be conveyed to the industrial centers and to the sea coast through pipe lines, as it is largely done nowadays.

To the Small Farmers and Farm Hands.

More power is spent through the plow than in all the factories in the world. The toil of turning the cultivated face of the earth once each year by the plow consumes more power than all the railways, street cars and automobiles combined. For every single acre of land, a man with plow and team must traverse a distance of

eight miles. In order to run the mechanism of the farms in the United States alone, it requires 20 million horses and mules. According to the United States Agricultural Department, a horse needs five acres yearly for keep, so that it necessitates 100 million acres to produce the motive power to run the farms. This is a larger area than is required for raising the country's crops of wheat, potatoes, rye and rice. On the other hand, the continuous rise in value of farm land does the rest to make a change for another source of motive power absolutely indispensable.

And the change is at hand. It is the tractor that will replace the horses and most of the farm hands and also squeezes out the small farmer. The onmarch of the farm tractor is so sudden and victorious that the United States census of 1910 did not bring out any statistical figures about it, while now the yearly output is more than 50,000 of these machines. They may be considered as having a combined working capacity of about twenty-five horses and ten men, which can be doubled if circumstances call for it.

The uses of the all-round tractor in the field, shop and barn are indeed numberless, and any intelligent farm hand can learn in a few hours to operate them. This tractor can do the plowing right behind the binder when it is too hot for the horses to do it, and, with a headlight, may be operated during the night. The plowing done by the tractor is not only better, but also one dollar cheaper per acre than it can be accomplished with horses. Besides, it can be used for seeding, harvesting, threshing, hay baling, hauling grain to the market, pumping water, road building, and so on. This wonderful adaptability of the tractor can be exploited to its full advantage on big farms only, where there is enough work for it. On the other hand, it is too expensive for the small farmer to buy.

The farm tractor was the missing link in the combination that made it possible to manage agriculture on a big

scale and along strictly capitalistic business lines. Therefore, every improvement of the farm tractor will strengthen and hasten the passing of the small farmer. According to the United States census of 1910 more than 30,000 small farms went out of business in the three best middle west states of Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, while the population of their rural districts showed a decrease of 255,002 persons during the time of 1900 to 1910.

Not only the capitalist's tractors do better, cheaper and quicker work, but also they stand in the barn without an extra expense during the winter or when out of work, while the small farmer's horses are eating their heads off.

All tractors now in use are driven by high-priced fuel, such as gasoline, kerosene, etc. The coming of the Diesel tractor, therefore, will further lessen the running expenses of the capitalist farm and thereby contribute to outdistance the small farmer more and more in his struggle for existence.

It is evident that many farm hands will lose their jobs as long as this kind of "progress" is going on.

Conclusions.

The foregoing lines give a clear instance of how the master class gains ground from the working class through one single invention. There come every day new inventions that have similar consequence to those of the Diesel motor. Almost every invention in machinery has as its purpose increased production with less human help, and that means a loss to the workers under present conditions.

In order to avoid complete annihilation or to make any headway at all, the working class must completely change its attitude in the class struggle against the masters. Up to the present time the workers have fought only when they were forced to do so. They strike or take drastic measures when the cost of living has gone up to such an extent that they cannot live on the prevailing wages, or

they cannot endure any longer the shameful working conditions.

In short, the workers have always been on the defensive to recover lost ground, so that after the fight they are in the same position as some time before the fight. The spirit of defense, however, is "Not to lose." That is all.

To go toward victory in the industrial revolution that is already in its beginning stage, the workers must embue their brains with the spirit of attack. That means, "To Win."

INSTRUCTIONS HOW TO ORGANIZE.

To secure a Charter of the Industrial Workers of the World, get the names of twenty actual wage workers. Those who make a living by working for wages.

All who sign the Charter Application Blank pledge themselves to be in accord with the principles of the I. W. W., as outlined in the Preamble.

The Charter fee is ten dollars. This covers the cost of all books and supplies needed to fully equip a Union of twenty-five members.

Dues paid by the Union to the General Organization, are fifteen cents per member per month.

If those who sign the Charter Application Blank are employed in the same industry, they will be chartered as an Industrial Union with jurisdiction over all wage workers employed in that industry. If the signers of the Charter Application are employed in two or more industries, they will be chartered as a Recruiting Union or as an Industrial Union of the industry in which a majority of those who signed the Charter Application are employed, with the understanding that they are allowed to take in members of other industries until they have a sufficient number to be chartered as an Industrial Union of the industry in which they are employed. Recruiting Unions are temporary organizations, formed for the purpose of having organizations to carry on the edu-

cational work necessary for the formation of Industrial Unions.

As soon as there are twenty members in a Recruiting Union who are employed in the same industry, they will be chartered as an Industrial Union of that industry.

The methods used in getting a Union started depends upon the circumstances in the locality where the Union is to be formed. You can call a meeting, advertising the same. If there are any among you who are able to explain the principles of the I. W. W., have them do so to those who attend the meeting.

After the explanation has been made, you can call upon all those present, who are in accord with the principles of the Organization, to come forward and sign the Charter Application. Or you can circulate the Charter Application among those with whom you come in contact, and explain the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World to them individually. If they desire to organize, have them sign their names and addresses on the Charter Application.

When you have twenty names, or more, you can notify them to attend the meeting, form a temporary organization by electing a temporary Secretary and Chairman. Collect the Charter fee from those who sign the Application, forward the same to this office, with the Application. The Charter and supplies will be sent to you at once.

In forwarding the Charter Application be sure to specify in what industry those who sign the Blank are employed, so we will know how to make out the Charter.

Trusting that the above will be of assistance to you in organizing your fellow workers, I am

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

WM. D. HAYWOOD,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
1001 West Madison Street,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE I. W. W. PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto: "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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OPENING STATEMENT

of

GEO. F. VANDERVEER

In the Case of the

U. S. A.

vs.

WM. D. HAYWOOD, ET AL.

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CHICAGO

Opening Statement

of

GEO. F. VANDERVEER

Counsel for the Defense

of one hundred and one members of the Industrial Workers of the World,

in the case of the

U. S. A.

vs.

WM. D. HAYWOOD, et al.

Published by the
I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU,
Chicago, Illinois

OPENING STATEMENT BY MR. VANDERVEER

Monday, June 24, 1918, 9:30 o'clock A. M.
Court met pursuant to adjournment.

(Roll call of defendants: All answered "Present.")

THE COURT: Proceed, gentlemen.

MR. VANDERVEER: May it please the Court, and gentlemen of the jury:

I think we all realize and all appreciate what an unusual strain this case has been upon your physical health, and upon your good nature, and what personal and probably financial sacrifices it has involved for all of you. We are none of us anxious either to subject ourselves or to continue you under the pressure of this thing any longer than necessary, but the case is an unusual one. I doubt if in all your experiences,—I know never in all my experience, has it been my fortune to be associated with one like it.

In name; it is the case of the United States against William Haywood, James P. Thompson, John Foss and some other men, about whom,—most of whom at least, you never heard of before,—charged with a conspiracy, or five different conspiracies. In fact, however, it is not a case against any one of these, but it is a case against an organization, which, for the moment, is representative in our American thought of a certain social ideal.

Without presuming now to question the quality of the motives underlying this prosecution, I want to make it plain to you in the beginning, that the real purpose of this prosecution is to utterly shatter and destroy the ideal of which this organization stands.

In presenting our defense, gentlemen, we are going to trim here and cut out things there, and compact the whole just as much as we can. We have got to show you the other side of this picture.

The case covers territorially the whole United States, and in a bigger sense it covers our whole industrial and social life. We cannot hope to do that in a day or two days or a week or perhaps two weeks. Counsel has been fortunate enough to be able to appropriate all of the decent weather that we expect to have, and we are going to have to talk to you while you are sweltering here in the hot weather of the summer, realizing if we would hold your attention under such conditions, we must eliminate surplusage, and as I say, we are going to compact the case all we can, but we feel that we are interested here, and we feel you will be willing to make the sacrifice necessary to a presentation of our defense, not only because of the number of men involved, and the importance of the case to them, but because of the importance of the issues involved. To show you what those are I want to turn just a moment to the indictment in the case.

In form, this indictment is in five counts, charging five different conspiracies. In substance, however, it is an indictment in two parts, each founded upon two different theories, each having a tendency to develop evidence along two separate and distinct lines. The first of these is found in the first, second and fifth counts. It presents a social issue, an industrial issue. It presents the question of what the I. W. W. is, rather than what it has done.

In the first count, it is recited that these men were members and officers of an organization comprising, they say, 200,000 workers in industry, and it is said, that in their capacities as officers, they conspired, confederated and agreed to promote the objects of this organization, which were then declared in this indictment to be as follows: To do away with certain classes of society, known as the master class, the capitalist class and a lot of other names, descriptive of a class with which we are all well enough acquainted,—not by political means, but by direct action, sabotage and so forth, and ultimately to do away with all government in the United States.

Among the overt acts which it is charged that these defendants committed for the purpose of carrying out and executing this conspiracy, is the publication of the preamble of this organization, wherein, in the first clause it is stated: "That the working class and the employing class have nothing in common; there can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of working people, and few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things in life."

Without reading more of the preamble at this time, it is apparent that this states a certain industrial or social philosophy, which if it can be justified, must have a foundation in industrial and social fact, because no philosophy which ignores the cold facts of the case, amounts to anything.

A few pages further, as another overt act, reference is made in the indictment to the publication of an article in Solidarity, wherein this appears:

"We are dissatisfied; a revolutionary body testifies to complete dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, and this is the first reason and main reason for the existence of the I. W. W. We are absolutely and irrevocably dissatisfied with the present system of society. We consider it is a useless system, and we mean to destroy it."

In these two things, which are typical of a number of others appearing here, there is plainly confessed a purpose of great importance to all of us, which it is the function of the defense in this case to justify and explain to you.

I want you, following what I have to say now, to keep your mind on this one point, however, on the question whether or not the purpose of this organization is to destroy government or merely to destroy an industrial system which ought to be, if it is not, independent of our government; which ought to be subservient to and under the control of our government. If it is not, so much worse for the system and so much the better for those who are trying to wreck it.

Now what is this thing which the I. W. W. says is wrong, and which the I. W. W. says it means to destroy? Counsel in his statement of the case called your attention to the tremendous growth that this organization had had during the past three or four years, beginning in 1915, '16 and '17. I mention it now because what I have to say just now bears upon that and explains that, and in so far as it does that, it shows you more clearly what the purpose and motive of the organization is,—the conditions which brought it into existence, the things which have fostered it, the things which furnished the inspiration for these men.

Four or five years ago, President Wilson, the president of the United States, acting under the authority of an act passed by Congress, appointed a commission of nine prominent citizens of this country, three representing labor, three representing employers of labor, three disinterested citizens representing the public, for the purpose of investigating and reporting to Congress upon the industrial conditions in the United States. This Commission, headed by Frank P. Walsh, as the chairman, undertook a study of these things. It held hearings over a period of somewhat more than six months. It examined seven or eight hundred witnesses, drawn about equally from the employers and employes, and from the public at large, bankers, social workers, professors of political economy, sociology and psychology and everything else; in other words, it covered the whole field of society, and these men reported their findings and the testimony upon which they were based, in eleven large volumes, in the year 1915, known as the Report of the Industrial Relations Commission. This Report is the Bible of the I. W. W. It is this report which more than all other things is responsible for the terrible impulse which this movement has found for the last few years, and it is this report which disclosed the condition against which the I.W.W. came into being as a protest. And what is that condition?

Two per cent of the people of this country own two-thirds of all its wealth, real and personal.

Sixty-five per cent, comprising the working people of the country, own less than five per cent of the wealth of this country, and this wealth is represented in the mines, in the forests, in our national industries, and stands over and dominates all of our industrial and our social life. One man, John D. Rockefeller, reputed to be worth a billion dollars, owns more of the wealth of this country than two million five hundred thousand of the poor families.

Those facts of themselves are a sad commentary on our social and industrial system, — When the shirkers receive more than the workers; but standing alone and of themselves they do not convey an adequate notion of the importance of this thing to us, as a society. The question of justice or injustice, as disclosed by these facts, standing alone, is largely a question of only historical importance.

This same Commission reported that of all the employes in the railroad industry, one hundred per cent were employed by corporations.

In the mining industry, ninety per cent were employed by corporations, and in other industries generally seventy-five per cent are employed by corporations. The formation of the corporation is just the first step in the development of an industrial system, which these people call industrial absolutism.

MR. NEBEKER: Mr. Vanderveer, I did not want to interrupt you. Are you through now stating your general position on the report of the Industrial Relations Committee? I just want to, so I may not seem to acquiesce in this line of proof suggested by counsel, I want to raise the objection at this time on behalf of the Government, that the Report of the Industrial Relations Committee, in my judgement is not material or relevent evidence in this case. It will not be proper evidence to be introduced when the defense reach their case, and my contention on that is based upon a number of different grounds. In the

first place, it will be my contention and our contention in behalf of the Government here, that general industrial conditions in this country are not involved in this case at all. That whatever those general industrial conditions are, are based upon law. They are based upon the institutions of this country, and right or wrong, until those institutions are changed, until those conditions are changed by law, there is no place in this country for such activities as this organization confess they are engaged in. In other words, the legislatures have spoken; Congress has spoken, and the Congressional will and the legislative will, must be substituted for the individual will or private will of this country, and I say again, right or wrong, it makes no difference what the general conditions are, and how bad they are, and admittedly they are bad, and can be improved like all human institutions,—anything that is human is capable of improvement, but I do not want now to seem to acquiesce in counsel's theory that there is anything in the way of bad conditions that justifies a single individual or an aggregate number of individuals, to oppose itself and its will to the law of the land, so I wish to be understood at this time as insisting that the line of proof that counsel now calls attention to, is not admissible and is not revelant or material in this case.

Well we might as well meet that question now and have it argued. Are you ready to present your side of that?

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor, I had hoped that this would come up at a time which would not interfere; I have invited argument of this matter half a dozen times, and we did meet and discuss it at length once.

THE COURT: Well, I have considered the question.

MR. VANDERVEER: The I. W. W. is a protest. There is no question about that. It is organized for the purpose of changing something. Counsel says it is organized for the purpose of undermining and

overthrowing government. That, I most emphatically deny, and will most conclusively disprove, but to do it, we must show what it is and why it is and how it proposes to carry out its program, which is not political, which is not aimed at the government, or governmental functions, but which is purely social and industrial, and aims to break up this thing which is sapping our national industrial and economic life.

Now if I were permitted to proceed with the statement, I could explain not only to the jury, but to your Honor and counsel as well, how the I. W. W. proposes to do this, and how it proposes in doing it, to keep absolutely within the letter of the law. How have these fortunes been amassed? Not by legislative enactment. They were not created by that. The system by which we transact business with our fellow men, by which we manufacture and distribute and sell and dispose of things, it is true has been regulated by law, but the industrial system by which certain results follow from this business system, has not been created by law. It has not been fostered by law. It is not protected by law, except to a certain limit. How have these fortunes been acquired? By exploitation. There is no law establishing——

THE COURT: Now assume that each one of these fellows is a hog; that the Almighty in his infinite wisdom, made him a hog. Some of them are. I don't know all of them, but I happen to know some of them are. Suppose that is true? Now in so far as those activities were beyond the situation presented by this indictment, of what concern is it to this jury in answering the question whether or not the charge in this indictment is true or false?

MR. VANDERVEER: Why, your Honor, these men are charged with being officers of an organization. They admit it. The organization is alleged to be an organization of workingmen; that is admitted. It is admitted that the defendants and the other members of the organization formed themselves into an organization or conspiracy, whatever it may be called, for a purpose. Now the question arises,

what is the purpose? Counsel says one,—I say another. That question goes clear through this case. It cannot be eliminated.

THE COURT: I think you gentlemen are dealing with the word "purpose" and the word "object" here, when it would be simplified a good deal if you would give consideration to the question of "motive."

MR. VANDERVEER: Motive is material in its relation to purpose, and that is all; motive is material as showing intent. Now it is charged here that we intended by force to prevent the execution of certain laws. We may defend, I presume——

THE COURT: Your purpose is——

MR. VANDERVEER: We may defend by showing what our purposes really are.

THE COURT: Your proposition is, conceding that to be true, the ultimate object they wanted to obtain was this other thing beyond that?

MR. VANDERVEER: Why, yes, just as the man——

THE COURT: That becomes motive, doesn't it?

MR. VANDERVEER: Well, that is intent. Object and intent are inseparable, absolutely. Intent is an outgrowth of motive the motive supplies intent. I am not concerned with motive, except in relation to its intent, which is the essence of this indictment.

THE COURT: In other words, your purpose is to show—it is rather a justification .

MR. VANDERVEER: No, not at all.

THE COURT: Rather than a denial.

MR. VANDERVEER: Not at all.

MR. NEBEKER: Yes, sir.

THE COURT: If it is not a justification, how is it material?

MR. VANDERVEER: It is material,—it is material as a denial. They say we intended to interfere with the operation and execution of certain laws. The answer is to show what we did intend to do.

THE COURT: Your proposition is that "We will show you, even if these laws were interfered with, that that was only incidental to a grand program we had."

MR. NEBEKER: That is all.

MR. VANDERVEER: In other words your Honor believes, or is of the opinion, that in conspiracy, we have anything to do with the doctrine of implied intent?

THE COURT: Not at all. I mean this, that a number of men set on foot an enterprise,—this is only for illustration,—set on foot an enterprise to overthrow the United States government as it exists today, and they get arms and ammunition, and they provide for the removal of authorities of the government, for the paralysis of its instrumentalities; each one of these men is a saint; his motives are absolutely pure. He has got in his head that that is a bad government.

MR. VANDERVEER: Yes, but he has started out in the beginning to accomplish an unlawful object.

THE COURT: I am only illustrating what I have got in my mind. He thinks it is a bad government; the ultimate object is not merely to get rid of that thing; the ultimate object is to establish something these men have got in their heads as better than that thing, but in order to establish the thing, that they have got in their heads, this must be removed.

Now, I take it on a prosecution of those men on a charge of treason, the merits or demerits, the virtue or lack of virtue of that government would not be material.

MR. VANDERVEER: That is perfectly true; there is no question of that.

THE COURT: Just the same as if one of these men were on trial for murdering the other one; the one on trial could not come in and get out of it by saying, "He was a bad fellow anyhow; society is better off without that man."

MR. VANDERVEER: That is true. Your Honor has not stated a case in any respect parallel to this

case. It is charged here that we proposed to overthrow the government. As to that, we deny absolutely, but the jury may say, "Well, what are you going to do?" Are we left in the defense of cases like this to a mere denial. The inquiry which naturally arises in a man's mind is, "What, then, were you going to do, if you were not going to do that?" That gives us the right to show what we were going to do.

Now, what we were going to do had nothing to do with the overthrow of the government. This organization believes so completely and absolutely in our form of government, that it wants to extend it to industry. The government—the system by which every man has a direct voice in the management of his government, would work just as well industrially, and we not only do not propose to interfere with the form of government or the functions of government——

THE COURT: You say this organization believes so much in this government that it proposes to do that? That is, have I gotten a wrong impression when I have gotten the impression from the teachings of the defendant, that they do not propose to resort to political action to accomplish their purposes?

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor has exactly the right impression in that. We do not propose to resort to political action.

THE COURT: That is you do not propose——

MR. VANDERVEER: Because our purpose is not the proposing of a law, or the changing of a condition established by law, and why resort to political action in accomplishing a thing which is not political in its scope? This system is built upon exploitation. There is no other way in the world that money can be gotten together in such aggregations as exist in this country, except by exploitation, either of natural resources, or of labor; in fact the exploitation of labor is essential, even when you have all the natural resources, because without labor you cannot work even mines. Now, these people have made fortunes

by employing labor to do work, and then giving labor back a proportion of what it created. Labor has stood,—now, that right is not guaranteed to anyone by law; there is no law which says how much labor shall have. It depends upon the organized efforts of employers against the organized or unorganized employes. Employes have finally said, "We refuse longer to be exploited; by organizing we can break exploitation, and just as surely as by organizing you have created exploitation; from now on it is going to be our organized effort to prevent, against your organized effort to enforce the exploitation of our kind.

Well, now, there is no law which gives the right to exploit. There is no law which stays a man in his effort to prevent it. So we are entirely within our right in attempting to show your Honor and show this jury that the only way in the world that exploitation can be prevented, is by industrial organization. Now, that is the purpose of the thing.

THE COURT: Now, to get back to what I was speaking about——

MR. VANDERVEER: The question is, are we permitted to show what our intention is?

THE COURT: Assume that the names of some of these men that are very familiar to us, for whom none of us have any affection,—my record is made on it, at least partially,—I hope that that is not completely,—suppose that they have been guilty of everything, and more than any of us have ever dreamed; suppose the fact be, however, that this organization or these defendants——

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor does not state that correctly; we do not claim they are guilty of anything.

THE COURT: How?

MR. VANDERVEER: These men who have amassed these fortunes, we do not claim, at least, we do not found our philosophy upon the assumption that they are guilty of anything. If they were merely guilty of wrongs, then the law could deal with them.

But in so far as their system has been conducted in conformity with law, the law cannot deal with them.

THE COURT: In other words, your proposition is, that that thing which you charge them with, is not wrong?

MR. VANDERVEER: Is socially wrong, but not legally wrong.

THE COURT: It is not a transgression of any statute?

MR. VANDERVEER: Yes sir; that is my proposition.

THE COURT: That your program to relieve that situation is a thing beyond the domain of legislation?

MR. VANDERVEER: Absolutely; absolutely.

THE COURT: And, therefore, if it appeared here that in that contest the defendants here have in fact done the things charged in this indictment, they are not guilty?

MR. VANDERVEER: Why, not at all. As to some of these things, sabotage, disloyalty, and whatnot, our answer is a denial absolutely, but as to the other things, the purpose to overthrow the government, our answer is more than a denial: It is a denial plus an explanation of what we were doing, and why we were doing it.

Your Honor never heard of a criminal case where the question of intent was at issue, where the defendant was restricted to a denial, where the defendant was forbidden to go on and say what his intent really was, because the denial——

THE COURT: Yes, I have heard of many cases; the books are full of them.

MR. VANDERVEER: I have never heard of one of them.

THE COURT: Intent is an ingredient of murder.

MR. VANDERVEER: Yes.

THE COURT: We all agree about that.

MR. VANDERVEER: Yes.

THE COURT: Now, in an indictment for murder, in an indictment for murder the defendant would

have no right to show the jury that the dead man, that the community was better off without the dead man.

MR. VANDERVEER: Oh, no, that is true. But the defendant on the other hand,—that would not be a question of intent; that would be motive,—purpose.

THE COURT: That is the motive.

MR. VANDERVEER: That is motive.

THE COURT: That is just what I am trying to illustrate.

MR. VANDERVEER: But the defendant on the other hand would be permitted to show that if he shot at somebody he thought he was shooting at a burglar?

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. VANDERVEER: Or the defendant would be permitted to show any intent——

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. VANDERVEER: Whatever his intent might be, any lawful intent; that is what we want to do, is to show we intended something, and that something was lawful, and next, we sought to accomplish that thing, and we did it by lawful methods. Why it is just what every man haled before the bar of justice must do. He bares his——

THE COURT: No, I cannot allow that statement to go unchallenged, because it is not just that case. It is a far different case. Since it was first suggested here, I have studied the question, because I saw it was here.

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor, I would like to present the authorities, I did not anticipate that, with no warning of it at any time in the past,—we met there one morning, one noon we argued this for an hour before your Honor, and we had the authorities, and your Honor seemed to take our view of the matter then.

THE COURT: On the contrary——

MR. VANDERVEER: I say only seemed to.

THE COURT: You must not make that assertion here in the presence of these men.

MR. VANDERVEER: I did not mean anything improper. I meant it seemed to me. I remember your Honor was engaged in a disputation with counsel most of the time, and very little with me. It seemed to me that your Honor had taken my view of the matter. Now, that is all I meant to say, and in consequence of that——

THE COURT: I have had this view of it——

MR. VANDERVEER: I have not even considered the possibility that this would arise at this time.

THE COURT: I have had this view of this question, that in the field covered by the activities of the men under indictment here, in so far as those activities have to deal with the charge and the alleged violation of the statute, that there is not anything that they cannot go into, that is calculated to disclose the conditions of their environment, just the same as the ordinary mail fraud case. A man can put in evidence in defense every transaction during the period covered by the indictment, that he was engaged in, in his position.

MR. VANDERVEER: One of these is the strike at Butte. Now, they say our purpose in that strike was to prevent the production of copper, which the government needed during the war. May we show what our purpose was?

MR. NEBEKER: That is another matter, I suggest, and I have not,—I would like to answer counsel's question there at the proper time.

MR. VANDERVEER: That is in issue here. May we not show we never had the war in mind and we were dealing with conditions, part of which were local and part of which were general in this country, that the thing which existed in Butte was in itself a justification of what happened, but it was only at best a phase of the thing that exists all over the country.

THE COURT: Where are your books?

MR. VANDERVEER: Pardon me?

THE COURT: Where are your books?

MR. VANDERVEER: Well, they are not collected anywhere. I can get them.

THE COURT: You asked me to wait for the authorities?

MR. VANDERVEER: Until I might get them.

THE COURT: Certainly I will.

MR. VANDERVEER: I cannot get them—by stopping the proceeding I can send over to the library for them, get my briefs and proceed this afternoon. I cannot promise to collect them before that. I would like to be permitted to finish the statement, if I may.

THE COURT: I think we have reached the point where we had better settle this question.

MR. VANDERVEER: Well, I wish to settle it, if your honor wants to take it up now. I wish to settle it by a careful, exhaustive consideration of the authorities on the point.

THE COURT: Well, we could be here by one o'clock.

MR. VANDERVEER: Yes.

THE COURT: You gentlemen may go until two.

(Whereupon, a recess was taken until two o'clock P. M. of the same day, June 24, 1918.)

June 24, 1918;
1:00 o'clock P. M.

Court met pursuant to recess.

MR. VANDERVEER: As this matter arises on counsel's objection, I presume he has the privilege of opening and closing, if he wants it.

MR. NEBEKER: Just as your Honor desires on that; I am prepared to submit some authorities.

THE COURT: Proceed.

MR. NEBEKER: The first case, and I will not take much time in argument, because I understand that is not what is needed,—I will call your Honor's attention to the case of United States against Stevens, 27 Federal cases, at page 1312.

MR. VANDERVEER: 1312?

MR. NEBEKER: Yes, I have the case here; you might like to see the book. I read from a copy. This is to the point that if the intention is to do any un-

lawful act whatsoever, then the intention to do the specific unlawful act, although not directly within the contemplation of the parties, is implied. This is a **nisi prius** statement of the law, but I think in comparing it with what has been said by the Supreme Court of the United States in similar cases, it is a correct statement, that is, in similar situations.

"Now, the meaning of this section has been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States, which in this case I am bound to respect as the law of the land, and so declare it to you."

It was a case of interfering with the mails, the statute involving that.

"The Supreme Court of the United States in 1868, being called upon to interpret that section: 'The statute of Congress by its terms applies only to persons who 'knowingly and wilfully' obstruct or retard the passage of the mail, or of its carrier; that is, to those who know that the acts performed will have that effect, and perform them with the intention that such shall be their operation. When the acts which create the obstruction are in themselves unlawful, the intention to obstruct will be imputed to their author, although the attainment of other ends may have been his preliminary object. That statute has no reference to acts lawful in themselves, from the execution of which a temporary delay to the mails unavoidably follows.' "

Citing United States against Kirby, 7 Wallace, where the act was a lawful act; that is to say, an officer of the law arrests a mail carrier on a charge of murder, and it there being held that it was a lawful act he was performing, and that being his object indeed, and not to interfere with the mail, then it was held not to be,—the criminal act of interfering with the mails was not imputed, but where the acts are themselves unlawful, such as they were admittedly so in this case, where it is admitted for example, or must be admitted in this case, that there was a conspiracy to do unlawful acts in connection with strikes.

MR. VANDERVEER: What? That is not admitted.

MR. NEBEKER: A conspiracy, for example, in all cases, to practice sabotage, in connection with strikes; a conspiracy in all cases to interfere with the right of some other man to work, if he wanted to; on the contrary, to compel him or induce him to violate his contract; the simplest form of unlawful conduct that the organization could claim in this case. These various acts, the various unlawful elements of the act make it imputable that they intended the consequences of their acts with reference to the obstruction of the government in getting the war materials.

Now, the 25th Federal cases at page 443, and I read from page 444, was an opinion rendered by Judge Cadwalader. This was a case of retarding the transportation of mails and the opinion says:

"There is a familiar proposition of law that where a person is concerned in performing an unlawful act, he is responsible for other unlawful acts which he commits in the course of the wrong that he intends to commit. If a man intends to strike A with a stick, and he strikes B and breaks his head, he cannot get off by saying to B, 'I did not mean to strike you. I meant to strike the other man.' That the purpose was here not to delay the mail was of no importance if the act done was an unlawful act, and its effect was to retard the transportation of the mail. This question came before the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States about nine years ago. (U. S. v. Kirby) 7 Wall (74 U. S.) 486. They said that if a man stops the mail when he is doing a lawful act, such as arresting a criminal who is a passenger, that is not obstructing the mail. The Supreme Court, however, added these words: 'When the acts which create the obstruction are in themselves unlawful, the intention to obstruct will be imputed to their author, although the attainment of other ends may have been his primary object.' These propositions are not disputed in the present case.'

In the case of the United States against Keen, 26 Federal cases, 693, which is an opinion by Judge Story, in which the Courts say:

"The Court are clearly of the opinion that the argument of the defendant's counsel upon the point of law, cannot be maintained. To constitute an obstruction or impediment within the meaning of the act, it is not necessary that the party should intend to obstruct or impede the officer in the dicharge of his duties. If the officer is in fact obstructed or impeded in the discharge of his duties by a person, knowing him to be an officer, then engaged in his duties, the case is within the act. It is wholly immaterial that the party has another object in view, to avenge a supposed wrong or affront, or to inflict a personal chastisement. The law intends to protect public officers, while in the discharge of their duties, from all violence and forcible impediments. That is not the time or place to avenge private quarrels."

And in the Patten case, 226 U. S. at page 243; that was a case, if your Honor remembers where the attempt was to get a corner on the cotton market. There is just this statement that I care to read from that opinion:

"And that there is no allegation of a specific intent to restrain such trade or commerce does not make against this conclusion, for, as is shown by prior decisions of this court, the conspirators must be held to have intended the necessary and direct consequences of their acts, and cannot be heard to say the contrary. In other words by purposely engaging in a conspiracy which necessarily and directly produces the result which the statute is designed to prevent, they are, in legal contemplation, chargeable with intending that result."

And in the case of Eastern States Lumber Company there is a very instructive paragraph, 234 U. S., page 613, which states the proposition I mentioned, or alluded to this morning:

"The argument that the course pursued is necessary"—By the way this was a case under the anti-

trust act, the Sherman Act, and the contention was that even although they did in some respects interfere with free operation of trade, and that technically it might appear that they were within the prohibitions of that legislation, nevertheless, that it accomplished an ultimate good; that is to say, that it had a beneficial effect upon the retail trade, and they offered to prove that such was the case, and the court says:

"The argument that the course pursued is necessary to the protection of the retail trade and promotive of the public welfare in providing retail facilities is answered by the fact that Congress, with the right to control the field of interstate commerce, has so legislated as to prevent resort to practices which unduly restrain competition or unduly obstruct the free flow of such commerce, and private choice of means must yield to the national authority thus exerted."

If I understand the proposition, this principle covers it completely. Here they say they have a laudable object, and that is to change the existing state of affairs in this country; to subvert the operation of laws in this country, to do it by what they call industrial means, and not to do it by what we all know and must say are the lawful means of accomplishing that result.

Now, we come along here and we offer evidence which would, perhaps in certain cases be all right before a legislative body. It might be perfectly proper, as was done in the case of the industrial relations committee, to make an investigation for the purpose of shedding light upon the industrial question, as a means of getting legislation, as a means of getting Congress to amend a law or to pass other laws; and so with the other evidence along that line as to existing industrial conditions,—something that could be addressed to a legislature and perhaps would be very beneficial in a legislature, but where the court is bound by the law as it exists, there is no use in attempting to show the court that the laws are wrong; that the conditions are wrong; that our

whole government is a failure; that the whole doctrine of private rights of property is wrong, and a failure. What is the use of addressing those remarks to a court and a jury, because the only function of the court, of course, is to enforce the law as it is, right or wrong, and this whole appeal, or rather the whole trend of this character of evidence is to show that the laws themselves are wrong, and counsel has practically admitted that, and he has not only admitted that but he says he proposes to change them by direct action, and not by political action. He has said that.

MR. VANDERVEER: I have never said that, Mr. Nebeker. You could not possibly mistake me.

MR. NEBEKER: I do not intend to misstate you at any point. If you did not say that this morning, it was because I misunderstood you.

MR. VANDERVEER: Well, I did not.

MR. NEBEKER: If you have not said that by your conduct all through this trial, I misunderstand you. If this organization intends to do anything else than that, then I misunderstand all its literature, all its writings, all they have said about themselves, if they do not intend that very thing.

Now, I say that in as much as it is now simply a question of whether they can do these things, it becomes absolutely unimportant as to what their motives are just as your Honor suggested. A man may have what he conceives to be a holy and a righteous motive. He may get the notion that it would be a good thing to kill all heretics, and he would be doing God's service if he did, and he starts out and commits murder, and he comes into court and says he had a revelation from on high that prompted him to do that thing. Of course, it would be puerile to say that any such thing would be listened to, unless it would go to the full extent of showing his insanity. Now, if conditions have produced here in the minds of these people a condition of insanity, then I can conceive of how their minds dwelling upon these

conditions might be some justification, or at least may have some purpose in a controversy of this kind, but it is no more of a defense here, if your Honor please than it is if a robber, a house breaker a man from the slums of the cities, where the conditions are, God knows as bad as it is conceivable for human conditions to get comes into court, after he has violated one of the laws of the land, and he has committed a criminal offense and says, "I was merely a creature of my environment" he says, and all criminologists will agree with him and sociologists will agree with him, that that man is simply a being moved,—he is almost an automaton, he has been so imersed in that environment that his actions are practically beyond his control, and his movements thither and yon, by the influences that come from this bad environment, and yet it is no defense to crime.

Now, that is all this would amount to in any case here. It would be that these people say, We have been brought into contact with these conditions that they now seek to prove, the bad conditions, that that has persuaded them to do something different from the robber; the robber simply went and jimmied his way into the house and stole property. These people commit other crimes,—admittedly commit other crimes. We have shown that ,if your Honor please here, and the evidence is conclusive from their own lips that they have committed other crimes, and now they seek to justify their conduct. They seek to show by this evidence that while they did violate the law in these respects, they had a righteous motive, and that they were influenced by these conditions.

Now, that brings us right down to the proposition of the difference between motive and intent, and I desire to call your Honor's attention briefly to one Wharton's criminal law 10th edition, section 119:

"The will acts under a variety of motives, some very complex. The motives vary with the man, what is strong with one, being weak with another. The gratification of passion is a responsible motive,

and so also is the general intent to violate law, fall the consequences on whom they may, and the law is that no matter what may be the motive leading to a particular act, if the act be illegal, it is indictable notwithstanding that some one or more of these motives may be meritorious. Thus, the motive of promoting the ultimate public good is no defense for an indictment for a nuisance. Intending to instruct the public is no defense to an indictment for libel. The motive of returning the goods is no defense for an indictment for embezzlement or for larceny, nor is the motive of giving away the goods to another. Scientific enthusiasm is no defense to an indictment for disinterring a corpse. The motive of notifying of a fire is no defense to an indictment for arson. The motive of ridding the public of a bad man is no defense for an indictment for homicide. The motive of paying a debt with the proceeds, is no defense to forgery. No matter what other motives, good or bad, co-operate, if the intent to do the particular unlawful act is either proved or implied, the offense, if committed, is complete."

In other words it is a question of whether they intend to do these things that are outlined. Did they intend to practice sabotage? Did they intend by unlawful means to interfere with the production of copper and of lumber? That is to say, did they intend to do the thing that would naturally and necessarily result in that? They may have had their mind on something else. They may have been so absorded with this plan and program—this revolutionary thought of theirs, that they did not think as to whether it was interfering with the government. I am not conceding that. I think there is an abundance of proof here which shows that they did consciously put themselves in the way of the government in these respects, but for the purposes of this argument, I say, even if they never thought of that, it being a necessary and probable and direct consequence of their act, they are bound to have thought of it, and they are responsible for the consequences.

In McClain, 1 McClain Criminal Law, Section 120, on this question of motive, there is a very lucid paragraph.

"The fact that the criminal act is done with an innocent or laudable motive not, however, furnish an excuse. The distinction between intent and motive seems to be, the intent relates to doing of the act, while motive relates to the object sought to be accomplished thereby. The question involved in determining criminality of intent depends upon the intent accompanying the act and not upon the motive actuating such act. In this sense good motives do not constitute a defense."

In 1 Bishop New Criminal Law, Section 341:

"That ultimate good was the transgressor's leading motive, while yet he intended to do what the law forbade, or that in fact good attended or followed the doing, will not avail him. Thus, on an indictment for obstructing a navigable river, the defendant cannot show that in other respects, and on the whole his act worked an advantage to its navigation; or, for obstructing a road, that he opened a better one; or, for the nuisance of erecting a wharf on public property, that the erection was beneficial to the public; or, for uttering a forged bill, that he intended to provide for its payment; or, for passing a counterfeit bank note, that he promised to take it back if found not genuine."

Now, if the court please, it seems to me that those cases fit this situation like a glove. Here, in the very nature of the case, there can be no doubt but what these people consciously performed the acts; that is to say when they struck, by their particular methods, in the lumber industry, they won't say that they intended to do something else. They won't say that they did not intend to shut down those properties.

Now, that being so, then, that is the criminal intent that is involved in this case, and that they had some other notion in their heads as to what would

be accomplished is wholly immaterial, and this evidence that is proposed to be introduced here is of that other character; that is to say, something that goes to their motive, goes to the purpose for which they did these things, whereas, the intent that the law inquires about is as to whether they intended to do that specific thing,—that was all, and as to whether they had a righteous notion in doing it, is wholly immaterial.

MR. VANDERVEER: May it please the court, in the first count of this indictment these defendants are accused as officers of the organization of having conspired by force to prevent, hinder and delay the execution of certain laws. Further over it is alleged that this was to be done, and this is the material part of the indictment,—of the court,—the other is formal, it is not good in substance,—that they conspired to produce certain strikes for the purpose of, —that is, in certain industries essential to the government, for the purpose of preventing the government from getting the products of those industries.

The matter of sabotage is immaterial in that part of the charge and becomes material only as supplying the element of force, by force to prevent,—the element of force which the statute requires.

Now, there are several elements to this defense: We may deny that we conspired at all; we admit on the other hand that we met and did agree upon a certain program. We may deny that we ever intended to use force, as we have a right to do, and submit that issue as a plain issue of fact. There is left then of this charge of conspiracy, nothing but the charge that we got together to bring about certain strikes in certain industries, and we did it with the intent to interfere with the execution of these laws.

Now, the element of force is eliminated by our denial; the element of sabotage; the element of violence, that is all that is left. Now, a strike was not, until the passage of a law within the last month unlawful. On the contrary it was perfectly lawful

It was still perfectly lawful unless accompanied by certain other conditions. But the passage of this law recently, restricting in some measure, I do not know what,—the right to strike is a clear recognition of the fact that prior to that time there was a right to strike. Labor had been excluded from the Sherman act. Labor had been exluded from the operation of all acts until this last act, so the thing we admit we agreed to do, the thing it is charged that we did, —take apart in bringing about certain strikes,—was a lawful thing.

To give this court jurisdiction, mind you, as a Federal Court it was necessary to prove an intent to bring the act we admit we did within the scope of the Federal statute,—an intent to interfere with the execution of certain Federal laws. That question of intent, your Honor, is a traversable issue. There is no presumption of unlawful intent, because the thing we admit we did is a lawful thing, to bring about a strike, regardless of the question of whether or not it operated to interfere with the production of copper or lumber or steel or any other thing.

Suppose they had left out of this indictment the charge that we did this for the purpose of interfering with the execution of these laws. The indictment would no longer state an offense, nor would your Honor have jurisdiction to listen to us. Your Honor's right to sit there and pass judgment on this case depends upon the allegation in this indictment that we did these things for the purpose of obstructing the government or obstructing the execution of the law.

Now, suppose that we admit we helped to bring about a strike, and that strike was in an industry, the product of which was essential to the carrying on of this war,—one of the industries contemplated by and referred to in these laws which you have said we conspired to obstruct. Could we or could we not show that our motive was to insure safety of life in a mine? Could we be heard to come into this court and say, "It is true we struck, but down in that mine

is a menace to the lives of every one of us? Could we show that the inspector himself in the mine had told us, "You go down these, boys, at your peril; that thing is on fire; the ventilation system is rotten; gases are accumulating and may explode any time; your exits are cut off by bulkheads." Would that be an answer or would it not be an answer to the charge that we struck? Hasn't a man the right to strike for those things?

Isn't that conclusive evidence or at least admissible as evidence, on the issues of whether we intended to interfere with the government, or merely to save life?

Now, if we have the right to do that, then we have the right in the logging industry, to show that they have been making us sleep out in rotten old bunk houses, where we had to dry our clothes in the same room where we slept, and some of us got pneumonia, and some of us got consumption, and we were losing our health, and we refused to do it, so we went on strike, and said, "Clean up your houses" or we can show that the motive was to get an eight hour day, because more than eight hours, it is wrong that any man should work in those woods; he imperils his health when he does it.

In other words, you may go into any condition which affords the motive, which shows the intent of the parties in bringing about the strike. Now, mind you, we have got sabotage eliminated here absolutely, because our denial of that, and we may deny a part, we may admit other parts, and we may deny the question of intent again. We deny and we will most emphatically and clearly disprove the sabotage matter. We have tried that before.

Now, on the subject of the industrial relations, the admissibility of it——

THE COURT: I have not the slightest disposition to keep out what you are talking about.

MR. VANDERVEER: Well, then that ends the matter; that is all I want to get in.

THE COURT: The thing that was involved here

on this motion is the trial of the general industrial condition throughout the United States and to put that before the jury by the findings of somebody, some place else. I do not know whether if it were material,—I have never had the question presented to me,—I do not know whether under law if it were material, that the industrial condition, the situation generally was unjust and inequitable, whether in a case of this character that that could be established by the report of some governmental board,—I do not know.

MR. VANDERVEER: Well, that is covered by a statute, passed by Act of Congress: I do not offer this independently; I am going to show that numerous sets of these reports were taken in these raids; one taken from Mr. McDonald's possession; one from Mr. Thompson's possession—from different people. Mr. Thompson has gone about this country lecturing on this report. It has, in fact, furnished the great motive, the great purpose for all of his work; not only that but it is his intention to remedy the conditions, so far as he can, that that report says exists, and he believes exists, whether that report speaks the truth or whether it does not; it has given rise to a condition in his mind which it is competent for him to show, in explaining why he did things, and what he had in mind to accomplish. Suppose a report about the conditions below a mine, or a story were embodied in the report of a mine inspector, would it be admissible—would it be less admissible than if he had told it in spoken words? Here we have these same conditions.

Now the question is then, do these facts reflect upon the intention of these parties? That is a question of fact for the jury. These men may be inspired by a desire to benefit their own wages; they may be inspired by a desire to help the people over in Arizona improve their wages; they may be inspired by the purpose to abolish the rustling card in all those camps, or they may be inspired by a purpose to see

that none of them profiteer, or they may be inspired by a purpose to see that that condition is abolished in industry which is responsible for prostitution, for murder, for the wrecking of human lives and morals all over the country, and in any one of those things, it is for the jury to say whether that is the fact or not, and any one of those things may furnish a motive, and the elimination of any one of those evils may supply the intent, and any one of those intents is lawful, and whether lawful or unlawful, under state statutes, your Honor would have no jurisdiction under this count, if that appeared to be the situation presented by the conspiracy.

Now to say that a man—that we will admit evidence here that he was prompted by a selfish purpose to save his own life, or to protect his own health, but that he may not offer evidence to show that he was prompted by an altruistic purpose to save the lives of his fellow-workers and their families, to protect their morals and their health, is to take an absolutely arbitrary position in the matter. To my mind, the one furnishes a much more potent motive for action than the other, a much higher motive than the other, and it is the fact in this case, that it was the intent to eliminate those things which inspired these defendants in calling these strikes, and every other strike they ever do call, and there was absolutely no thought at any time of interfering with any government contract or interfering with the production of anything necessary for the Government's war program. Your Honor, That is a plain issue of fact for a jury. If it was an issue of fact in the case of a mine inspector, and the case of the bunk house, where their lives and safety are at stake, then it is an issue of fact and interest to the jury as to all other industrial conditions, which jeopardize everybody's lives, their own included.

Now I propose to show—I do not offer these things as evidence of the truth of the fact,—I offer these as I offer any communication made to a de-

fendant, which he says furnished the inspiration for the acts he did. I am going to show that these men received this communication, whether in printed form, or typewritten form or spoken form does not matter, that they were told these facts existed in industry, and they observed these conditions were wrong and said, "We will form an organization on the same line on which our industries are organized, for the purpose of combating the organized power of industry, and thereby, on the job, eliminate these things."

Counsel says he cannot, and I am perfectly willing to believe it, because as far as I have been able to observe, he has not any social vision,—he says he cannot understand what I mean when I say we are not attacking political conditions; his mind runs in political grooves; mine runs in a social groove. Nothing was ever further from the purpose of this organization than to interfere with any establishment political condition or any established legal condition, but if your Honor can get this clear, I am sure all difficulty over that point will vanish absolutely.

The right to make a profit off of an employe is not a legal right. It is not even a moral right. It is a moral wrong. The ability to do that grows out of organized power, economic power of employers. One employer employing one employe, each dependent upon the other, has no such power on either side. But trusts, embracing millions of dollars and employing hundreds of thousands of men who have to eat, who have to live, who have to support their families and clothe themselves and educate their children, they have that power and they use that power, and the reason they use that power is because their employes do not organize. Workingmen have learned that truth, not only from their own experiences, but they learned it from this book which I have been talking about. Why, hundreds of thousands of copies of a little abbrevation of this book

were sold by this organization. It is its Bible. Now having learned that fact, here is the program: We are going out into the industry; it has become a question whether or not my employer or our employer can employ us at $5 a day and thereby make $5 profit, or whether we will make him pay eight or nine dollars a day; the figures are arbitrary,—eight or nine dollars a day, thereby cutting down his profits. If we can cut that profit low enough, his system of industry will topple and fall. If he can cut our wages low enough, then our morals and our civilization will topple and fall.

I do not know whether it is right that those things should be left to ajustment by such forces, but they are adjusted that way, and they always have been, and the courts of the country have said, you cannot fix those things by law. The Supreme Court of the United States has said, you cannot fix wages by law. Then how can you fix them? The Supreme Court of the United States has said you cannot fix hours of labor by law, except in the ten hours women's case in Oregon, which Justice Brandies took up; those things are not only not required to be settled by law, but cannot be, within the provisions of our constitution. Then how are you going to do it? How are you going about eradicating them? Your Honor tried it by twenty-nine million dollars fines. I have not heard that any of it was ever paid. It has been tried by trust-busting. It has been tried by this method and the other method. It is all right to try them,—no harm, but this method by which the system itself was established can be employed against it with just as much law and just as much right as it was originally employed to establish it.

Now that takes no thought of any governmental function at all. It does not seek to disturb our form of government or our institutions of government.

Now if I am correct in stating, your Honor, that this intent to interfere with these laws is traversable

then we may offer anything which shows what the intent of the parties is, anything communicated to them. If it is not traversable, on the other hand, then I cannot even put in evidence here on the issue of the strike, whether there was danger of fire, whether there were conditions that menaced health. If it is not traversable, you cannot put in any evidence, but there has never been a case, your Honor, that it was held that intent being an element, it could not be traversed.

Now counsel has brought here a case decided on statutes, where the element of intent did not enter, statutory offenses, or it may be in one or two of them, the act being unlawful, they held that the perpetrator of the act was presumed to intend the results of all the consequences. But this act was lawful; the strike was lawful; any strike was lawful, unless accompanied by intent which brought it within the jurisdiction of this court, or within the purview of the statute under which counsel is proceeding.

Now in The People against Flack, reported in the 125 N. Y., I am reading from page 332:

"The gist of the crime of conspiracy consists in a corrupt agreement between two or more individuals to do an unlawful act, unlawful either as a means or as an end. The agreement may be established by direct proof or by inference, as a deduction from conduct which disclosed a common design on the part of the persons charged to act together for the accomplishing of the unlawful purpose. At common law, the crime of conspiracy was complete when a corrupt argument was made, although not followed by any overt act, and no step had been taken in furtherance of the object of the conspiracy. The statute of New York has modified the common law in this respect, by requiring that to constitute the crime of conspiracy, there must be both an agreement and an overt act to effect the object of the agreement, except the conspiracy is to commit certain felonies specified. The formation of a common design by two or more persons is never **simpliciter** a criminal

conspiracy. This may be and often is perfectly innocent. The criminal quality resides in the intention of the parties to the agreement."

I want counsel to show me anywhere a single conspiracy case where any other rule was announced. There is no use talking about statutory offenses. not have to go outside of it.

"The criminal quality resides in the intention of the parties to the agreement, construed in connection with the purpose contemplated."

Now here, what is the criminal quality of this act? An intent to interfere with certain laws. Not only is it the criminal element of the act, but it is the thing essential to your Honor's jurisdiction, without which we would be over in a state court some place trying this case.

"The mere fact that the conspiracy has for its object the doing of an act which may be unlawful, followed by the doing of such act, does not constitute the crime of conspiracy, unless the jury find that the parties were actuated by a criminal intent. In many cases this inference would be irresistible; in others the jury might find that, although the object of the agreement and the overt act were unlawful, nevertheless the parties charged acted under a misconception or in ignorance, without any actual criminal motive. If that conclusion should be reached by the jury, then, whatever other criminal penalties the parties might have incurred, the crime of conspiracy would not have been established, and the defendants would be entitled to an acquittal. The actual criminal or wrongful purpose must accompany the agreement, and, if that is absent, the crime of conspiracy has not been committed."

"But to make an agreement between two or more persons to do an act, innocent in itself"—like our strike; as I say sabotage enters only in connection with the word 'force,'—conspiracy by force to prevent——"

"It is not enough that it appears that the act

which was the object of the agreement was prohibited. The confederation must be corrupt. The agreement must have been entered into with an evil purpose, as distinguished from a purpose simply to do the act prohibited, in ignorance of the prohibition. This is implied in the meaning of the word 'conspiracy'."

Later on it is stated that it is open to the jury to find from the evidence that no criminal intention existed, and if this had been found, to have acquitted the defendants.

Now in the Pettibone case, 148 U. S.:

"It is insisted, however, that the evil intent is to be found, not in the intent to violate the United States statute, but in the intent to commit an unlawful act, in the doing of which justice was in fact obstructed." This is a conspiracy to obstruct justice, "and that therefore, the intent to preceed in the obstruction of justice must be supplied by a fiction of law." That is what counsel says. "But the specific intent to violate the statute must exist to justify a conviction, and, this being so, the doctrine that there may be a transfer of intent in regard to crimes flowing from general malevolence has no applicability."

In this case I have stated, not merely under the terms of the statute which define the offense, but in order that your Honor's jurisdiction may appear specifically, intent is necessary.

Cye, Volume 12, page 152:

"There are certain crimes in which a specific intent to accomplish a particular purpose is an essential element, and for which there can be no foundation upon proof of mere general malice or criminal intent. In these cases it is necessary for the state to prove the specific intent by either direct or circumstantial evidence."

The clearest case I have on the point is this, Buchanan case, reported in the 233 Fed., 1916 decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, at page 257, and this is just as pat

as it can be, because it charges the identical offense charged, Mr. Nebeker, in the second count of this indictment.

MR. NEBEKER: I remember the case.

MR. VANDERVEER: Section 19 of the Criminal Code. The question of intent is presented in this case just exactly as it is in the Buchanan case, under an indictment attempting to charge the same offense.

Now in the Buchanan case, your Honor will observe that the act done was in itself unlawful, and the court says so. Your Honor will observe that it had an inevitable, unavoidable tendency to accomplish the thing which this statute prohibits. Some men had conspired to go on to a homestead, where a man was residing under the Homestead Law, and under the protection of those laws, and his right was a right under the constitution, and they tore down his buildings. That has some tendency, your Honor, to interfere with his rights. They conspired to do it and they did do it. The question arose, is this the element of intent an element in the offense, and the court said, of course it is, and to admit evidence not only of the intent which actuated them in the thing which they did, but of the motive which supplied it, —statements made by so and so as to certain facts, out of which the intent developed.

"The plaintiffs in error were convicted of violating section 19 of the Penal Code which makes it a crime for two or more persons to conpire 'to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same.' They went upon land held by James H. Scott and wife by virtue of an unperfected homestead entry under the laws of the United States, and tore down and removed buildings and improvements." "Unperfected" does not mean "imperfect"; it merely means that the five years necessary to a ripening of their homestead entry title had not passed.

"Buchanan was the leader and director; the others were men either in his general service or specially employed by him to assist in what was done. In any aspect the conduct of the accused was indefensible."

That is all that can be said in this case.

"Viewed most favorably for them, it was a case of high-handed, lawless self-help. But there was a question, and rather a close one as to most of them, whether their intent was to interfere with the exercise by the Scotts of their homestead right, or, on the other hand, and wholly aside from the character of the occupancy of the land, they believed Buchanan owned the improvements and was entitled to remove them. If that belief was entertained in good faith, and the intent of Buchanan's helpers was but to aid him, in the assertion of his supposed title they did not violate the act of Congress. Intent in respect of the federal right is an essential element of the offense charged. See United States v. Waddell, 112 U. S. 76, 20, 5 Sup. Ct. 35, 28 L. Ed. 673. The legal quality and consequences of an act are not always apparent or definitely indicated. Some acts are of such an equivocal or ambiguous character that the judicial inquiry turns wholly upon the particular motive which may be disclosed by extrinsic evidence. The murder of a homestead entryman, for example, would effectually prevent him from perfecting and enjoying his entry, but it may have been the result of private personal malice without relation to his tenure.

"The trial court excluded various questions asked the accused by their counsel to elicit their belief that Buchanan owned the improvements, the grounds of their belief, and their intent in what they did. Whenever the belief of a person, or the motive or intent of his act or conduct is material, he may testify directly what it was. Wigmore on Ev. Sec. 531. He may also give the grounds of the belief upon which his motive or intent proceeded, including the statements of third persons to him. Id. Secs. 245, 655,

1789. In the case at bar the statements of third persons to the accused, which were excluded, were not offered as evidence of their truth, but as tending to show the state of mind they produced, and therefore they were not within the rule against hearsay evidence."

This matter is in here, your Honor, as I said before, a dozen different ways.

THE COURT: Now there I want to ask you a question on that. What is the title of that case?

MR. VANDERVEER: Pardon me?

MR. NEBEKER: United States against Buchanan.

MR. VANDERVEER: United States against Buchanan.

THE COURT: Now suppose it had been attempted in that case by the defendants, to show that the general homestead policy of the United States was an inequitable policy?

MR. VANDERVEER: It would be ridiculous.

THE COURT: Unfair,—

MR. VANDERVEER: It would be ridiculous, of course.

THE COURT: Suppose the fact to be that the defendant in that case had a deep conviction on that point, and that he was as harmless as a woman, as far as deeds of violence were concerned, and yet he had such a conviction as to the inequity of the provisions of the Homestead Law, that in order to give voice to those convictions, in a way that he thought would bring about their reform, by bringing it to public attention, he did that thing, that would be motive as distinguished from intent, would it not?

MR. VANDERVEER: Correct,—there is no question about it. Your Honor, this is what we are trying to do in this case. Your Honor has no conception about what we are intending to do.

THE COURT: Regardless of rules of evidence,—I have not considered this other thing on that, with regard to technical rules of evidence at all. I think the the rules of evidence undoubtedly must allow it.

The whole situation about the mines and about the lumber, timber, forests, and the mills in which these activities occurred may be put in evidence here.

MR. VANDERVEER: Also the method by which these men learned them. You cannot put the fact in alone; you must prove the man's acquaintance with the fact.

THE COURT: Suppose you offered to put in evidence, for instance, that a given lumber mill was the property of a certain corporation, the owners of the stock of which were worth ten billion dollars—three individuals worth ten billion dollars. Now what I cannot understand is how that fact would be material on the question of intent.

MR. VANDERVEER: It would not be. Your Honor, here are the facts: In an industry, certain things are produced, the proceeds of which are divided between certain classes, which combine to produce them. If the working people do not get enough to support themselves and to support their children, certain things follow: Poverty, want, ignorance, prostitution, crime, everything follows. Working people are interested in that—just as much interested in that as they are in having a mine safe. If your Honor can get that, you have got all there is to it. They are just as much interested in having those conditions which affect all industries alike remedied as they are in having safety devices put in this mine.

THE COURT: I have got that. I have had that all the while.

MR. VANDERVEER: Now how are they going to get safety devices in the mine, shorter hours of labor, compel the institution of sanitary bunk houses? By law? It is possible in some cases. In some other cases you cannot do it that way, but in any case, you have the right to do it in other ways, —by strikes. From time immemorial, strikes have occurred over issues like that. If you have the right to strike for the one, you have the right to strike for the other. If you have a right to strike in one indus-

try, you have a right to strike in the whole industry, to clean it up, or in all industries, to clean them all up. Now if the question is in issue in this case, "What is the intent with which you struck?" we cannot get away from that question, your Honor, the intent with which we struck——

THE COURT: No, and you are perfectly right in saying it is traversable.

MR. VANDERVEER: That is all I want to do, is to traverse it. For instance, in Butte, I want to show we had one intent; in the lumber camps two others, and in Arizona others, and that there is a general condition throughout all industry, not peculiar to this, but existing in these as well as in others, which it was also our intent to remedy, and that in none of those things did we for one moment think of the Government's need.

I want to show, for instance, in Butte, one of the things they rebelled against, and one of the things that actuated everybody, was the profiteering. That instead of trying to thwart the government's purpose, we were trying to thwart the man who was trying to hold up the Government. It runs all through the bulletins. It runs all through the literature. It runs through the lectures that were made there. It runs through the correspondence. Isn't that an answer to the charge that we were attempting to injure the Government? I think so.

THE COURT: The point I was dealing with particularly, to get at that first, was the proposition by the introduction of the findings of an independent board, governmental board, of general industrial conditions in the United States, and except as I gathered it in the newspapers at the time of the Commission's activities, I know nothing about it, but my recollection is that it is very general in its scope; that it covers industry in America, is that it?

MR. VANDERVEER: Yes, it covers it both generally and specifically.

THE COURT: And the point that occurs to me in

this present situation, on this objection, is that while that might throw light on motive as distinguished from intent, and there is a clear distinction between motive and intent, while it might throw light on motive, it could not throw any possible light upon the intent of certain activities in the timber forests of America.

MR. VANDERVEER: Now that may be correct—

THE COURT: And quarry conditions in Indiana, for instance.

MR. VANDERVEER: That may be reasonably accurate reasoning, but suppose a man goes on here, and in contradiction of your Honor's surmise today, says under oath that "It did directly mould my intent." Suppose Mr. Thompson says, "Everything I did"——

THE COURT: Suppose the man says, "I read this think about the Indiana Stone Quarry, and from that reading I came to this conclusion, that that is a vicious system; that the owners of those quarries ought to be hung; therefore I did this thing,—made up my mind I would do this thing in the copper mines or in the timber forests."

MR. VANDERVEER: Which thing is lawful.

THE COURT: Well, I am not assuming, for the purpose of this,—I am not dealing with the question of whether it is lawful or not; I am dealing now with the question of intent, to illustrate what I have in mind, about intent, as distinguished from motive. "I, now, because of this condition in the stone quarries in Indiana and Kentucky, I will do this thing in the timber industry." Now there is a definite, specific intent to do a thing in the lumber industry.

MR. VANDERVEER: Well, suppose I put it this way, your Honor, and this will make it perfectly clear: I sit down and I read the report of this Commission, which tells me of sixteen thousand families which came under observation, and two-thirds earned less than $750 a year family wage, in all industry; one-third earned less than $500 a year, in all industries,—not in Indiana stone quarry—but in all

industries, and at the same time, $700 was necessary to support them, to support a family; absolutely necessary to support them with the bare necessities of life. I make up my mind that is wrong; that is leading to prostitution; that is leading to crime. Now there my motive stops. That is motive. I have got the motive now. What do I do? I read on further in this report? I find where it says the only possible means of preventing this exploitation, is for the workers to organize. Thereupon I form an intent. I get both from that book. My intent then is to go out, wherever God Almighty gives my hand the power to strike, I am going to strike that system, whether it happens first in the lumber industry or first in some other industry, from a matter of mere chance, for whether this organization can, it is going to strike that thing which is ruining American morals and American standards.

Now suppose that having read these things, I am called upon to take part in the lumber strike, as Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Johanson did; there is not any evidence against either one except this, and they are both lecturers on this very report. I went out there where God had given me my first chance, and I told the workers about this rotten system, and told them it was inherent in all industry, and in theirs as well as in the others, and I stated: The only power you have lies in your organization; organize. Organize on an industrial rather than a craft basis, and when you have done that, then use your economic power to prevent exploitation, just the same as the other fellow uses it to exploit you, and you can stop this thing. What is the matter with the story? What is the matter with the defense? Hasn't a man a right to take that high, impersonal moral plane as the foundation and the motive for his action? Hasn't he a right to be governed in the determination of his purpose and intention by those considerations, as well as the selfish thought of himself and his health? Well, these men have, anyway, and when they swear

they have, let counsel cross examine them all he wants to. Why doesn't it go to the jury? If the question of their intention is traversable, they must be left to assign their intentions and be judged by it, whether it seems to you or to me or to any one else that they are probably telling the truth or not.

They have had a definite, fixed purpose,—purpose and intention are synonymous,—as a direct result of reading, not only the facts but the advice given in this report, to go out and do what alone can save them from exploitation,—organize. Organize industrially. All your steel workers in one labor trust, the same as your steel factories are in an industrial trust, and when you have done that, then you meet at the point of production, and it is a question of who can force his will on the other, and the worker says, "I am bound to win because without me they cannot support, they cannot sustain this tremendous financial fabric, which must have dividends, and which cannot get them any place except through me."

He says "you cannot attack it politically." Judge Landis tried it legally; you cannot do it politically; Roosevelt did it. You cannot regulate hours of labor by law, because the Supreme Court says so, but every court on earth has said "I may go to the point of production and oppose my combined power to his combined power, and by the use of my same kind of power, which he has used in robbing me and mine of the things which we must have to be citizens' "——

THE COURT: Will you turn to this indictment, I believe it is count two, you quoted from count two a while ago, and let me take that.

MR. VANDERVEER: I was going to mention the fifth count later; that is a mail fraud count; I have a mail fraud case here, but your Honor is just as familiar with the law of that subject.

I wanted to mention the case of Fall against the United States, reported in 209 Fed., page 547, a decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit. The offense charged here was conspiracy

under section 37, to violate section 215, just as the fifth count in this indictment has. The fraud which it was alleged that the defendant conspired to commit was to defraud the state of South Dakota of certain bounties by fraudulent practice in handling wolf skins. The court said:

"These defendants were charged under Penal Code 37 with conspiracy to violate section 215. The indictment specially charges that the offense was committed, and that defendants did intend to cheat and defraud the state of South Dakota, and that it was 'intended' to be made effective by the use of the mails. If these and similar allegations had been omitted, the indictment would probably have been defective."

Then there is a quotation from the Evans case, 153 U. S., page 584:

"Although an evil or malicious mind or will is necessary to the commission of most offenses, it is not necessary in all cases to aver a guilty intent as a substantive part of the crime in giving its technical description in an indictment or information. In those cases in which the act necessarily includes the intent, it is sufficient to aver the act in apt and technical terms and the intent will be inferred. But where the common law or statute makes a particular intention essential, or there is an attempt, not accomplished, to do a criminal act, and the evil intent only can be punished, it is then necessary to allege the intent with directness and precision, although there are cases in which an attempt to commit a willful and malicious crime imports ex vi termini an intent to commit that crime. A specific intent which is made part of the offense by the statute creating it, must be charged, as where the intent with which an act is done brings it within a statute punishing as a felony that which at common law was a misdemeanor, or where an act is criminal only if done with a particular intent." 22 Cyc., evidently.

Then the Court goes on:

"Here the question is not one of criminal pleading but of evidence. Would the evidence rejected have tended to refute any of that offered by the government"—That is the test. Now in this case, they must offer evidence to sustain this first count, and they have, I presume,—"That the intent of the parties in precipitating this strike was to interfere with the supply of certain materials to the government." That is, to specify the intent, and it must be proven, and it may be traversed and you may traverse it by showing that you had, instead of that intent, any other intent on earth. And you may show the facts which gave rise to the intent; the circumstances; any information communicated to you.

"In this case there was no direct evidence of any conspiracy. The proof of that rested upon circumstances. More than usually in criminal cases the condition of the minds of the Falls was important. It is laid down that in conspiracy there must be intentional participation in the transactions with a view to the furtherance of the common design or purpose. There must have been a scheme or artifice to defraud. What does this mean? Does it not include the intention to defraud? Even in a civil case under the bankruptcy law the Supreme Court had held that under section 67-e, in determining whether a conveyance was made with the intent and purpose to hinder, delay and defraud creditors, the intent is the very essence of the offense. The intent is the gist of the right to avoid a transfer.

"Of course we do not mean that in ordinary cases ignorance of the law or a conscientious conviction that the law was unjust or the like would defeat a conviction. Reynolds vs. United States, 98 U. S. 145. What we do mean is that an intention to take part in a conspiracy is always essential to the commission of the crime of conspiracy, and where it is charged that the conspiracy was to defraud some other person, an intention to defraud is essential."

Now we have the same thing here. We are concerned with what is not only the intention of the

organization as a whole, but because that cannot be imputed to every member of it by mere reason of his membership, we are dealing with exactly one hundred other questions of intent. The intent of Ashleigh; the intent of McDonald; the intent of John Foss, who wrote that he was sorry Frank Little was killed, and that is all. What are their intentions? McDonald comes on here with one of these sets of books taken from him; an editor of a paper. He has written lots of things which can only be understood in the light of what he knew and had in mind, gathered from this book.

(Continuing reading) "It is said that to constitute a crime the act must, except in the case of certain statutory crimes, be accompanied by a criminal intent or by such neglect and indifference to duty or consequences as is regarded by the law as equivalent to a general intent. An act does not make a man guilty unless he be so in intention, but this is not the exact rule on which we rely. A man is presumed to intend the natural and ordinary results of his own acts, and consequently if one does an unlawful act it is presumed that it was done with a crimanl intention, but this presumption is not a conclusive one and may be rebutted by the defendant.

" 'There are certain crimes of which a specific intent to accomplish a particular purpose is an essential element,'—"

Clearly this is one. Not only the first and second but the five counts. All of them. (Continuing reading.) " 'is an essential element, and for which there can be no conviction upon proof of mere general malice or criminal intent. In these cases it is necessary for the state to prove the specific intent by either direct or circumstantial evidence.'

"What is here announced is that, where the government relies upon circumstances to prove a conspiracy or the devising of a scheme and artifice to defraud, the case comes within the class where an intent different from the ordinary criminal intent must be shown."

That was the fifth count. (Continuing reading) "Here the government called numbers of witness by whom affidavits purported to be on file of the killing of a number of animals in excess of those which they testified upon the trial they had killed. That was a circumstance"—then there is an analysis of the evidence. But the general principle is clear, your Honor, that in a mail fraud case, the question of intent to defraud is the question specifically in issue; must be proven. It may be traversed. Now they say that certain things here were done, or a part of the scheme was to defraud. We say that no man has an inalienable right to exploit, and all we ever thought about it was not to defraud but to prevent exploitation.

Now on the sabotage matter, we join issue on that, and that most cheerfully, but we must be permitted to join issue on the intent, otherwise we can try one-half of the case, and the smallest half of it, in any conspiracy case. In any mail fraud case we have shown your Honor two decisions by the Circuit Court of appeals, one under the second and one under the fifth, in both of which it is clearly states that the thing which constituted intent is in issue and must be proven; may be traversed. I only ask in this case, to show what the intent of the defendant was, and I am eliminating the question of motive, altogether, if you please, because motive merely precedes.

THE COURT: Now the Buchanan case, the error which the court committed was in the refusal to allow the defendant to answer the question as to the ownership of the property.

MR. VANDERVEER: More than that.

THE COURT: The purpose being, as I got it——

MR. VANDERVEER: And refusing to permit him to testify what Buchanan told him.

THE COURT: On that subject——

MR. VANDERVEER: As to ownership, yes. Both matters are presented.

THE COURT: The charge being that the occupant, that these men conspired to defraud him of the right, namely, the right of occupy that land. Now, if it in fact did not belong to him, the law did not give him the right to occupy it. The technical offense with which the indictment charged the defendant was conspiracy to deprive the man of a lawful right. The defendant wanted to tell the jury that the men told him that it was not the defendant's own property. Now if that were permitted, even if he went in there without having his actual frame of mind—if he went in there with fifty armed men and destroyed the property utterly, one element of the offense charged in that indictment would be lacking, namely, the intent to deprive that occupant of the right under the law.

MR. VANDERVEER: Exactly, just as here, the intent to defraud is lacking, where the intent actually is merely to prevent exploitation. Just as here., the intent to obstruct by force, the execution of the statute. That is made clearly by evidence to show that the intent was merely to remedy industrial conditions. That is exactly it, just like in all the cases.

THE COURT: As I roughly read over the count, —the mail fraud count—it is charged that the defendants conspired to violate section 215 in that the defendants agreed among themselves that they would impress persons seeking to employ labor, with the fact that if certain persons were employed, those persons would render efficient service; whereas in truth and in fact, it was the defendant's intention at that time not to do that thing. Now suppose that that was the frame of mind of the defendants. Suppose that the object honestly sought to be attained by the defendants was the ridding of the industrial system generally, of actual evils. Suppose that was the end which they really had in mind to accomplish; but suppose the facts were as I have indicated, what would be the materiality of the end which the defendant sought to attain?

MR. VANDERVEER: Nothing. But suppose instead of that, this were the situation: The defendants —the evidence against 75 of a hundred of these defendants is merely evidence that he acted as an organizer or that he was a delegate. Your Honor has held it is enough, against the motion for a directed verdict, but it might be met not as to the intention of the organization, but as to the intention of the individual. How? By showing: "Yes, I was an organizer, but I never had any thought of entering into a conspiracy to do this thing to that farm. What I had in mind was, and the purpose of every speech that I made all the purpose of everything that I did towards building this organization, was to prevent this exploitation." What is inconsistent? Suppose that your Honor had the misfortune to be in this case, that would be your position. You do not have to say, "The organization's principles are right." You can stop by saying "mine was," no matter what the other's were, my whole thought and my whole intent was not to defraud anybody, but to get together an organization which could get out in the economic field and in the economic struggle, and in accordance with economic laws accomplish certain social results. Why not? What is there to that? Isn't that a perfectly proper defense? My intent is the issue, if I am a defendant, just as much as the intent of the other man; as much or more so than the intent of the whole organization. An individual has a right to put in his individual defense and show that in what he did he had no thought of any such thing. It may be there were men here—your Honor —who thought to defraud. It may be again—I don't know—we must not indulge in presumptions against them—but clearly it may also be that there are other men who had no such thought. The fact that they belong to one organization does not foreclose them of their right to show what the intent was. Now as to these men who merely organized. May they not show what their purpose was in their organization? As to Thompson, he was merely a lecturer on the

Industrial Relations Commission report. May he not say what his intention was in telling the public about this great truth that the Government had told him? Clearly. That is the position I am contending for. It would be unnecessary—your Honor is exactly right. The organization admitting the fact to be that it had divised this scheme, could not be heard to say, "I did it because of a motive which justified the wrong." You cannot justify wrongs in a legal sense by any such motive. I have not for one moment meant to suggest that, but these men, who do not admit either that the organization had such principles, or if it did that they clearly had none,—they know of it, they went out and lectured and told these truths because of a certain effect it had made upon their minds, and certain principles it had fixed there, they may be heard to tell that story for the particular truth that the jury must decide.

MR. NEBEKER: If the court please, I think—it seems to me that counsel's entire discussion has thrown absolutely no light upon this question at all. We concede that the question of intent is nothing in this conspiracy, of course; that is, legal, criminal intent. But all we are contending is that the question of motive is not involved here, and it is not any more involved in the case of one of these defendants that any other; as to what the past has been, as to what has entered into their frame of mind, it is absolutely immaterial. It would be no different, your Honor,—it would be no more a matter of evidence in this case to show that this particular influence came into the mind of J. P. Thompson, that he read this stuff that is in the Industrial Relations Committee report,—and I think you can find anything there, by the way,—my recollection is that it is unsworn testimony; people just got up there and talked. It was a forum for every crank and every kind of person in the United States to have a place to be heard, and they all availed themselves of it; but regardless of all that, this influence comes into J. P. Thompson's mind. Why is it any more material

than any other influence that has come into his mind since he was an infant, as going to make up a motive that he has ultimately in his conduct? None whatever, of course. The question is, if it comes to the question of intent, did J. P. Thompson either by himself or in combination with these other men, intend to do the specific thing that the organization and he and the others have done? That is criminal intent. The homestead case that counsel reads from is a very good illustration of the distinction which counsel apparently does not perceive. You see, there was a mistake of fact. These men did not know, in fact did not believe that they were interfering with the property of that homesteader. On the information they had they supposed they were doing something with the property of their employer; so there was a mistake of fact; so it would be perfectly competent in this case, for these men to come into court and say, "We never did intend to shut down the mine," for example, "we supposed that if we withdrew from that mine or that lumber industry or from the logging camp, that other men would come there and take our places." "We were laboring under a mistake of fact. We thought that men would go right on and the government would not be hampered in its operations. That is the only way to state this case so as to bring it within the principle of the homestead case.

MR. VANDERVEER: Do you claim that a strike was unlawful of itself?

MR. NEBEKER: Absolutely unlawful of itself. Absolutely. Unquestionably unlawful of itself. Now, upon this principle—in the first place, there are numerous elements of unlawfulness involved in every I. W. W. strike from the beginning of the organization down to the present time. In fact, all of this stuff we have read into the record here and that your Honor has been compelled to listen to and all of us have been compelled to read, which has not been a very pleasant task, I assure you—in all of it,

the whole proposition has been that the ordinary A. F. of L. strike, as they call it, the ordinary folded-arm strike, the ordinary strike by which men either individually or collectively cease to work, is not an I. W. W. strike. That point is so clear that anybody can see it. So that the old time, the old fashioned strike is nothing in this controversy at all. It involves the fact of the element of unlawfulness that has been denounced by all of the courts. It has been held recently, as your Honor will remember, in the Coal Company case, that where there is this element of unlawfulness in a strike, it is an unlawful strike. In that case, men had been operating first as union men. It had been unsatisfactory. The men had struck and so the operators or owners of that mine got together and made it an open mine; they would not take anybody into that mine who belonged to a labor organization, and furthermore, exacted from every man whom they employed, a promise that he would not join a labor organization. Now the A. F. of L., and some affiliated organization sent men in there to organize that mine. Instead of getting the men to join the organization—take out membership in any union, they got them to promise that when sixty per cent of them had done similarly or likewise, they would all join and then they would walk out. That is to say, until there was sixty per cent of them had joined, none of them would walk out and there would be no violation of the right of the employer in the contract that he had made with these people not to join a union; because the only thing they would be performing that contract if they did not join a union and walk out. The courts said squarely in that case that that was an unlawful thing; that getting those people to violate that contract by getting them to sign up in advance that they would walk out when sixty per cent of the members would signify their intention to join the union, was a violation of the contract and it was restrained, and the Supreme Court of the United States upheld that decision.

So here, these people, the slightest thing that they do is to interfere with a contract. They do not pretend to say that they permitted men who wanted to work to go there freely and work. They assert that they exercised an influence over them in the form of a picket line; that they would stop working themselves before the end of the day; before the time when, according to their contract, they were compelled to work. Those are most innocent things, yet that brands all of their strikes as being unlawful strikes. Now, in addition to all of that, they all said and have said all the way along the line that they would practice sabotage; strike on the job, violate property rights of the man who owns the mine or the lumber camp; deal with his property as if it were their own. Now, there will never be any way, of course, for the defendants to get away from that proposition. In addition to that, I say that during the time that the government was in need of the products of these basic industries for war purposes, that in my judgment they had no right to conduct even a folded arm strike, for this reason: A folded arm strike in ordinary times and in times of peace, is all right. Nobody can find any fault with it; nobody has found any fault with it. That is a right that is just as sacred as any right that we enjoy. But, times change. When it comes to a situation by which the country must have the products of these mines and of these basic industries, men must govern themselves differently. They must change their conduct, and if before they have said that they would strike in order to relieve and open the jail doors and take men out of jail,—even if they could do it for such a motive, when it comes to conditions such as prevailed during the time of this indictment, they must no longer do it. They must cease, in other words they must change their program. Now, they did not do that in this case. It seems to me it is illustrated by this: Suppose a man has formed the habit of shooting across a vacant piece of property at a target. He goes on year after year and a thing

which is absolutely lawful. Got a right to do it and nobody questions the right to, and all at once there is a thoroughfare established between where he stands and where the target is, and children and men and women pass along that thoroughfare. Now he insists that he has a right to continue along that line. He clearly has not, and if he hits somebody that happens to be passing by there, although he has no intent whatever to do anybody any injury,—he is just simply exercising the time honored right, as he pleases,—and as he expects,—if he does, and he kills them, he is guilty of murder; the thing being that the circumstances had changed; that is all. What was perfectly lawful before has now become unlawful. It is my contention,—although for the purpose of this question it is not necessary to show that part at all,—I am simply answering a suggestion that has been made by counsel, but it is my contention that it is a question in this case as to what the motive was; as to whether there was a motive involved to do anything that was unlawful. If there was, then they have no right even to conduct what they call a peaceable strike, and without the exercise of force. The only other case that counsel cited on this is that Pettybone case in the 148th United States. Now, the distinction between that case and this is simply the distinction that has been made in the cases throughout. I do not recall clearly the facts, but I know this is the principle that governs that.

MR. VANDERVEER: A conspiracy to tamper with a witness; obstruct justice.

MR. NEBEKER: Well, the question was as to whether or not the wrongful thing intended was of a kind or class so related to the wrongful thing done that it would be fair and lawful to impute that wrongful thing done. I might illustrate that. For instance if a man is out in a forest shooting at game, as he supposes, he may be a trespasser, for example. We will say that he is a trespasser upon some other person's land. To that extent he is a wrong doer;

that is he is engaged in a wrong. He sees what he supposes is a wild animal and he shoots at it. It turns out to be a man. He has killed a man. Now, he is not guilty of murder at all, because the wrongful thing, or the trespass upon this man's land is so unrelated, and so totally unrelated to the thing that he did, that the imputation of intent is not carried over from the actual intent that he had, to the actual thing done. Now, that is not the case here. If it should be shown or if it were contended in this case that by virtue of reading the Industrial Relations Committee report,—by virtue of reading any kind of revolutionary literature, by virtue of any of the influences that have entered into the minds of any of these men they had been induced to do something which was totally irrelated to the actual thing accomplished, it would be a defense. But when they come in and say that all of this influence behind is what actuated them to shut down the mine, and their purpose was to shut down the mine, and it impelled them to close the logging camp, and that that was their purpose, it no longer applies. The principle is entirely clear that in that case they are not entitled to avail themselves of all of this influence. The Buchanan case illustrates the rule. Let us say for example, in Sabotage, that in all these talks about sabotage, where they suggested that a signal light should be left of the track of a railroad, as it is in one of these pamphlets denominated by the organization as official literature, or in some other case where they say it would be perfectly proper to turn a switch and run a train off on another track,—let us suppose that they could go to the full extent of saying that by doing that sort of thing,—they did not know that it might result in any harm,—if such a thing could be conceived of. Then it would be within the principle of the homestead case. If they did not know it would do any harm, or if somebody threw a monkey wrench into threshing machine or a pitch fork or a hoe down, or some foreign substance into a threshing machine,—if they could say "Why, we were entirely surprised at that. We did

not suppose it would do any damage to that threshing machine. We supposed that they had provided a way by which that fork could go through that machine and clean it out, and do the machine good." Then they could make that kind of a defense. But when they concede, as they must concede in this case, that they intended to do the thing done,—not something else — and that they intended that it should have the consequence, — the direct consequence which followed—they must have intended that, they will not contend to the contrary—that is to say, the direct consequence is the shutting down of the mines, to use that for an illustration, or the shutting down of the mill; then that is the direct consequence. Now, if they say that is what they intended, and that they intended to close the mills and the mines and all of the industries of this country, to extend it to the railroads to such an extent that the railroads would not carry on its operations, —if they intended to do that, that is criminal intent, and then the law inquires into it and does not go any further.

Then, any other necessary or direct consequence that flows from that is chargeable to them, for after having clearly intended to do these things, they did interfere with the operations of the government as charged in the first count, then the law says that they are conclusively presumed to have intended that act. The criminal intent of doing that specific thing is visited upon them as a penalty for having intended to shut the mines down. Now, that is criminal intent and there is the clearest line of demarcation between that kind of criminal intent and this motive that counsel speaks about. I say it is not at all material or relevant in this case as to what J. P. Thompson may get upon the stand and testify to as to what he has read. The question first is, did J. P. Thompson do anything in the furtherance of this conspiracy or individually do anything that is charged in this case. That is the first. He says the answer is, "Yes". The facts show that, or it is admitted that he did, then

he comes back and he says, "But I did not intend that." "All right. Very well. What did you intend, Mr. Thompson?" "Well, I intended to benefit society, I intended to overthrow the capitalistic system. I intended to substitute for this rotten government here a government by these geniuses"—these men, these benefactors of humanity. "That was my purpose. I thought they were the men that could take us out of this slough of despond, of you please." Now, this is what I supposed. That is no defense. The next question is the only question, and that, "Did you intend to co-operate with these people to the purpose of shutting down these basic industries, Mr. Thompson?" Regardless of what your method is, and regardless of all of the light that you may have, whether it is human or superhuman, it makes no difference. Did you intend to do that thing?" "Yes."

MR. VANDERVEER: I am willing to let the case be decided on that question.

MR. NEBEKER: "Yes. I intend to advocate the shutting down of the mines and the logging camps and the mills and practicing sabotage upon the farmers interfering with the food supply, when if he says, "Yes, that is what I intended to do," all of the good acts he can scrape up from the time he was born until the present day is immaterial and irrelevant; all of the good literature,—maybe this was Tolstoi—it has been suggested that some defendant has. Maybe another has read the Bible. I suppose counsel would say he suggested that we had taken this Industrial Relations Commission's report out of one of the defendant's possession. If I had personally superintended that, I do not think I would have thought it of enough value to have taken it out of their possession as a matter of fact. But suppose we had taken the Bible out of their possession. By virtue of the fact that we took it out of their possession, would that have entitled them to have gone and read the Bible to us here from Genesis to Revelations? If not in the one case, it strikes me, it would be so in the other. Now, I submit if the Court please, it can-

not seem to be that there has been any suggestion here at all by counsel, which in the slightest degree opens up for consideration here all of these industrial conditions throughout the United States. Why, if it does here, then it seems to me inasmuch as this is a world wide organization, why would it not be proper to go into Old Mexico, Spain, Portugal, Russia and everywhere else in order to show that their ultimate intention is a laudable one; that they had a motive of substituting for the present government everywhere throughout the earth, their particular form of organization; substituting for our political system, an industrial system whereby their flag will be the flag of the world; their flag will be the symbol of their government, and the laws will be made, as they have said Union halls. It seems to me that it is an absurdity to say that that is relative or pertinent to the inquiry.

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor, counsel is driven logically and irresistably and necessarily to take refuge behind the position that a strike in time of war was wrong; that the conspiracy having that for its purpose, is unlawful, regardless of the intent. That is the position he stated here, and that is the position he must state and even then he is wrong, because even if it were a wrong, still the question whether or not they intended to do the thing imputed is not the issue. It is traversable even where the inference can be drawn from the commission of the wrongful act. But his position that the strike is wrong, is absolutely indefensable. The Congress of the United States has just recently passed a law, which, by implication, decides that as a legislative question. If strikes have been unlawful before, because they interfered with war activities, then there was no need to pass the law just recently passed.

MR. NEBEKER: It has always been held that a strike is unlawful if the motive in unlawful. If the strike is to injure the employer.

MR. VANDERVEER: That is all right. We have it exactly. The strike is unlawful if the motive is

unlawful. That is what puts motive and intent in issue. That is what give us the right to inquire whether it is unlawful. That is why it can not be tried as a question of law, if the motive is unlawful. Counsel unconsciously said something there——

MR. NEBEKER: Oh, counsel did not unconsiously say anything of the kind. I want to answer this to this effect simply—I think I made myself clear. Evidently I did not form what he says. It is a question as to whether the plain folded arm strike is lawful or was lawful during the period of the war, has any connection in this controversy.

MR. VANDERVEER: We are going to deny all of that.

MR. NEBEKER: I simply mentioned it because counsel himself had invited the question. That is an open question but it is not included at all in any phase of it,—it does include this question that is before the court in any phase of it.

THE COURT: On the question of the admissibility of this Industrial Relations report and the evidence akin to that,—that is to say evidence dealing with general conditions on the theory that the activity of a defendant in a matter covered by this indictment is to be accounted for by the fact of these conditions having come to his attention, it being his purpose, because of the existence of these conditions, or his belief in these conditions and in his activity in the matter under inquiry to reform those conditions, —my opinion is they are immaterial and they afford a motive at best. They do not go to the question of intent.

MR. VANDERVEER: Why, cannot a witness say that, your Honor, as a question of fact?

THE COURT: Sir?

MR. VANDERVEER: I don't know how your Honor can say that. That is a question of fact.

THE COURT: If a witness testified—it is a fact—the test of it is if a witness testify—the indictment charges him with this thing, and then he could definitely say, "I say to you now, gentlemen of the

jury, I did this thing. When I did it I intended this result."

MR. VANDERVEER: This is conspiracy, that is all.

THE COURT: "But my motive was to reform the industrial condition of the United States," that would be immaterial.

MR. VANDERVEER: Why quite, absolutely, but I spent 15 or 20 minutes or half an hour explaining to your Honor that that was not our thought in the remotest degree: but this thing goes on and says, "You have the only remedy society has. That remedy is to organize and when you have organized, then oppose your economic power to the other fellows, and so I went out intending to help do that and I delivered a lot of lectures. I say he is absolutely within his rights.

THE COURT: Suppose that this Industrial Commission's report, assented to unanimously by the Industrial Commission, and closed the report with a paragraph substantially directing these defendants: "Go ye out and do this thing," it would be immaterial on the trial of this case. Bring in the jury.

MR. VANDERVEER: Does your Honor hold then that it is not in issue why any defendant did any thing and what his intent was in lecturing on the Industrial Commission report?

THE COURT: I will meet that when I come to it. I have indicated generally to you that what is in that Industrial Report has not the slightest bearing on this case. If he went out on that Industrial Commission report and delivered an address which did not deal with the situation connecting him up with a situation which is under inquiry here, it hasn't anything to do with it.

MR. VANDERVEER: Well, but it does.

THE COURT: The question is whether or not he delivered a lecture that did deal with or connect him up with this situation here, co-operating with other men to accomplish a certain result.

(The jury returned to court.)

THE COURT: Gentlemen, we are still threshing out some questions and you will not lose any time by what is going on here. Now, you may stay here for a couple of hours and we may get in a few minutes work this afternoon. At the outside it could not be over 15 or 20 minutes. What would you rather do? Would you rather go out?

A JURYMAN: Yes.

THE COURT: Very well. Half past nine o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon at 3:30 o'clock P. M. an adjournment was taken until 9:30 o'clock P. M. the following day, Tuesday, June 25, 1918.)

Tuesday, June 25, 1918,
9:30 o'clock A.M.

Court resumed pursuant to adjournment.

(Roll call of all defendants; all answered "Present.")

THE COURT: Proceed. Let the record show that the objection made yesterday, was sustained.

MR. VANDERVEER: (Addressing the jury.) This is the second act. It would be manifestly impossible for me, gentlemen, even if it were proper within the limit of time allotted to me attempt it, to tell you that—to tell you all that this hundred or more defendants have said and done, and all that they have had in their minds. They classify themselves, however, into two classes, which are actually exclusive of each other, and yet together comprehensive of the whole. Some of the men have had something to do with strikes, which in itself, is not an unlawful thing, and which becomes unlawful in this case only when accompanied by a certain sinister, unlawful purpose, which is attributed to them in these various counts of the indictment.

Now, the first count, for instance, it is alleged that their purpose was to interfere with the carrying on of certain war activities. In the second count it is charged that their purpose was to, by force and threats of violence, interfere with certain citizens of the United States in the enjoyment of certain privi-

leges guaranteed to them by the constitution and laws of the United States, and not of the state; because if their rights as citizens of the various states had been invaded, then those matters must be taken up in state courts on state charges.

The most pathetic of all, or the most humorous, I do not know which, is the charge in Fifth count that these men have conspired to defraud of their profits, manufacturers of munitions. Now, it is only by reference to this intent that you may determine whether or not the things the men have said, the things the men have done are unlawful, and whether the conspiracy to accomplish these things is a criminal conspiracy or not. Some of these men, again, most of them, have had no direct connection with any strike or any strike activities, but they have been engaged during the period of this conspiracy in one capacity or another, either in organizing men on various jobs, getting them to join the Union—pooling their interests as working men, or they have gone out as lecturers and have carried the Gospel of the organization, whatever it may be, to the men. Again, as to these men, the question is whether their activities in these matters have been unlawful and is a question which must be solved solely by reference to the thing which they had in mind to accomplish; to their intention, in other words. I am not clear in my own mind, upon what theory counsel seeks to hold here, men who have had nothing to do with strikes and men who have nothing to do with war activities; men who have not said a word about war or had anything to do with enlistment or recruiting; nothing whatever to do with military service in any way on earth. It may be that he will contend—I am left to surmise and conjecture in the matter—that he will contend that these men, while not actually participating in strikes, they had in mind to precipitate strikes. There is no evidence of that that I know of. Or it may be that he will contend again that their general activities as members of the organization became unlawful by reason of the unlawful

character of the organization and its purposes. Again, the question whether or not it is lawful or unlawful in its purposes and in its character must be determined by its purposes. Now, on every number of "Solidarity," about which you have heard a good deal here,—on the front—the top of the front page you will find these words: "Education; Organization; Emancipation." What do they mean? What do they mean standing alone and what do they mean taken in connection with other things which you find stated as part of the philosophy of the organization? For instance, what do they mean in connection with the statement that the two classes in our society have nothing in common, the working class and the employing class? What do they mean in connection with the statement that the working class are dissatisfied with conditions and mean to change them? It may be that in the consideration of this question you are going to be left—I don't know, because we will have to wait until we reach these bridges before we cross them—it may be that we will be left to determine the acts of these men by what they said; by the literature which they handled; by the speeches which they made; by the methods they employed to organize their fellow men and the arguments they used. Or, it may be that in corroboration of our position, that they did certain things and said certain things, we will be permitted to show you the authorities upon which they drew for their facts; how the information was communicated to them and why they used it as they did. But, passing for a moment the question of how far we may go into that matter, I want to state to you what the men have said, and what the men have done, and what their intention has been in doing these things. I do not want to repeat. His Honor has struck out my reference to the Industrial Relations Commission's report—I do not want to repeat again, because you have heard it, all that I said about the Industrial facts gathered together in this report and published to the world. You will remember at least sufficiently for this statement,

what I told you about the distribution of our wealth and what it unfolded upon the working people; how the vast majority of our common labor in the industries—in the basic industries, from which this organization recruits its membership, in which it functions, because there it is the most efficient, are unable to earn even the fairest living for themselves and their families. It has been the function of these men to tell these facts to the working people, in order that, understanding their conditions, and understanding the causes of their condition, they may more intelligently and more efficiently go out and find and apply the remedy. It is a sad commentary on our system that 79 per cent of the heads of our working families are utterly unable to support their families and to educate their children on a plane of civic decency. Now, these things, of which that is one, and the others I mentioned yesterday are others, are of themselves important enough for us to know in a way; but in another way they represent spilled milk. Their importance is historical. Nobody in the world can right the wrongs of the past. All we can do is to concern ourselves with the future and prevent if possible further development and growth of a system which brings these things about.

I told you yesterday that 100 per cent—all of the men in the railway industry were employed by a corporation. That 90 per cent in the mines were employed by a corporation; that 75 per cent in the other industries were employed by corporations. The significance of this thing socially, is two fold. In the first place it is significant of a tendency in our industrial development which means a great deal for the future, but to get the full significance of it industrially, we have go to go further and see and show you that all business has organized in corporate form to an extent which I have indicated, and it has gone ahead then by consolidation of corporations and organized itself into trust form. What is this process? What is the purpose and method by which corporations, once organized, get together and

blend themselves by a system of interlocking directorates or what-not, into a larger industrial unit known as the trust? If there a half a dozen corporations in a given industry, producing copper or producing lumber or producing steel, or producing food stuffs, —it does not matter what—they have to conduct their business in accordance with the laws of competition and the standards by which they either succeed or fail is the standard of efficiency. The man who by a greater economic power, either of effort or material, or by greater efficiency in some other line, can produce an article or a better quality or at a cheaper price, will succeed, where his less fortunate or less efficient rival will fail. This law of competition operates to keep down the price of your commodity. But it also operates to keep down the profit, and profit is indispensable. We have reared up in our midst here a tremendous industrial fabric. When we look at it sometimes and contemplate the figures which it represents, it is appalling. We wonder what we are going to do. But the bigger the thing is the more it must be fed, because you have got to feed it 6 per cent or 10 per cent or 20 per cent or 25 per cent a year, otherwise it disintegrates of itself. Now, realizing the need of dividends—the need of profit with which to hold this fabric together, the idea was conceived sometime ago—I don't know just when,—that by the elimination of competition, prices could be absolutely controlled. It was discovered that whether one organization,—one trust controlled 40 per cent, or thereabouts of the output of any industry, that it thereby was enabled to fix an absolute price for the output of the entire industry. That price or that limit of profit over and above the profit usually incident to a competitive system, has been called "extra profit."

MR. NEBEKER: Just a moment, Mr. Vanderveer. If the Court please, I object to this line of statement made by counsel, in that it is improper, and it is in violation of the Court's ruling. It has thus far this morning been dealing entirely with general indus-

trial conditions, and that is the question that the Court has already passed upon; statements made with reference to all of these other matters, outside of the specific matters involved in this case are within the Court's ruling, and they should not be made, and the jury should be instructed to disregard them.

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor knows that I am trying faithfully to accommodate myself to your Honor's ruling, but I believe your Honor will hold that I have the right to put on the witness stand a man who has been accused of making a certain speech at a certain time, which was either unpatriotic or which advocated sabotage, or which did this or that or the other thing, and show by that witness what, in fact, he really did say.

THE COURT: There is no question about that.

MR. VANDERVEER: That is what I am doing.

MR. NEBEKER: Now, if the Court please——

THE COURT: Your present statement is on the general industrial condition of the United States, from your standpoint, which I ruled would not go in evidence here.

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor ruled that the industrial relations——

THE COURT: Any concern that has 40 per cent control of business can fix prices. What proportion of men are in this, that or the other condition, as shown by this report. It was not merely that it was in that industrial report that caused me to make that ruling. The fact itself——

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor does not understand me. I am telling this jury, although I am not repeating it every word, but I know at least one of these defendants will tell this jury—a man who has been accused of making another kind of a speech——

THE COURT: This is a statement of a speech that one of your witnesses made?

MR. VANDERVEER: At least one, or more than one, or the blending of speeches of several of them.

THE COURT: As distinguishing a speech which the prosecution testified he made?

MR. VANDERVEER: Yes, sir.

THE COURT: That is the theory of it?

MR. VANDERVEER: That is the theory of it; yes, sir.

THE COURT: Very well. Proceed. There is no question about that.

MR. VANDERVEER: I thought not.

THE COURT: There won't be. In order that nobody has any misunderstanding,—if the prosecution gave evidence that he made a bad speech against the war, or conscription, and the facts be that he never touched it, but on the same occasion he made a speech expounding geology or astronomy———

MR. VANDERVEER: That I contend, although that meets the requirements of the situation completely, because I can keep and will keep within the limits of that rule—but evidence of any speech, the substance of which is, perhaps, left undisclosed, with the inference that it was for the infamous or sinister purpose which counsel attributes to the organization, opens the right to explain what was said. He made have made a Fourth of July speech.

MR. NEBEKER: I understood, if the Court please, that this matter left in this particular form will be misleading to the jury. Now, counsel thus far this morning has not stated that this is what some speaker would say industrial conditions are; but he stated them as being facts that he expected to prove.

THE COURT: The jury will certainly understand from this colloquy that the ruling of the Court is that these things referred to by counsel as ultimate facts here, are not in dispute in this case. On the trial of this case we are not determining whether the present industrial system is a good system or not; whether the system by which individuals incorporate themselves into corporations is a good system or not. We will not get to that point in the trial of this case. It is not involved here. This statement by the counsel

for the defendants is not that these conditions which he mentions as a fact do exist. His statement is that he will bring a witness to testify that at a certain time or place a witness called, made a speech in which these assertions were made by the witness. That is the statement of the counsel.

MR. VANDERVEER: A number of witnesses.

THE COURT: Proceed.

MR. VANDERVEER, (Resuming address to jury): Please remember, although I do not repeat it each time, that what I am telling you is what these men have told other fellows.

In this process of getting corporations together into a trust or a combination of corporations—it doesn't matter whether each unit taken in is itself efficient or not, because, being no longer judged by the standard of competition, and efficiency, it can function and make profits by virtue of what I call "extra profits" or "trust profits," over and above competitive profits.

Another thing that is significant in connection with this development is the fact that trusts, when formed, always, almost without exception, go under the management of financiers, rather than business men. That makes for social waste. A banker who does not know anything about manufacturing business may become the dominating head of that business by virtue of the necessity which that business, always laboring under, of having more money for it when it wants it. Now, how far has that thing gone? I want to mention this, and I want you, if you can, to get what this means, because of its great social importance to all of us. The largest trust which stands over them all is what is known as the money trust, comprised of three rings, one known as the Morgan group, which controls $22,245,000,000. The Baker or First National Bank group, which controls $11,500,000,000; the Stillman or National City Bank group which controls $11,000,000,000. A man with $15 in his pocket has a little trouble understanding what those figures mean. They have to be translated

into terms of common understanding. $22,500,000,000 and $245,000,000—$22,245,000,000 represents over three times the assessed valuation of all of the New England states, real and personal. It represents over twice the assessd valuation, real and personal, of the thirteen southern states. It represents more than the assessed valuation of all of the property, real and personal, in the twenty-two states lying west of the Mississippi river, both north and south. Nearly three times the assessed valuation of all of New York City, real and personal. There is where your industries are controlled. Counsel may ask: "Well, what is the difference? They earned this. They got this in accordance with law." We only have to think of the figures to know it is not possible. We only have to remember Rockefeller and the Standard Oil; Yerkes and the Chicago Railways; the Astors and Indian whiskey to know that is not so; but I say, "What is the difference? We don't care how they got it, whether it was honest or whether it was dishonest." Again, it is a question which belongs to the past. It is spilled milk. There is no use trying to stop it up, but the thing that concerns us, is what does it mean to our future industrial development, and what does it mean to our present social efficiency? It means, as I said first, that bankers are running our industries, and bankers don't know anything about industries, and the result is that bankers precipitate the Chicago and Alton scandal, and the Rock Island scandal; the New Haven and all kinds of scandals, for which the working man, who earns their dividends, must ultimately pay.

It means the stifling of invention. If you don't believe it, go out and invent a telephone that is just one thousand per cent better than any other ever invented. About day after tomorrow you will be flooded with a lot of suits for infringements by the telephone companes, and if they cannot break you and make you quit, they will buy your invention, but when they do, it will never be used, it will throw all of the telephones out of use. Your invention goes

into a pigeon hole, in order to save the cost necessary to the junking of this old equipment. There is no longer any inducement, mind you, for one company to give—for one company to be more efficient or to give you better service than another.

It stifles initiative. You are a businessman and you have some business not proven, but in which you have confidence. You have confidence in your ability, through you integrity and through your energy, and through your close application to work to make this succeed, you go to a banker. You are on somebody's else toes. Do you get the money? No, you do not. All you get when you go to a banker is, he says, "Well, a banker cannot lend you money until you have proven this. We cannot back you on your gambles. If you lose where do we get off?" That is the result of having all of your money accumulated in banks and under the operation and management of bankers. You know, and I know and these boys know better than anybody in the world that it has corrupted absolutely every source of public information. You press, your magazines, not only on all social questions, but on all political questions, you never get the truth unless by accident. We are going to prove that to you in this case; right out of the mouths of some of these fellows who are sitting here and don't know how we are going to do it.

Finally, and perhaps the most important of all, you have reared here a thing which is more powerful than your government itself; a thing which is the government—the invisible government of your country; which every day determines how much you eat, how much you get for your work; what kind of a school your children get; how much feed; whether your babies have the proper medical attention and the proper food, for another thing, it has absolutely destroyed business ethics; business morals. A number of years ago when they were considering the passage of the pure food law,—and you would think that everybody and anybody in the world who had a decent impulse would favor such a thing,—looking

to the saving of human life and the preservation of human health; looking to the maintenance of the highest standard of human efficiency of earning,—when that bill was before Congress, a committee went to Dr. Wiley, the sponsor for it, and said, "If you make us eliminate adulteratnts and coloring matter and make us call things by their right name, you will bankrupt every food industry in this country." Now, what a commentary that is, my friends on the business ethics of a great country. When we no longer try to serve the people socially, but try to serve our pocketbooks, to the exclusion of everything else.

Now, the most important of all considerations is, how does this thing affect working people of this country; an industrial country, dependent for its industrial success upon the efficiency of this work. How does it affect the future of the coming generation? How does it affect the standard of citizenship of which we ought to be proud, and which we ought to be living to build up? We profess to wonder in this country what causes prostitution. We know we have poverty; we know that girls are compelled to go into industries 15, 16 and down south at 12 years of age. That they are never nourished decently; that they are never educated; that they never have home environment because their mothers, who ought to be taking care of them, have to be out doing work; and yet, I say, we wonder why we have prostitution. One of the simple things about us Americans is that we can know all the facts but cannot seem to draw the conclusion. These men will tell you as they have made a business of telling their fellow men, that prostitution is the direct result,—not to the total exclusion of all other influences, but is the direct result of the economic system which does not give a girl a chance. They will tell you, as they have told their fellow men that four times as many of your children die under the age of one year as men in the profession or in business, simply because the mother has to work during the time when she should

not, or after the child is born, she cannot nourish it properly. They will tell you a thousand other things which I am not going to repeat, but the iniquities of this thing and the way it is bringing up in this community the citizens of tomorrow in ignorance, in want, in adversity and misery and suffering, all to what end? Merely that a few people,—just a few people may live in a luxury that surpasses the dreams of any Croesus that ever lived on earth; in order that they may bestow upon their lapdogs, luxuries that your children and mine could not have; that they may have automobiles which they have not time to count; that they may give monkey dinners and dog weddings. In the end sap their own vitality by excessive dissipation, the equal of which really has never been known. Whom does this benefit? Not society; not the poor; not the rich. That is the argument of the I. W. W. and these men. Well, that it is not right, and that these are facts I do not think anybody will question. It is not right that these conditions should exist, I am sure nobody will question. Counsel says, "You are going about it in the wrong way. You should adopt political action." Well, I never knew a gambler in my life that did not want to play with his own pack of cards and make his own rules. We have tried that game and we have Bull-Moosed awhile. We have tinkered with the tariff and we have busted the trusts until they are all split up into little pieces, and how much have we accomplished? Why could not we accomplish something? I told you awhile ago that we had reared up a thing here bigger than we are, but that thing looks to me like a pyramid. It is top heavy. It is balanced on its little point, and that little point is balanced on the back of labor, and that is where the tap root goes through, where it must get its dividends, and that is the point where the I. W. W. attacks it and is going to bust it. The minute you take the milk bottle away from this thing, that minute it is going to begin to look around for a living. Counsel says, "Well, political action." Why political action? This thing was

not built up by political action. This thing was not reared by law. It grew because some men by combining had the power to make it grow. If grew because by combining in trusts and corporations and what not, business got the power to exploit labor. And it will quit growing just as soon as labor organizes and gets the power to keep from being exploited, because when exploitation ceases the profits cease, and when the profits cease the trusts cease, and when the trust ceases these other things cease.

Counsel says again, "Well, maybe that is all right." Clearly that is all right. There isn't anybody in the world can find any fault from any legal standpoint or any moral standpoint with their program as I have outlined it, and with the method of realizing that program, but he says, "You use sabotage." He says, "You advocate sabotage." Well, now, let us see. You dont know, and I don't know, and maybe we won't be able to prove exactly how many saw mills there are out west, but there are thousands of them. They brought witnesses from two, where they had busted saws. The Panhandle Lumber Company and another one down at—another one down near Keble(?) somewhere. We are going to try,—I don't know how far we may succeed, because we have to cut our sail to fit our cloth financially in this case—but we are going to try to show you that in all of these thousands of other mills there never was better service rendered than the I. W. W. rendered.

He talked about a half a dozen threshing machines. Somebody burned them up, or somebody threw in some pieces of iron or put a fork, or a hoe down, or whatever it may have been in there. I guess there were about a half a dozen of them, maybe there were a dozen out of the thousands we are going to bring here to you, my friends—I hope not the kind of witnesses you have seen,—but reputable farmers who have dealt with the I. W. W. for years and who will tell you that in their operation of the threshing machines they never have had a bit of trouble due to the I. W. W. We are going to bring

them from the very place where the I. W. W. has been the best organized and has been the most active, and where the trouble should have occurred. How about these threshing machines out in Whitman County? We are going to show you in the first place that you cannot set a threshing machine afire with matches; going to prove it to you by one department of the government which has experimented scientifically and proven these things. I do not care whether counsel in this particular department of the government believes the other one or not. That they have gone so far as to put matches in a bottle which would be broken by the machinery in the machine, and in the bottle they have put an acid which would then come in contact with the matches and immediately ignite them, and they have not, even by that method, been able to ignite a single machine. We are going to prove to you that the cause of these fires is static electricity developed partly by the belts and bearings, but occasionally, perhaps, by contact with the metal parts of the machine, which threw sparks, and the government wired these machines so as to ground that current so that it could not flash into the machines, and would be carried off harmlessly into the ground, and they have carried on experiments along that line, and proven that it practically eliminates the fire, even when the smut contained is very high. Sometimes it runs as high as 33 per cent in wheat. It carries 5 per cent oil too, and when the wheat is cut and shocked, and threshed out of a stack or shock, left in the burning sun for some days to dry, that becomes just like powder, and with the oil added as an additional inflammable element. We are going to prove to you my friends by government witnesses,—one, at least, and I think two—members of the State Council of Defense in the very state of Washington where this threshing machine trouble is said to have occurred, to testify to you that last summer they did nothing else but come before the state and ask them to inspect the conditions, and examine and inquire into and in-

vestigate the I. W. W. and everything pertaining to its activities; tell you that they did not find, and could not find a well authenticated case in the whole state of I. W. W. sabotage.

That there is violence, that somebody will throw a pitch fork, or a hoe down or a rock, or whatever it may be, into a threshing machine, or at the owner of it, even under circumstances such as you have heard of here, is not surprising, I do not deny. That the I. W. W. can do it just as well as anyone else, I do not deny. But that is of no importance in this case. You all know what violence follows in strikes. That the I. W. W. have advocated these things is ridiculous, and we will be able to show you how ridiculous it is, not merely by the testimony of men, not merely by the evidence of our conduct, but by the evidence of our literature. First, I want to explain to you the history of sabotage as we in America, know it. Back, I think about 1895, the French labor power—I don't know what its name is. It is worse for me to pronounce than some of these things that counsel struggled with here. Anyway, it is this general French labor body, and they met for a number of years in succession in their annual convention, and the question arose as to what sabotage meant and as to whether it was a legitimate labor weapon. That was discussed with great earnestness and great eloquence in some bitterness, and voted upon for at least three or four years, and in the conclusion was adopted by the whole labor movement of France as a legitimate labor weapon which it might legitimately employ to prevent this exploitation and these other things which resulted from this exploitation. We are not concerned with the question whether or not they solved that problem of morale correctly or not. The result of that was to immediately stimulate all over the world, where this had never been heard of, an instant inquiry about sabotage. "What is sabotage?" And in response to the demand which that question presented, a book was translated from French into English; a book written by Emile Pouget, who had

been one of the advocates of sabotage in the French labor field. It was not translated by the I. W. W. The I. W. W. hadn't anything to do with it. It was published by the B. W. Huebsch Company, I think in New York City, and exhibited everywhere.

You will find over here in your public libraries five times as much literature on sabotage as we ever saw. It is open there for you to read. You will find courses of instruction taught on sabotage and direct action and everything else, in Harvard University, Princeton, California, everywhere; and just as the libraries and just as the universities and just as the private bookseller in response to this demand collecting and disseminating literature, so did the I. W. W., ultimately, partly as a revenue measure and party merely to meet the demand, in obedience always to its belief that education about anything, right or wrong, is a good thing. Because if a thing is wrong, then education and publicity will damn it. If a thing is right then it is better that people should know it. That has been the I. W. W.'s connection with literature on sabotage. It has published these things without editorial comment; without adding one word to the text of the original book; without either advocating or condemning; simply put the book out as it was, for you or anybody who pleased, to read. But, in its own literature, in the most confidental of its literature, the strike bulletins, which are not put out for your consumption or mine, but for distribution among their own members and for dissemination of job news, and strike news, everything else that working people are interested in, you will find not once, but dozens of times a statement of the I. W. W. position on the subject of destruction and violence. You will find that its statements in these matters are absolutely uniform. In 1912 at the Seventh Annual Convention of this organization, the General Executive Board of the organization made a report to the convention on the subject of violence, and the subject of destruction. Thereafter, that report was reproduced and thou-

sands and thousands of copies of it circulated under the name "On the Fring Line." Nobody who reads that honestly and fairly, in an effort to find out what the I. W. W. thinks about this, can be in any doubt about its position. The I. W. W. does not believe in violence, because in the first place it is futile. Remember, this organization came into being in 1905. That was the year following the Cripple Creek strikes. And the dominant element in the organization of this thing was the Western Federation of Miners, of which William D. Haywood was then the secretary, as he is now secretary of this. If ever labor —it was not the I. W. W., it is true,—but if ever labor in the history of the world learned how futile destruction and violence is, and how inevitably disastrous to its cause, then the people of this organization learned it, and they brought with them into the formation of this thing, that bitter experience. It has lived with them and actuated them and directed them ever since. Next, the philosophy of this organization is not destruction. It is construction. Violence is never a constructive element. It is destructive. They tell you in their own words, "What is the sense when I have made a thing, or my brother worker has made a thing for social use,—what is the sense in destroying it? Why make it?" It may be,—it is doubtless true, that lots of these men have said: "Well, misplace a nut." It may be that that is not right. I don't know, but when I contemplate all of the things in our social body which it is the design of the working people to remedy, it seems to me after all, that a misplaced nut does not amount to so very much. When I contemplate that in comparison with evidence of strike violence, that are all about you in this city every day,—not I. W. W. violence— it is hard to restrain the inclination to laugh.

They say we destroy. One of the funniest things, which I could not get counsel to read, was a bulletin published by 400, I think on the 29th of last July, or thereabouts, in which there was reproduced—and I mention this now because it gives you a little insight

into source of these charges which are made so commonly that the I. W. W. is violent. In this bulletin there was reproduced, letterheading and all, a letter put out a few days before by the Boyd National Bank, of Boyd, Minnesota, in which letter the Bank —who evidently represented some insurance companies,—told the farmers that wheat was very, very high this year; told them that it was going to be high. That the summer was a dry summer, and there was danger of fire, and that there always was danger of fire and lightning. Besides that, the I. W. W. had already cut loose down in Kansas, and they were burning stacks of wheat and burning elevators and burning—I don't know what, everything that would burn. The way they did it was to soak a flannel cloth in linseed oil, and then the put it in a stack and bye and bye the thing ignites and the thing goes up. It ended by saying, "You can get insurance for $4 a thousand from the Boyd National Bank." The I. W. W. reproduced this in a circular, and by way of commenting on it, it said, "The I. W. W. is not burning crops in Kansas or Nebraska and it is not going to burn your crops. It never has in the past and it would be silly to do it now, because the more wheat you burn the higher it is and the less we get to eat. In the second place, if we burn your crops these fellows would not be wanting to insure them for $4 a thousand. In the third place, if we were burning your crops, they would all be burned, because we harvest all your crops." We will show you that last summer, far from destroying anything, the I. W. W. literally saved the forests of Western Montana, nothern Idaho and Washington, from fire. We are going to prove it to you by the supervisors of these forests; the government's own employes. They put on evidence here of about two fires, and we put both of those out, as far as that is concerned. But these two fires were two of thousands that occurred, and when they wanted men to fight a fire in Missoula, Montana, which was the headquarters of the forestry service for Montana and northern Idaho, the

timber portion of that state—they went to the I. W. W. hall and they said, "We want five hundred men." If there were not five hundred men there but were one hundred, to send the hundred. We sent the hundred up, and we sent four hundred more men at our own expense, and we wired here, there and everywhere; to Spokane. Four hundred men went to fight the fires and they came. When they came they were experienced lumber jacks. They were men who knew how to swing an axe and brush hook and these government officials who know these things will come here, my friends, and tell you that the government never had more loyal service; never had more efficient service; never had men in its employ who thought less of hours or less of pay.

So much was said about copper tacks not being good for fruit trees while Ford and Suhr were in jail. It is so easy to find a copper tack in a dead fruit tree that I supposed something would be offered in that line. Apparently there was not a tree or a grape vine killed in California. Now you naturally wonder then, "Why talk about it?" But you know, without my telling you, if you will just stop to think, what a tremendous factor economic power is, and what a wonderful thing a little bluff is when you have only got a pair of duces. Now sabotage is the holy terror of the employer, and it has been used with fine psychological effect. I do not deny that. It has won many a strike, not by the use of it, but by the threat of it. One thing that has helped there tremendously is the way their own newspapers, in their efforts to blacken the I. W. W., have told things that never were true; have taken a thing that perhaps was true, but not a thing that the I. W. W. had anything to do with, and tried to pull it all—magnify it about a thousand times, on the I. W. W. Their press has been their own undoing. We are going to prove to you by sheriffs and deputy sheriffs from the counties —you have heard one that we did not bring here; he just happened to be here,—but we are going to bring others to tell you gentlemen that the strikes

conducted by the I. W. W. were marvels of order; good order; that when a boot-legger would come around, as a boot-legger always does when there are men to whom he can sell his wares, the I. W. W. would appoint a sapping committee—that is their own name for it,—and if their members drank they would tell them to cut it out; if they did not cut it out they would make them cut it out. They would go to Mr. boot-legger and say, "You are breeding trouble here. We are on strike. We don't want the men drunk. We want these men to keep cool heads. So you just run on and peddle your stuff somewhere else." Maybe he would not do it. If he did not do it, —mind you, this is illicit liquor selling in dry states. In fact, Washington, Oregon and Idaho are all dry. If he did not do it, the boys would take his little grip, whatever it was, and sit placidly down alongside of the curb and smash every bottle he had. And wherever there was a strike last summer throughout those three states, there the liquor law was enforced. The reason it was enforced was merely because the boys knew that liquor does not go well with a strike.

Now a good deal has been said and a good deal more inevitably will be said about some strikes that have occurred. I told you a moment ago some of these men had a great deal to do with these strikes, but a strike in itself is not unlawful, and whether the men, in what they did and said, were guilty of anything unlawful, must be determined by not their motives alone, but their intentions. The first of these was the lumber strike. We will show you that in March, I think of 1917, before there were any strikes at all in the lumber industry, before war was declared, at a time, in other words, when no thought of war could have entered anybody's mind, the Lumber Workers Industrial Union number 500, had a convention in Spokane. It was a new organization. All the men, however, who had been working in the lumber industry, knew the conditions in that industry perfectly. At that convention they formulated certain demands. First, that we must have an eight

hour day on the river drives and in the logging camps. Next, we must have decent, human living conditions; decent camps; not vermin ridden, lousy beds where you sleep next to your wet clothing in the steam and smudge and all of that. We must have things fit to live in—fit for human beings to live in. It was no secret to anybody. The lumber trust had its own people in that conference, as you already know, and they knew all that happened. It was published in the papers, but nothing was done to bring about a strike or to enforce these demands at all, and here, there and everywhere where conditions were the worst, little spasmodic, job strikes started. The first one I think was at Sandpoint, Idaho; then another one way up in northern Montana, on the Fortine River, up by Eureka, or up by some other town up there—wherever the conditions existed that would naturally aggravate men and that would naturally make them discontented and dissatisfied. These conditions brought about the strike. Those were just sporadic, automatic developments, until bye and bye there were strikes on in dozens of logging camps. And then when almost all the industry was involved, the strike was made general throughout eastern Washington and Idaho and western Montana by a vote of the men; not by anybody's else direction or decison, because in this organization nobody has the right—nobody has the power, and there is nobody in the organization that will recognize or respect any attempt to exercise that power to call a strike or to call a strike off, or to formulate terms of the demand. But as I say, eastern Washington, Idaho and Western Montana found themselves involved in a strike, with western Washington and Oregon, the long timber country, still working. In the latter part of June, meantime this situation had developed over in the other section. The men in the camps elected delegates to a district conference to be held in Seattle on July 3rd and 4th. In the meantime, nearly thirty days before this, the International Union of timber workers, which is an American

Federation of Labor organization, which controls the mills just about as we control the logging camps, had voted to strike for an eight hour day. The employers had asked them to give them time to consider. They had given them time to consider from the 15th of June to the 15th of July, and nothing had been done. So on the 15th of July they declared a strike in the mills, and that is where your saws were smashed. On the 17th of July or the 16th or the 15th—the date was not absolutely fixed—the I. W. W. walked out of the camps, and there you had during the rest of the summer, the two organizations both striking side by side; both striking for the same issues, involving the complete tie-up of the lumber industry of western Washington, and a very partial tie-up of western Oregon. In this situation, a man named Dr. Carleton Parker, a representative of the War Department of the United States,—a man unhappily now dead—and when he died we lost the best witness we could have in this case from any standpoint—was sent to Washington to take charge of supervising the production of lumber for the construction of cantonments, airplanes and ships, and at the same time, and possibly through his efforts, in part, the State Council for Defense got busy with this situation. At that time I was sent—I had represented the boys there for a while—I was sent to Olympia, Washington, to see the Governor of the state about this strike. Now I am telling you what these boys will tell you I reported to them. I can not tell you that in any other way, because that is the only way my activities can come into this case. I am not going to be on the witness stand; I told the Governor that I had been sent by this organization—previously two other men had been there, sent on the same mission,—that there were just two things that the organization wanted; an eight hour day first, and second, sanitary camps. The Governor wanted to know if these boys would be satisfied with a nine hour day. I said that I doubted it because the philosophy of the eight hour day had been recognized

everywhere by the government and by all other unions; that work in the woods was arduous at best, when they are dry, and when wet, much worse. The men have to walk to and from their work quite a long distance on their own time; but I said "I will submit it." On the matter of camp conditions I said, "Governor, you may not have the funds out of which to pay an inspector, but if you will appoint your inspectors and give your moral support—the moral support of your office, we will pay them. Then let them go down in the camps and whenever they see conditions are right, we will be satisfied, if you will only appoint square, disinterested men. Wherever they say conditions are wrong, make the mill companies fix it." I claim that does not look like anybody who is trying to hold up the production of lumber. Shortly after that the Governor came out and I think he advocated a nine hour day, but almost immediately after that, the President and the War Department came out and advocated an eight hour day, and went into the sessions of the State Council for Defense and begged and pleaded with those fellows to concede an eight hour day. They would not do it. They would not do it all the summer nor all during the year nor up until March of this year, and then only because Colonel Disque, representing the Government, made them to do it. Just why they had us indicted instead of indicting themselves is not clear to me.

The next strike which occurred was the Butte strike, which it is claimed the I. W. W. had something to do with fomenting. Butte is a town of about a hundred thousand people, nested down in a little valley among some hills, every one of which is a copper mine; copper mining and more laterly some zinc mining or lead mining,—a few by-products,—is the entire industry of the town. Pretty near all the mines there are owned by a company known as the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, which is a consolidation of the old Amalgamated, about which you read so much in Tom Lawson's article some years ago, and the Heinze interests. Outside of the A. C.

M. mines there is little in Butte, except a few independent mines, owned principally by W. A. Clark, former senator from the State of Montana, and former stockholder in the Amalgamated Copper Company. For years there have existed in Butte, certain conditions which have operated to keep the whole camp in one seething turmoil. They have what they call the rustling card out there; some other places call it the white card. It is an institution which you never heard of before and which you may have some hesitation about believing, as I describe it to you. If you come into Butte, you may be the finest copper miner in the world,—you first have to get, if you want a job,—you have to go to some employment office. I don't know what they call it. You ask for permission to apply for a job; not for a job. They immediately ask you who you are and where you came from and what you have been doing —I don't know whether they ask you what party you vote for or not, but what your teeth are filled with and everything in the world. And then they tell you to come back bye and bye, and "We will see what we can do." Then they will look you up at all these places which you have given. If they find that you have ever been a union man or an agitator, as they call it, if you have ever been interested in protecting the interests of your own class, you don't get a job; you don't get a rustling card. If not, then you do get what is called a rustling card; a card that entitles you to go out on the hills to the various mining offices and ask for work. And when you get work and get down below, if you do the least thing that displeases the boss, this man who is called "the safety first man," why under the pretension that you have endangered somebody's health, or done this or that or something which he thinks you ought not to do, he says, "you go up on top for seven days," or "You go up for fifteen days, or thirty days." You are laid off for that long. And you go. That is all. It does not matter whether you live or your family live or anybody lives. I say that may happen to the finest

miner in the world. They have boarding houses there, and the company boarding houses have from time to time immemorial been the cause of industrial troubles more than any other little single thing. It was so in the Cripple Creek strike and it has been so in all strikes. The company boarding house is born on the desire to get back the wages that you have to pay the man for his work. The boarding house and the store are both the direct product of that reluctance which millionaries seem to have of letting go of their money permanently. Single men—sometimes like to colonize in a mining camp. There will be a lot of Italians or a lot of Austrians or there will be a lot of Finlanders or there will be a lot of this or that or the other, and they like to get off in their little sections of town and like to live together; but not a chance. They have to live in the boarding house or you can't get work in the mine. A married man, of course, can live with his family.

They have a system of mine inspection, they call it. The miners have observed in years gone by that this company, which has elected every United States Senator and which has elected every Governor and which has elected everybody else it wants to, contrives also some way to elect the mine inspector, and he goes down through the mine once in a while, but usually only after something has happened or some people have been killed, and then he goes down to whitewash the incident. Now the result of that simply was that the strikers said, "We want a voice in electing our inspector, and we want a voice, at least, in inspecting the mines. We are the fellows who go down there and get blown up and burned up. We want to know,—It concerns us more than it does you. We want to know that conditions are safe there." Well, that is the way mines have been inspected and that is the way mines have been run from time immemorial, and there has been a strike and they had their little machine gun out on the hill and they had cowed and beaten and compelled labor until it had stood it just as long as a human being can

stand that kind of a thing and still call itself human.

On the 8th of June there was a fire. It was not the first fire. Those mines have been afire for twenty-five years. They are never out. But it does not become bad until it gets into a pocket of gas somewhere. When it does that, it either blows a lot of people into eternity or it burns them up. Let me say, by the way, just before I pass from that subject, that one of the infamous things about the rustling card is this: These mines I say have been afire for 25 years. There are places in there in some of them where the temperature is 110, 112 and 115 degree; where you could not put your naked hand on a shovel handle without blistering it; where you have to wear gloves and work in ten minute shifts. Well, you can stand that a few days,—a good miner can. You cannot stand it ten minutes, but after a few days in a hot hole like that, and when you cannot stand it any more, what do you do? You have got to live. You go somewhere else to rustle another job. The result was that there was a drifting away from these hot mines, and the companies, to make you work there, put a limit on the number of rustling cards you can get a month, at two. You could not get over two. If you get into a hell hole you have to stay there, if you had used your two cards.

I say, on the 8th of June there was a fire, known as the Speculator fire, and if you have never seen a mine fire, with all that it means, then I cannot picture it to you. No man can picture it to you. It is a thing that simply surpasses description. The people who went to this mine found the gates locked and the property barred. Wives and children could not go there to see whether or not their husbands were burned to death. The women went up on that hill and came down from that hill with all the horrors in their heart that previous experience had taught all miners' wives; crying and weeping, and finally the bodies came out, and with the bodies, finally came the men who had rescued them and who had found them, and with the men who had rescued them came

the damnable story of how it happened. Then these poor people went down to the undertaking establishments. They saw the bodies lined up there, 175 of them, 68 of them burned so black that they were never identified; burned to a crisp. They were told that under ground, in order to prevent the spread of fire which might do some damage to property, they had built solid concrete bulk-heads without a manhole. They could have put that in,—which barred every exit from these mines, and when the fire occurred and the men sought shelter in underground exits into other mines, they encountered these bulkheads, and there the bodies were found, just literally pued in one charred heap, sacrifices to the greed for gold. They say the I. W. W. started a strike, but I tell you the men in that camp driven to frenzy by that thing, went out on the hill on the 11th of June and they organized that union. They said, "Now, if we can, we are going to stop this infamous thing. We are going to be treated like a human being, and we are going to be given a living wage; decent working conditions." As to the operations of that Union, we will offer you not only evidence of their bulletins, the evidence of the men, such as our limited finances will enable us to bring here. The I. W. W. did, because among the I. W. W. are men who have had experience in strike organization, and who have had experience in the rest of the world's deeds, and who have had experience in leading their fellowmen, because there are such men, whether I. W. W.'s or not they inevitably take control of the strike situation, and so they did in Butte. And to that extent, although the number actually participating was never large, it was perhaps an I. W. W. strike, but if ever a strike was waged with unselfish thought,—without any thought of any creed of any kind but a desire to protect the men themselves and the families of the men whom they were bound to, then it was the Butte strike. That strike went on for five months, until finally the men were driven by hunger, as men always are—I don't know whether it is anything to the

credit of the companies who do it—driven by hunger to go back to work under these same dastardly conditions today that they were working under before.

Now in the early part of July, or perhaps June,—I don't know when it was,—I have not attempted to master the details of these Arizona strikes, because my friend Mr. Cleary is from Arizona and he knows them by heart. He was one of the men deported from Bisbee in those filthy cattle cars, and I leave it to him to develop that. But there was a strike there in part it was over the same infamous conditions that existed in Butte, although I will be frank to say that nothing could be worse; even Arizona was not as bad as Butte, but there was an issue of wages. You think you know something about the high cost of living here, but you don't know anything about it. You want to go to a mining town where you have to buy things from a company store; everything. Then you will learn how much is possible to pay for a loaf of bread or a peck of potatoes.

On the 12th of June, in Bisbee, 1187 men were taken down and at the point of machine guns—mind you, I say machine guns—I mean machine guns, mounted in automobiles, and taken down to the ball park and there loaded into filthy cattle cars that were six inches deep, some of them, in manure and hauled out through a blistering Arizona desert to a place called Hermanas, where they stopped a while, and then on to Columbus, and the people would not let them land at Columbus, and they took them back to Hermanas again and dumped them there, and then finally back to Columbus, where the Government took charge of them. Something like one-third of those men were holders of Liberty Bonds. Hundreds—I don't know how many—the figures don't matter so very much—hundreds of those men were registered for the draft. A great many of these men, through other organizations like the Servian or Montenegrian or other organization, or whatnot, had gotten together their own special relief funds, but there was somebody in Bisbee who was better than

they, who said, "They are disloyal." But the curious things happened, every man approached on that 12th of July was asked, "Will you go to work, or will you be deported?" Did you ever know of such a method of making men sell their labor at the other fellow's price? Because they were men they said "No, I won't go to work. Certainly not when you put it that way." So they were deported. Over at Jerome, seventy more of them were deported in the same way and left wandering around more or less at random from one city to another, each one refusing to take care of them or receive them or even let them enter there, and all the while this was going on, mind you, the wives and children were left at home to starve; were left at home without any money; without any food; without anything in the world. I don't know how bad a man Cleary is, but he was bad enough to deport. "Will you go to work or will you be deported," to a lawyer.

One of the most gratifying features of the whole situation throughout the entire west is what I will probably refer to hereafter as the Yakima Valley situation. It involved more than that Valley, but it is commonly referred to in the bulletins and in the papers as the Yakima situation. Yakima was, in a sense, the center of it. Yakima is a little town of 20,000 people maybe, nestled down in a quiet, peaceable little valley where they raise principally fruit by irrigation.

There was no strike in Yakima; there was not a particle of disorder. Yakima was so quiet I nearly died of ennui when I went in there and had to spend a day, and yet under those conditions, they had to invoke military law. Why? Because the press had been lying about the I. W. W. and its threats of violence, and its acts of violence, and this, that and the other thing, until they created the same psychological condition in the Yakima Valley that they had done elsewhere. The farmers began to believe or fear that this thing was true, and if it had been true, there might have been some justification for what

they planned to do; they organized; they armed themselves, I guess, and they threatened to make trouble, moved to it solely by the things they had been told through their lying newspapers, because I say there was not a thing wrong in the Valley, and when the State Council for Defense went down there and investigated the matter they found there had not been a single case of sabotage, a single case of misorder or a single bit of violence; and so troops were sent for, and to this day, I do not know who did it. And they came in. Instead of arresting the farmers who were threatening to do something anyway, they arrested the I. W. W.'s, who otherwise might have been killed, and they arrested them by the hundreds and hundreds. In Yakima, the first arrest, I think, was forty odd, but each day more and more, coming in and going out, a continual stream of them through that jail, and they asked each one if he believed in the I. W. W., and if he was an I. W. W., and if he said he believed in it, and he believed in its philosophy, no matter whether he had done anything else on earth, he stayed in jail. So it was at Cle Ellum; so it was at Ellenburg; so it was at Wenatchee and down at Pasco, and all through the Valley.

As I say, there were hundreds and hundreds of men in jail, whose only crime was they did not believe in this social system, and they believed they knew a better one. That is all they were asked. I was called into that matter again and I saw the Governor, and I tried to work out a solution, assuring him that there was absolutely no foundation for any of the things that had been said, or for any of the fears that had probably been honestly entertained. We both seemed to think that the situation might work itself out, and so from the 9th of July until the 4th of August, although I was employed to do this, I did nothing; nobody did anything to relieve the situation, and on the 4th of August, I went to Spokane, which is three hundred miles, I guess, from where I live, at an expense of probably $100 all told, I got

out two writs of habeas corpus for two men who were secretaries, two of the most important leaders in the whole Yakima County jail, Phil Mayhugh and Frank Showalter,—in the Federal court, this was, and those writs were made returnable before Judge Rudkin on the 14th day of August.

In the meantime, about the 10th ofAugust, in other words, about thirty days exactly after the first arrest, after the closing of the halls, the delegates or the members of the organization committee, commenced coming into Spokane. They had been out, had to go out on the road to keep in touch with conditions, because the halls were closed, the secretaries arrested, the members were arrested; the Yakima hall was converted into a recruiting station for the army, we paying the rent,—not by your leave, not thank you or anything, but just taken and used for a recruiting station. And as these men came back to Spokane, they reported that everywhere this thing was going on; it was developing as it naturally would and must, a feeling of such bitter antagonism and retaliation, that the men said the only thing we can do is strike and use our power. And on the 10th of August, still leaving, mind you, ten days for the determination of these habeas corpus proceedings, which, had they been honestly carried on, would have ended the matter,—they voted to strike, to take effect on the 20th, and on the 14th, these things came for hearing. On the 14th of August, Judge Rudkin, who had just recently returned from San Francisco, and his clerk and the marshal, three of them came clear from Spokane to Yakima. I came clear from Seattle to Yakima, to have a hearing on this matter, and I had a talk that afternoon with Henderson, Scott Henderson, who was attorney,—special counsel for the government and for the State Council of Defense in these matters, and Henderson said, "I am going to dismiss your men; I am going to dismiss every man for whom you get a writ." I said, "Why, Henderson, this has cost money, and the court is going to be there and I am going to be there, and we did this

to get a test of the validity in law, of these military arrests." "Well, it doesn't matter, I am not going to let you have a test; I am not going to let you have a hearing."

By the way, when I went over to get my writ signed by the men in jail I was denied the right of seeing the men; I was denied the right of passing my papers in to be signed by the men, with the statement that they did not want them to get writs of habeas corpus; a writ, mind you, guaranteed by the Constitution of every state, and of the United States, which a Lieutenant in the Army had seen fit to suspend.

So on the 14th, we went to court, and at ten o'clock or nine o'clock the night before, the very last minute possible, these two men, who were the leaders, mind you, and these two men only, and one of these men, mind you, registered for the draft, and now in France in service, Phil Mayhugh, were turned out of there, but nobody else.

We had sought refuge through the courts in an orderly, quiet, dignified way, and we had been denied, not merely our rights out of court, but our rights in court, and in a fit of honest, righteous indignation, I sat down and wrote a letter to the Governor of Washington, which is here in there files; counsel would not put it in—in which I reviewed the situation, and I told Governor Lister that the arresting of the men was bad enough, but denying them their right to test the legality of these arrests, denying them their right to their day in court was infinitely worse, and I feared that such arbitrary action on his part, or on the part of men for whom he was responsible, would result in retaliation, and I said to him, "if it does, the blame will not be hard to place; it won't be on the men." Well there is the explanation for the general strike.

Might we have a moment's recess, your Honor?

THE COURT: Ten minutes recess.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

THE COURT: Proceed.

MR. VANDERVEER: The only issue presented in this indictment which remains to be touched upon, is the issue of patriotism. The Government says that the I. W. W. is not patriotic. Before considering the facts, I think perhaps it is well to consider what is meant by "patriotism". If counsel means that the I. W. W. is not patriotic in the sense,—the chauvonic sence that it does not get up on the housetops and yell about its patriotism, and then go out and profiteer, then I consider most frankly that the I. W. W. is not patriotic, because the I. W. W. has not done that.

Patriotism may be the inspiration of many an heroic deed, but it is often used as a cloak by many a scoundrel as well, and you cannot always judge a man by the amount of noise,—patriotic noise he makes, and I do not want you to judge the I. W. W. that way.

If patriotism means that one must believe in war as the best way of settling things, that one must believe that the wholesale slaughter of innocent people is right, then again I say the I. W. W. for years, has been in that sence unpatriotic, because the I. W. W. has not believed and does not believe in war.

If patriotism means a belief in and a devotion to and a love of militarism, of soldiers, then the I. W. W. again, in common with all labor, is probably unpatriotic, because the I. W. W. has, in common again with all labor,—the Western Federation of Miners, the United Mine Workers, Street Railway men, Railroad men here and there, has developed its own psychology in this matter. Its attitude is not the creature of the mind; a man cannot,—I do not care how hard he may try or how much he may wish he could—he cannot mould his attitude in these things solely to suit his will. How a man feels about these things depends largely on the environment in which he has had to live. Patriotism is a thing of the heart, not a thing of the brain. Now it may be unfortunate, we are not concerned with that,—it may be unfortunate that working people do not like soldiers. It may be

unfortunate that they are suspicious of militarism. The reason for it, however, is more unfortunate than the fact, and the reason is that throughout the whole history of this country, the workers in his relation to those things,—the story rather, of the worker's relation to those things, has been one long series of the most brutal violence and abuse, beginning way back in the Coeur d'Alene strike in northern Idaho, where soldiers were employed to put about a thousand men in bull pens, two story affairs, where the excrement from the top story ran down on the men underneath,—the most terrible condition imaginable.

In Cripple Creek, where soldiers, recruited from the slums of our cities, gun men, sworn in for the occasion, sometimes, and put under the leadership of a mine manager, Bulkley Wells, who in turn was under the direction of Governor Peabody, whose name is synonymous with everything a working man hates, and always has been since, these men recruited in this way, shot and killed innocent people, drove them in herds into the hills and left them barefooted in the snow.

MR. NEBEKER: If the court please, I want to know now if counsel is still repeating what some witness is going to repeat, that he said in his speeches?

THE COURT: I don't know.

MR. NEBEKER: Now, since the first statement that he made this morning, he has carefully refrained from calling that fact——

THE COURT: I assume he is.

MR. NEBEKER: If he is, then I have no objection, but otherwise I do object to this statement and also to any statement of counsel that such was the fact.

THE COURT: The question is not whether it was the fact; the question is, as I understand your adversary's statement, the fact is, as I understand your adversary's statement, this will be the testimony of his witnesses.

MR. NEBEKER: The testimony of his witnesses.

That is what he said about the other members of the organization.

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor, I do not want any misapprehension about this. I offer this in explanation of things principally that have been written, because this has been written in the papers, here, there and everywhere through them,—a piece of it here, another piece of it there, and perhaps somewhere else more of it, and it is the explanation without which we do not understand the articles which have appeared, sometimes slurringly referring to soldiers.

THE COURT: It is perfectly apparent from my ruling here that we cannot go into the Cripple Creek strike, and have witnesses testify about conditions at that strike.

MR. VANDERVEER: There may be, in their communications, issues which may justify that, but for the present I am referring to these matters as matters that have been covered, at one time or another, in the press of this organization, and which must be,—which you must read in connection with and interpreted in connection with———

THE COURT: It is in their communication, their inter-communication?

MR. VANDERVEER: Yes; not in the speeches, necessarily, although possibly sometimes in speeches, but whether in speeches or in articles———

THE COURT: In what?

MR. VANDERVEER: Well, in the various papers,

MR. NEBEBKER: Now I want to understand. Counsel says———

MR. VANDERVEER: In documents seized by the Government.

MR. NEBEKER: Counsel says he proposes to go into this and for the purpose of shedding light upon things that they said. In other words, that he proposes to show what the facts were.

THE COURT: No, his statement in reply to my inquiry is, that this will appear in the publications of the general organization.

MR. NEBEKER: Now that is all right. I have no objection to that.

THE COURT: Proceed.

MR. VANDERVEER: Ralph Chaplin, your Honor, for instance, was a newspaper man, whose writings here have been called particularly in question. He was a newspaper man in West Virginia, on Paint Creek at the time of the trouble there. He wrote things which the Government has offered in evidence, at that time, on the scene of that strike. His little poem, "When the Leaves Come Out," was written on Paint Creek. Now why? What does it mean? We must understand Paint Creek and the things that preceded it to interpret it. That is all.

MR. NEBEKER: No that is the very point. Counsel still insists he is going to put in proof, and he is now stating what the facts are as a basis for these publications.

THE COURT: My ruling has already covered that question.

MR. VANDERVEER: In the coal strike in West Virginia, a few years ago, what is known as the Paint Creek strike, an armoured train, manned with machine guns, was run through a peaceful little settlement of tents where women and children were, and volleys fired into those tents, and those sleeping people, at night; you know the story of Ludlow, of the massacre in the tented village there. You will hear through the papers about what occurred in Everett; how a boatload of people was fired into by deputy sheriffs. How men who fell overboard were fired on in the water, trying to save their lives. How people, just before that, in Everett, to the number of 41 and on other occasions twenty and fifteen and so forth, were taken out to a place called Beverly Park about eight miles from Everett, and there made to run a gauntlet of two hundred men, armed with clubs and beaten. One of these defendants, un-

til he had a fractured shoulder, and others of them into insensibility, and finally made to run over a cattle guard between men of that kind, armed in that way. And Butte and Bisbee, I have told you about, and Yakima.

If labor does not love the idea of militarism, whether it be I. W. W. or American Federation of Labor, gentlemen, it is because of the experiences which labor could not help.

The charge in this indictment is not that these men were unpatriotic in the sense which I have just used the term. A man may feel—in fact a man must feel as his experiences dictate, no matter who he is, but a man may, in law, feel as he will. A man may in law say things which are not prompted by any purpose to subvert the law, which are the outpourings of the soul filled with experiences like I have enumerated, and not be amenable to the law.

The charge in this indictment is not that these men are disloyal in that sense, but the charge is that they conspired; the third and fourth counts are devoted entirely to this issue, and there is much in the first, second and fifth also, which is founded upon the charge that the I. W. W. has tried to subvert, tried to block and thwart the Government in its purpose to carry on the war, and its necessary war industries.

Now counsel in the opening of his case told you how admirably the I. W. W. was organized to accomplish this purpose. He pictured this organization with its ramifications reaching out into every basic industry, coal mining, textiles, marine transport work, metal mining, iron mining ,harvesting and all, each with its industrial head, and all these heads clustered around the king in his swivel chair at 1001 West Madison Street.

Well, what he said was true, but the importance of what he said lay not so much in the truth of it as in the significance of it. This organization is admirably adapted, at least, it was formed with the belief that this form of organization is admirably adapted,

to tie up the industries. If there was a conspiracy, you would naturally expect that that would have happened, because this indictment covers a period from April 6th to September 28th, and in that time it would seem that they could have done a whole lot.

Now, what is the fact? The most vital of all of our industries, perhaps, for the prosecution of this war, is the Agricultural Industry, and it is there, according to the government's own figures, that we had built up the biggest, most perfect organization of all. You will remember how he told you it had grown from one year to another, until in 1917 it doubled its membership, and that is an industry which it is peculiarly easy to tie up, because the product of it is perishable. You do not have to strike forever in the harvest as you do in a mine, in order to paralyze the industry.

Now, what happened? There was no strike in the harvest anywhere during the whole summer and on the contrary I am going to show you that in May of last year, the farmers of North Dakota sent a delegation to the convention of the Agricultural Workers Union in Kansas City, and there proposed to enter into an agreement with that organization, by which this organization and nobody else would harvest the crops of that entire state. That is not only significant in its relation to the matter I am discussing, but isn't it significant also in connection with the question of sabotage and violence and general cussedness? An agreement was entered into between this organization and the farmers, fixing the rate of pay, fixing the hours of labor, providing that none but card bearers in this organization should work, and that agreement was submitted to a referendum vote of the farmers, and I am sorry to say, and we are all sorry to say, that it was defeated by a small vote, but our papers will show and our bulletins will show how ardently the men pleaded, on our own referendum, that this thing should be put through, and the evidence will show you that in spite of the fact that the agreement was never formally executed, this

wage scale, this tentative agreement, adopted and signed at Kansas City, became the working basis upon which the crops of that whole state were harvested last year, and there was not a bit of friction or dissatisfaction anywhere.

Now, would that be true if these men had conspired to thwart the carrying on of the war industries by the government? You were told by a witness here that in Old Forge, Pennsylvania, we had four or five thousand members in 1917, out of seven thousand miners employed there. I think that gentleman may have exaggerated a little bit, but there were lots of our men there, not at Old Forge alone, but at the other coal fields of Pennsylvania, and coal is a vital thing to the government, and you know that from your experiences of last winter, but there was not a single strike in all of that coal area, not a single I. W. W. strike last year.

Up on the Mesaba Range, where in 1916 we had 25,000 men out on strike, where they produce the iron ore which is carried down through the lakes into Pittsburgh, out of which your munitions are made, there was not a single strike in 1917, and God knows the people were in a frame of mind in that year, which would have made it very easy to start them.

In the northern Minnesota woods, notwithstanding that all over the North West men in the same industry were on strike, there was not a single strike in 1917, although we had gone through strikes there a year or two previously which paralyzed the industry.

In the textile industry, Lawrence and Patterson, there was not a single strike of any kind.

In Calumet, Michigan, one of the big copper producing sections of the whole country, there was not a single strike in 1917, or an attempted one.

We have an organization, as you know, not big, —it does not take much,—on the lakes here, an organization which carries the iron from the Mesaba Range down through the canals and on east, the lake carriers, an organization which carries a large part of the grain from Duluth as the seaport, down to

Chicago, where it is, some of it, milled or stored and on to the eastern seaports. There was not a single strike anywhere there,—not one.

In Philadelphia is the headquarters of another organization—of the Marine transport workers. Philadelphia is the port from which the steel of Pennsylvania is shipped to Europe. It is the site of a big United States government navy yard. We have an organization there which absolutely controls,—absolutely controls the handling of all of that kind of material over the docks for foreign shipment, and not only was there not a single strike during all of that time, but every man employed on that work on the Philadelphia water front was recruited in the I. W. W. hall, and in the Philadelphia navy yard to this day, gentlemen, the men who are handling the government's own supplies, who are storing them on boats and handling them over the docks, are hired in the I. W. W. hall and working under I. W. W. foreman, and there has not been a single strike, nor a single bit of friction, and we are going to bring some of those men here to tell you.

This spring or last winter, they recruited in Butte, Montana, I don't know whether it was a regiment or what they called it, of miners and sappers, and I am going to show you that a good many of our men went into that organization.

In the North West they founded an organization known as the Four L's,—the Loyalty Legion of Loggers and Lumber Workers, and I am going to show you that 50 per cent probably, of that entire organization is made up of I. W. W.'s.

Throughout all of the Butte strike, throughout all of the lumber strike of the Nort West, throughout the Arizona strikes, we begged the government, begged them by bushels of telegrams, which we will show you, begged them in our bulletins, begged them in our papers and speeches, in every way to take over these industries and watch us work; take these parasites who are profiteering on you, and on us, off our backs and give us a chance.

I hope to be able to show you in contrast with what happened in Philadelphia, I want to say that there was not an explosion, not an accident in all of the Philadelphia docks, or in the Philadelphia navy yard, whereas in an unorganized port in New York, they have had them every month,—every month. I hope to be able to show you, although I have not been able to locate the men, and whether I will or not is still an uncertainity,—in one of the big, perhaps the biggest submarine shipbuilding yards in this country, the Fore River plant, Fore River, Massachusetts, when a special crew of men was wanted to do some special construction work on submarines, they picked an I. W. W. to pick his crew, and he picked an I. W. W. crew and they went and did the work.

Wherever you find them, they may be fighting their battles with their boss, and you have heard the only cases, but wherever you find them free from a fight with the boss, you find them fighting in the ranks of the working men for their government, and I am going to introduce to you the report of the Secretary of Labor for the year 1917, covering not merely the fiscal year ending in June ordinarily, or July, but coming down to November of 1917, after this indictment was returned, from which it will appear that during that year there had been thousands and thousands of strikes over this country. It will appear that there were thousands and thousands and hundreds of thousands of men involved in them, and the only ones the I. W. W.'s had anything to do with were strikes that I have talked about here in Butte, and in Arizona, and in the woods, in each of which cases there was ample aggravation and ample cause, the Lord knows.

This charge that we are not patriotic, I think will appear to be camouflage, designed to prejudice you on an issue which was readily available against the organization and against these men. Much has been written in the papers of which I do not approve, but

that is not the thing we are here to meet, because most of these men had nothing to do with the writing of that, or with the dictating of that or with the publishing of that, and did not even read it, and could not even read it after it was done. It is important in this organization, or has been so considered, to have foreign language papers. The minute you get a foreign language paper you have got to get a man who can edit it, a man possessing a certain intellect, ordinarily not a working man, and ordinarily for that reason not a man who understands the industrial philosophy.

I regret that here and there these men should have been men with other affiliations, borrowed maybe from the Socialist branch as in the case of Mesaba —or borrowed even from the ranks of some Anarchist; I don't know; they are always trying to fasten themselves on anything that gives them a chance to talk and be heard, and gives them an audience. But that, my friends, was not the result of a conspiracy, nor is it evidence of a conspiracy. You know from the correspondence that has been introduced here that Mr. Haywood said, not once, but a dozen times, "This organization is not and will not take a stand." You know that when his attention—complaint was made about the way a certain paper had been written, he said, "I cannot read the paper, I do not know what they are publishing in the paper; the people who speak that language have to take care of those things." You know that they could not even move one of those papers to Chicago here without taking a referendum vote of the people who took it, the people in whose language it was published.

We are going to bring you men in the service, men from the various camps, if the government will let us, because we cannot force their attendance by subpoena, to tell you about their fellow workers who are in the camps with them in uniform with them and about the ones who have been there, who have already gone to France, and about the kind of service they are rendering. We are going to show you plenty of men from this organization who volunteer-

ed, who did not wait to be drafted. We are going to show you that a lumbermen's regiment and a loggers' regiment recruited in Spokane and at Missoula was recruited largely from our members.

The government has served upon us and has filed in this case a bill of particulars in which there is given by reference to date and the places where they were made, hundreds of speeches supposed to have been delivered by members of this organization, on the war, and on the draft and on militarism—hundreds of speeches, presumably, and we must credit them with good faith, and so I say presumably they knew what theiy were talking about, and they ought to have known, because it already appears, and we will make it appear even more plainly, that they had thousands of special agents, not only in our organization but on the outside of our organization, spying through cracks and everywhere else to hear what might be said, and how many witnesses have gone on here and testified about speeches. If there had been a conspiracy, gentlemen, these things would have been true; if these things are not true, then whatever may be said about individuals and what they have done as individuals, then there is no conspiracy and this organization, as an organization, is clear of that suspicion.

Now, finally I am going to show you these men, because after all when you decide whether or not they have been guilty of crime, you are deciding whether or not they are criminals, and the final test of that is the test of their manhood and you are going to see them here under cross-examination, by the most astute counsel the government could enlist in its service, and if they do not measure up by that standard of manhood by which you would like to have your own son judged, if they do not measure up as men, if they do not measure up to the standard of loyalty which you would like to see established in the United States, then my friends, you may condemn them, but in deciding this, I want you to adopt as your guiding principle, because it is the principle

by which you should be guided in sizing up all men, the principle that I found beautifully expressed, or the ideal, rather, in a book written some years ago, by William T. Stead, one of the most famous British writers, who came to Chicago and observed conditions and gave lecture and later republished it in the book entitled, "If Christ Came to Chicago?" I want you to consider what Christ, if he came to Chicago and looked down upon these men and the things they have done, and the motives that have moved them, would say,—whether he would condemn, or whether he would approve, and when you have answered that, I want you to write the answer in your verdict.

Call Mr. Thompson.

PATRIOTISM AND THE WORKER



GUSTAVE HERVÉ

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INTRODUCTION BY THE PUBLISHERS.

In issuing this well-known speech of Gustave Herve's as one of the publications of our Bureau we are contributing to an agitation that is now universal in the capitalist world, and is of prime importance as well in the United States as in France. The universal character of Herve's appeal will be apparent to the American reader, notwithstanding the author's illustrations and allusions are drawn from European experiences alone. We have only to substitute the name America for France, Germany or Russia in order to observe the same process of "making a patriot." Here, as in France and in all other countries, the child's brain is stuffed with stories of alleged "heroes" of American history from George Washington to Theodore Roosevelt as a preparatory schooling for the future slave to acquire the necessary respect for and obedience to his master—whose mastership, in America as in Europe, has resulted from fraud, cunning, financial manipulation, land steals, and by fishing in troubled waters during and after wars of conquest or expansion, as well as through the merciless exploitation of the working class in industry. All the facts of American history stand out in bold relief to sustain Herve's masterly expose of "capitalist patriotism" and of the baneful effects of the "patriotic" illusion upon the minds of the toilers.

However, there appear to be some differences between the United States and France—the patriotism of the latter is perhaps intensified by a greater weight of tradition and by the fact that the "enemy," though near at hand, is still outside the national boundaries; while on the other hand the United States dominates a continent, and in its development has become like a sea into which have emptied the streams of all nationalities. The patriotism of the American worker, then, has more the characteristics of a shallow "jingoism" combined with race and nationality prejudices born of proximity rather than of distance. The "foreign enemy" is not beyond our boundaries, but in our midst. Although carefully nurtured by the capitalist in his own interest, this form of "patriotism" is likely to prove less deep-rooted and endurable than that in France, on account of fewer traditions here and of the enforced association of native with foreign workers in American industry.

This association of workers on the job, combined with the agitation for ONE BIG UNION of all slaves against all masters, will shortly break down the walls of race and nationality prejudice in the United States, and unite the slaves of all nationalities for emancipation from their "patriotism" and masters of whatever nationality.

The INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD is peculiarly pledged to this task. It aims to unite all wage-workers, without distinction of race, nationality, sex or any other consideration except that they are exploited by a master, into One Big Union of the Working Class, "to take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system," thus putting an end forever to the rule of the robber class. Then shall we see the dawn of that day dreamed of by the poet Tennyson:

"When the war drums throbbed no longer, and the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man—the Federation of the World."

Note—The above introduction was written in 1912.

PATRIOTISM

By GUSTAVE HERVE

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY:—

This trial nearly came to an end yesterday, after the speech of Urbain Gohier. (1) We were overjoyed to recognize in that speech the genuine Gohier of the Dreyfus case, who was a tower of strength to all of us in that trying time; our own Gohier, who has not gone over, as some for a moment feared, to anti-semitism—that stupid and sanguinary anti-semitism which has just dishonored Russia.

Our lawyers told us, and we have no doubt about the matter ourselves, that after Gohier's formidable indictment of militarism, after so much spirit, such good humor, such an array of facts, and such logic, acquittal was certain for all of us. And, in fact, if we had come here with the sole object of getting acquitted, then, after Gohier's speech, the interests of all of us would have been best served by silence.

I must tell you the reason why we decided to prolong these proceedings, at the risk of prolonging your fatigue and of keeping you here some days longer, at the time of your monthly settlement of accounts for the end of December and the family festivities of New Year's Eve.

It is certain that our friend Gohier—I can say it without offending him—by his origin, his education, and by his language, is the one among us who is the least removed from yourselves; he is the only one among us in whom there still remains, perhaps, a grain of patriotism.

1. One of the twenty-six accused, whose speech in defense was delivered the day before Herve spoke.

By letting the trial close, while you were still under the impression produced by his speech, we should have seemed to be retreating, to be screening ourselves behind Gohier. There have been enough calumnies flung at us already; we do not want to lay ourselves open to that one.

And, besides, we have another reason for speaking. It is not every day that the government furnishes us with such a sounding-board as this trial affords. In the ordinary way, our public speeches are deformed and unrecognizable when they reach you. Here we speak before the pick of the reporters on the Paris press. We could never forgive ourselves if we let slip by such a chance of making known to the general public our exact ideas.

I leave to my friend and advocate, Lafont, the task of defending my person; a necessary task, for my bad reputation must not be allowed to cause prejudice to my fellow-culprits, but also a difficult task. For the last four years you have been reading in your papers every morning that I pass my time in planting the national flag on the dunghill, or in calling army officers, in the lump and without distinction, blackguards in gold-laced uniforms; as if among the great body of officers, as in all professions, there were not honest men as well as black sheep. An error, or a falsehood, which you hear repeated day after day for four years, is likely, I fear, to have become for you an indisputable fact.

I have reserved for myself the more interesting task of presenting to you our anti-patriotic conception, incorrectly called "Herveism," as if propagandists like Yvetot, and other militant syndicalists(2) who stand by my side, had waited for me to throw myself into the fight before starting their propaganda. I say this not to diminish my share of the responsibility, but in order to pay homage to the truth. My role has been limited to interpreting the ideas and sentiments which I have seen spring up among the proletarian and peasant class, and of which I

2. Syndicalists is the name given in France and on the continent to the revolutionary unionists; represented in America, Great Britain, South Africa, and Australia by the industrial unionists.

have only been the doctrinaire, the theorizer, and, latterly, in spite of myself, the standard-bearer and symbol.

These anti-patriotic ideas, moreover, are somewhat new among the masses of organized workers. And, like all new ideas, they shock public opinion; they seem shocking to you. That was the fate of early Christianity, and also of the republican idea, at the time when republicans were regarded, in the remotest parts of the country, as monsters gorged with blood, dividers-up of property, and incendiaries.

There was once a heretic named John Huss. A century before Luther he proclaimed and demanded the Protestant Reformation. For this crime a Council condemned him to be burnt. At the moment when the first martyr of Protestantism was mounting the pile of fagots, an old woman, a devotee from the town of Constance, brought a fresh fagot to the pile, which, doubtless, she did not find high enough. "Sancta simplicitas!" exclaimed John Huss, shrugging his shoulders in kindly pity.

That was the sentiment which I felt yesterday when, in this hall where the advocates rarely raise their voices except in defense of the accused, a young licentiate of the Bar said that we deserved the guillotine. It was not the guillotine, it was the stake this good young man meant.

And it is really the stake which we, like all heretics, deserve: we who are the heretics of the patriotic religion. For it is a religion this patriotism of modern peoples, a religion inculcated in us from the cradle by the same methods employed in all times to inculcate all religions.

You know how a Catholic is made? The child is taken while yet in the cradle. While fondling him the mother teaches him prayers, which he repeats like a parrot. She tells him there is a God, a Heaven, and a Hell. His brain, like wax, receives all these impressions without reacting.

When he is seven years old his well-meaning mother hands him over to the priest, who sows in his young

brain, with unstinting hands, the naive Biblical legends which were believed in ancient Judea two or three thousand years ago, at the time when the Jewish people had about as much intellectual culture as the negroes of Behanzin.

At the same time, the theatrical pomp of religious ceremonies, the music of the organ, the dim light of the churches, the incense diffused on the altars, the gorgeous vestments of the officiating priest, all these things strike the imagination and excite the nerves. After that, although the child may grow up into a great scientist like Pasteur, his brain will shrink from all discussion and reasoning on religious matters.

It is by no other method that we, and perhaps you, gentlemen of the jury, are made into patriots.

HOW A PATRIOT IS MADE

At an age when the critical spirit is not yet developed in us, we hear, as children at the family table, accounts of horrible misdeeds committed by the Germans or the English, or feats of valor accomplished by the French. The little Germans, at the same moment, hear about all sorts of crimes committed by the French, the English, or the Russians.

We are taught that France is the land of the brave, the country of generosity and chivalry, and the refuge of liberty; the same things are said of their countries to the little Germans, the little Russians, and the little Japanese; and we all, in the innocence of our hearts, believe them.

For New Year's gifts our fathers, and even our mothers, give us lead soldiers, toy guns, drums, clarions and trumpets.

And when this beautiful education has already made us patriots in embryo, the school—the secular public school quite as much as the schools of the religious orders—puts the finishing touch to the work of driving patriotism into our heads. Do you remember those little school

books in which the Loriquets(3) of patriotism manipulated the facts of national history for the greater glory of the French fatherland? The little Germans have put into their hands books similar in kind, but exclusively celebrating the German fatherland.

Do you remember those History manuals in which on every page some scene of carnage or the portrait of some warrior was cynically displayed? You were not spared the sight of a single one of them, all were there: Vercingetorix, Charles Martel, Duguesclin, Bayard, all the generals of Louis XIV, including those who set fire to the Palatinate, all the generals of the Grand Army who went forth to stain in the blood of all the peoples the flag of Valmy, and not forgetting the vulture himself, Napoleon, on the top of his perch in the Place Vendome.

And the commentaries under each picture reek with race hatred, national vanity and idolatry of the sword—fine sentiments which the reading of the "Petit Journal" (five million readers!), the "Petit Parisien," and other papers with big circulations will do nothing but maintain and develop.

To complete the work of making the perfect patriot, to poison his whole system, nothing more is necessary than to let him become intoxicated with military pomp, which is still more impressive than the pomp of religion.

This time the impression is not produced by priestly vestments, resplendent with gold and precious stones; these are replaced by costumes of gaudy colors, with gold lace, plumes and feathers.

The music of the church organ is replaced by the still more intoxicating music of drums and trumpets.

Instead of religious processions, we now have those imposing military reviews, which we have all run after in our time in order to see the march-past, in the heat and dust, of those interminable ranks of instruments of slaughter and of young men, the flower of the nation, marked for future butcheries. Then, when the rag on

3. Loriquet, a Jesuit historian.

the end of a stick, which represents the sacred emblem of the country, passes by, a wave of religious emotion passes over the throng of patriots, and they devoutly bare their heads, just as their great-grandfathers bared their heads before the Holy Sacrament.

Ah! I know that I am hurting your feelings, gentlemen of the jury, and that you feel all the more hurt because you know that I am saying what is true. I know that I am wounding the "universal conscience," of which the Paris Bar has made itself such an eloquent interpreter. But do you think that Voltaire, Diderot, and the other encyclopeædists hurt nobody's feelings? It is a lamentable fact that whenever a nascent society is emerging from the womb of the old order, it is always with prolonged and agonizing birth-pangs, causing, to the adherents of the ancient system, distress and anguish which the innovators would fain have spared them.

As for us, the revolutionary socialists, we have repudiated the flag on which are displayed in letters of gold the names of so many butcheries.

WHAT IS A COUNTRY?

Flags are only emblems; they have no value beyond what they represent. What, then, do we mean by a country or a nation? What are all the countries of today?

Allow me, gentlemen of the jury, to make use of an illustration, a sort of parable, which will enable you better to understand our sentiments.

Countries—all countries or nations, whatever may be the governmental ticket with which they are labeled—are composed of two groups of men, one by far the less numerous, the other embracing the immense majority of the people.

The first group is seated at a well-spread table, where nothing is lacking. At the head of the table, at the place of honor, are seated the great financiers. Some are Jews, yes; others are Catholics; others, again, are Protestants or Freethinkers. They may be in disagreement on religious or philosophic questions, and even on questions of

interest, but, as against the great mass of the people, they work together like thieves at a fair.

On their right and on their left are the cabinet ministers, the great officials of all the state services, civil, religious and military, not forgetting the paymaster-generals, at salaries of thirty, forty, or sixty thousand francs a year; a little farther away, the Council of the Order of Advocates (that glorious interpreter of the "Universal Conscience") and the gentlemen of the courts of law, including their precious auxiliaries, the solicitors, notaries and bailiffs.

And then there are the big shareholders of the mines, factories, railways and shipping companies, and the big stores, great squires and great landed proprietors, they are all at that table; all those who have only a few sous are there also, at the end of the table; they are the small fry, who have, however, all the prejudices and all the conservative instincts of the big capitalists.

Ah! gentlemen of the jury, I trust that you are among those privileged ones seated at that table. One is not badly off there, in truth. In return for one's work—when one does work—work which is often of an intellectual character, frequently pleasant, and which always leaves plenty of leisure; directorial work which flatters a man's pride and vanity, one enjoys a full, rich life, embellished by all the comfort and luxury that the progress of science places at the service of the privileged ones of the earth.

Far away from that table I perceive a herd of beasts of burden, condemned to forbidding, dirty, dangerous and mindless toil, without respite or repose, and, above all, without security for the morrow; small tradesmen, nailed to their counters on Sundays and holidays, and more and more crushed out every day by the competition of the big stores; small industrial employers, ground out of existence by the competition of the big factory owners; small peasant proprietors, brutalized by long hours of labor, 16 to 18 hours a day, and only working to enrich

the big middlemen, flour merchants, wine agencies and sugar refiners. Still farther off from the table of the prosperous I see the great mass of the proletarians, those who for their whole fortune have only their arms and their brains; working men and women of the factory, exposed to long periods of unemployment; petty officials, clerks, and other employes, obliged to bow their heads and hide their opinions; domestic servants of both sexes, flesh for toil, flesh for cannon, flesh for lust.

Behold your countries!

Monstrous social inequality, monstrous exploitation of man by man, that is what a country is nowadays, and that is what the workers take off their hats to when the flag is carried by. They seem to say: "Oh, how beautiful is our country! Oh, how free, sweet and just she is!" How you must laugh, Mr. Advocate-General, when you hear them sing:

"To die for one's country
Is of all the fates the most beauteous,
The most worthy of envy."

You believe, perhaps, gentlemen of the jury—a natural illusion among the privileged classes—that it is by labor and thrift that one arrives at the table of the happy ones of this world. We know that one does arrive there sometimes by labor and by the spirit of organization and economy; and we are quite willing to believe that it is thus that you, gentlemen, have managed to find your way there. But we others, who are all manual or brain workers, we know very well that if occasionally a man gains fortune and ease by his own labor and privations, it is ever so much more often by the work and the privations of others.

THE ROBBER CLASS!

And if you, gentlemen, are ignorant of the history of your class, we, here, are not. We know that in the Revolutionary Assemblies of 1789 and 1793 there was not a single workman, not a single peasant, but only members

of the bourgeoisie, big and little, who worked for the interests of their class.

We know how they seized upon the six billion francs worth of property of the clergy and the nobility, and we know how so many of the great fortunes of the bourgeoisie were piled up by fishing in troubled waters during the whole of the revolutionary period.

We know how your class as soon as its appetite was satiated, as soon as the Revolution was over, in mortal dread of our Baboeuf(4) and the poverty-stricken proletariat whose anger and hopes he interpreted, sheltered its digestion behind the sabre of Napoleon and the concordat of the Pope of Rome.

We know how the upstarts of your Revolution, having become prefects, state councilors, and senators of the Empire, manufactured Codes which rule us still, and which are so favorable to property, so hard on the workers and the poor.

We know how they drew up the functionaries of their class and for those of ours the scandalously unequal scales of pay still in force; and our system of taxation, so light a burden on the shoulders of the strong, so heavy on the shoulders of the weak. We know how they put their hands on coal mines, national wealth, collective property, which was appropriated by a few thousand shareholders, who saw their shares of 500 and 1,000 francs jump up to 10,000, 20,000, and a few, those of Anzin, even up to 500,000 francs each!

We know how, on the downfall of Napoleon, the upper classes laid hold of the law-making machine, the Parliament, where 90,000 electors from 1815 to 1830, 300,000 from 1830 to 1848, arrogated to themselves the right of sending representatives, refusing universal suffrage to the mass of the nation. We know how, taking advantage of this seizure of the governing powers to in-

4. Baboeuf organized one of the real proletarian risings of the Revolutionary period. For an account of the role of the working class in the Revolution see Kropotkin's work, "The Great French Revolution."

crease its privileges, your class took possession, on onerous terms for the taxpayers, of the railways; how, during the whole of the nineteenth century, the military laws made by them were the expression of privilege and oppression.

Since your Revolution of 1789, for a whole century your class has built up its fortune on the ruin of the weak, all in accordance with the Code; and today a few hundred thousand men, of whom many are mere drones, have monopolized all the principal means of production, mines, factories, railways and banks, levying directly or indirectly, on the toil of the great mass of the disinherited a tribute heavier than any impost of the past.

"RIGHTS" OF THE WORKERS.

But our country is much superior to all others, it appears. It is you, the Advocate-General, like so many others, who tell us that. Did you not hear him, gentlemen of the jury, complacently enumerate all the liberties which the French fatherland bestows on us? "You have universal suffrage," he said, "you have the liberty of labor combination, the right to strike, the freedom of meeting, the liberty of the press. If our country is in a bad way, it is for you to make it better!"

Universal suffrage? Just look at it! Corrupted by the intimidation of the employers in the districts dominated by the factory of the country mansion, corrupted everywhere by the ignorance of the electors, who leave school too early with only a rudimentary instruction, universal suffrage is led by the nose by your journals with big circulations, which are all in the hands of the capitalists, and which systematically falsify the facts in order to manufacture public opinion to their liking. Under the capitalist system Capital remains sovereign, even under the republican label.

The right of labor combination? It is tempered by the power of your class to subdue the workers' leaders by starvation through dismissal.

The right to strike? The witnesses whom you have heard, witnesses from your own class in many cases, come to tell you how strikers, even inoffensive strikers, are sabred and horsewhipped, and how, after strikes, even victorious ones, the powerful employers thin out the ringleaders in order to terrify the rest.

The right of meeting? Ask Bousquet and Garney what they think about it, they who have been lying in prison for two months without trial for remarks made at a public meeting, and who would be free, like M. Jaluzot, if they had been able to find the 2,000 francs bail which, by a cruel irony, they were asked to furnish.

The liberty of the press? Look at us, at us on these benches! We are all old offenders; there is not one of us who has not been prosecuted for press offences. We are known at all the district courts in France. The Advocate-General has boasted to us of the liberalism of the press laws which enable us to be tried before a jury of our peers, according to his expression. Our peers! Our equals! You, gentlemen! Really! Among you I see house owners, merchants, an engineer, an inspector, a bailiff; show me, Mr. Advocate-General, the manual and intellectual proletarians, who are seated on those benches opposite us, among the jury?

No! No! It is in vain that you deny the existence of classes, Mr. Advocate-General; they are there all the same, they stare you in the face. Just look at them. Here is one class, here on the benches of the accused. It is the proletariat; and there is another class, there opposite us —the bourgeoisie, which is there to try us.

You deny the existence of classes, Mr. Advocate-General, but I am sure that even among the municipal guards who are in this hall there was not a single one who, when our comrade Bousquet, with that grand popular eloquence which makes the crowd vibrate like the violin under the bow, voiced yesterday the aspirations of the universal proletariat—there was not a single one who did not vibrate in unison; and at the present moment

there is not a single one who does not feel that he is of our class and that he is the enemy of yours, Mr. Advocate-General.

Ah! you put yourself forward as the advocate of society as a whole. You are under an illusion, Mr. Advocate-General. Here you are nothing but the official advocate of what is really the principal culprit in this trial, the bourgeois class, the capitalist fatherland.

CAPITALISTS HAVE REASON TO BE PATRIOTIC.

That those of your class should love their country, gentlemen of the jury, nothing is more natural. That you should burn to die for it, citizen Advocate-General, I can quite understand. The country is for you and for yours a tender mother; she pampers you in childhood; she gives you a rich education; she makes your youth a happy one; she assures you honorable work, richly remunerated, long holidays, security for the morrow and for old age.

You would be monsters of ingratitude, unnatural children, if you were not ready to rush to her defense when she calls upon you.

I go further. I understand even that you should seek to communicate to us, the workers, your holy patriotic flame.

It would suit you very well, eh! if we were to remain patriots, so that, should your country be threatened, as it was sometime back at Fourmies, at Limoges, and at Longwy, we might constitute ourselves, in opposition to our own brothers in toil and poverty, the watch dogs of your moneybags and of your privileges?

How pleased you would be to see us, the proletariat, remain patriotic, and continue to go light-heartedly to steal, for your financiers, another Tunis, another Tonkin, another Madagascar, or to pillage Pekin once more in the name of your civilization.

If tomorrow your financiers and your diplomats were unable to come to terms with those of Germany, your

patriotism (at 8 per cent!) would be only too happy to see us, the French and German workers marching against each other, butchering each other by the hundred thousand, in order to find out whether Morocco should belong to the capitalists of Paris or to those of Berlin.

We know, as you see, the mysterious and interested sources of your patriotism. Yes, you are quite right, from your point of view, in trying to cultivate among the enslaved workers the worship of your countries and of your flags; to maintain the domination of your class you are well-advised in propagating among the masses those patriotic sentiments which veil class antagonisms and make the sheep believe that they are of the same race, the same family, and the same country as the wolves who devour them.

But you must understand, Mr. Advocate-General, that we of the manual and intellectual proletariat have quite other sentiments towards your countries.

For you, the country is a mother; for us, it is a cruel stepmother, a shrew whom we detest.

For you, patriotism is a sentiment which is natural and profitable; for us, it is a snare.

We may have conserved a certain predilection for the town or the village where we were born, where we grew up, and where we have loved and suffered. This is a natural and instinctive feeling which has nothing in common with your patriotism. But we have lost all feeling of love for such countries of privilege and iniquity as are the great countries of today.

For us there are only two countries in the world: that of the privileged and that of the disinherited, or rather that of the conservatives and that of the rebels, whatever language they may speak, or whatever the land may be which chanced to give them birth. Our compatriots are not the capitalists here, who would have us massacred if they could, just as they massacred our fathers in the Commune. Our compatriots are the conscious proletarians, the socialists, the revolutionaries of the whole world,

who wage everywhere the same battle as ourselves for the establishment of a better society. And in full agreement with them we only await the opportunity in this Europe, where the railways, the telegraph, cheap newspapers, and the same capitalist system have suppressed distance and rendered uniform the conditions of life, to found that free European federation, prelude to the great human federation, in which the countries of today will be absorbed, just as the ancient provinces became absorbed in the France, England, and Germany as we know them now.

Socialism, founded the class struggle, has so thoroughly killed in our hearts all national sentiment that we could not help smiling the other day when our friend Gohier, not quite cured of his old patriotism, spoke to us with emotion of the affront over the Fashoda affair. Your government, your country, may go on receiving affronts like that over Fashoda; we, here, shall not feel in the least offended, we are strangers to your country and to everything which touches it.

The Advocate-General wanted, the other day, to interest us in the defense of "our" liberties, the liberties we ourselves enjoy in this country, which is, as we have already been told, "the freest and the sweetest of countries." I thank the Advocate-General for his solicitude about our liberties. We know well enough what we have to do to defend our liberties, liberties which, as a matter of fact, were not graciously granted by your class to ours, but which our elders were obliged to wrest from you by force. I have already told you how these political liberties seem to us illusory, so long as we are economic serfs, so long as our bread for the morrow is practically at the discretion of the class who hold the instruments of labor.

THE KAISER BOGEY MAN.

But whatever is real and profitable to us in those political liberties nobody in the world can take away from us. In the height of the storm raised by the anti-patriotic

declarations which I made in the name of the Socialist Federation of the Yonne a few months ago in the meeting at the Tivoli Vaux-Hall, some comrades of my party objected, like the Advocate-General himself, that, if my ideas spread on this side of the frontier, the German Kaiser would just make a mouthful of France; he would annex it, and then there would be an end to all our liberties. Let us follow them in this fantastic hypothesis, of which I will shortly show you the impossible character.

You seem to think that if we became tomorrow the subjects of the Kaiser, all our political liberties would disappear, and with them the right to speak our native language. Come, now! Mr. Advocate-General. You are unaware perhaps that universal suffrage exists in Germany for the elections to the imperial parliament, the Reichstag; that labor organizations are twice as numerous on the other side of the Rhine as they are here; that public meetings are as numerous as they are here; and that the German socialist daily papers are "redder" than those labeled "socialist" in this country.

And you imagine that the Kaiser, who, in this German nation which you represent to us as politically backward, cannot even hinder the exercise of these political liberties, you imagine that he would be able to prevent them among us, who, on your own showing, are more unruly than the German workers. And if he tried to, do you suppose that we should not resort to secret propaganda, the most powerful and efficacious form of propaganda?

But listen to the sounds which reach us from Russia, a country still more backward, economically, intellectually and politically, than the Germany of the Kaiser. Listen, and you will hear the sounds which foretell the ignorminious downfall of the autocracy. As a consequence of the old patriarchal Russia, agricultural and Czarist, having tasted of the capitalist system, as a consequence of the investments of the French, German, and English capitalists—we are not the only internationalists!—having gone to create a Russian industrialism and to furrow the

old-world land of the Muscovite with railways, the Russia of the knout has begun to totter; and tomorrow, even if our revolutionary friends over there are partially vanquished, the Russian rulers will no longer be able to refuse to the people the liberty of meeting and of the press, the right to strike, and other economic and political liberties of which the capitalist system itself stands in need for its own subsistence, and which it cannot refuse anywhere to the workers of the twentieth century.

What! the hangman of all the Russias—your ally, gentlemen of the jury—can no longer refuse to the Russian moujiks the essential elements of political liberty, and yet you imagine that the German Kaiser, on becoming master of France, or the greater part of it, would be able to wrest these liberties from us!

Your ally, the butcher of all the Russias, has not succeeded after a century of occupation and attempts at Russiafication, in stopping the Poles from speaking their mother tongue, and yet you believe that the Kaiser would be able to stop us from speaking ours!

You see, then, Mr. Advocate-General, that it is quite useless to keep on trying to frighten us with this bogey of the Kaiser, for to us the question of being French or German is quite a matter of indifference. What does it matter to us whether we are labeled French or German, so long as we still have to suffer; either as industrial workers, from irregular employment and exploitation, or as peasants, from the grinding usury of the mortgage-holder and from cut-throat competition in the sale of our produce? What difference can it make to us whether it is a French or German advocate-general who prosecutes us, or whether the police who brutally ill-treat us and the soldiers who shoot us down in strikes are of one nationality or the other?

"But suppose that the Kaiser attacked us?" objected the Advocate-General. And one of the witnesses, easily nonplussed, allowed himself to be embarrassed by this

question. He stammered out that in that particular case he, personally, would fight.

You believe, then, Mr. Advocate-General, that when a war breaks out there is on one side a Government entirely in the wrong, which attacks, and on the other a Government which has all the right on its side, and which suffers a cowardly aggression? You believe that it is easy to know who is in the wrong when a war breaks out! Look at the Boer government and the Japanese government! It was they who *declared* war. But are they for that any more the aggressors than the English and the Russian governments which provoked them into war?

In 1870 it was the French government which declared war for an alleged insult to its ambassador, although the ministers knew from the ambassador himself that there had been no such insult. But was the German government, with its Ems telegram trick, any less blameworthy? (5) When a war breaks out between two governments, the people never know which is the real aggressor. They do not find it out until long afterwards, when the war is over. If war had broken out six months ago between the French and the German governments over Morocco, we should have had to wait, probably for ten years, before we learnt all about the blunders and the blustering of your Delcasse. When a war breaks out, the big capitalist and governmental journals in each country always make out that the other country is the aggressor. As for us here, what we know is this, that if war occurs between France and Germany it will be a conflict between the capitalist classes for the markets of the world. Therefore, whoever may be the *apparent* aggressor, we will not fight. You patriots will fight if your

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5. To precipitate the war Bismarck caused the Berlin journals to publish a note worded in such a way as to lead the public to believe that the French ambassador had been "snubbed" by the King of Prussia at an interview in Ems. The American "sense of honor" is less delicate than that of the French. It required the typical incident of violence, the blowing up of the battleship Maine in Havana harbor in 1898, to precipitate the Spanish-American war. It is not yet known "who blew up the Maine," though suspicion points its finger at American capitalists.

country is attacked and also, doubtless, if she attacks another country. You are logical.

We, the anti-patriots, will not sacrifice at your bidding the only possession we have, our lives, whatever may be the motives or pretexts put forward. If we must risk our lives, then we will risk them not in defending our country, but in attempting to found the socialist country which we already carrying in our brains. The President of the Court said the other day to a witness, citizen Monneret, who came to give evidence in my favor on behalf of the Federation of the Yonne, that, if we did not obey the order of mobilization in the Yonne district, we should have to pay dear: that we should be arrested. My friend Monneret replied (as I should have replied myself): "We shall see who will do the arresting when that day comes."

CIVIL WAR!

O! I know, of course, that the Advocate-General is horrified by the idea of civil war; that, he finds, is criminal. The Advocate-General is logical; he knows very well that if we had a civil war and our class were victorious, it would be his class that would have to pay the damage; whereas in a war between nations, we, the people, whether victorious or vanquished, would have to pay. He knows perfectly well that the two governing classes, even the one which was beaten, would always make something out of the war. The contractors who provide paper-soled boots and diseased meat for the soldiers, the manufacturers of armaments, the financiers who lend money to their vanquished country at five and six per cent, all these have nothing to lose by a war, even an unsuccessful war.

The Advocate-General may not like civil war, but we consider that it is the only sort of war which can possibly be of any advantage to us. From all times it has been so wherever a social revolution has triumphed.

Gohier pointed that out to you when he said: "It is owing to a revolution, that of 1789, completed by that of

1792, which was made in the face of the foreign foe, that you are able, gentlemen of the jury, to sit on those benches to try us, and that you, Mr. Advocate-General, who are of Jewish origin, are able to prosecute us."

Had it not been for the revolution of the 4th of September, 1870, also make in the face of the foreign foe, the public prosecutor, instead of indicting us in the name of the Republic, would have indicted us in the name of the Empire.

And you may be sure, gentlemen, that the Russian people will gain more by the civil war which they are waging at this moment against their rulers, if they win and even if they lose, than the Japanese people from their victories in Manchuria.

If ever we feel any interest at all in a war between nations, it is in that exceptional case where the war, under the guise of a war of nations, is really a civil war, a class war.

If our hearts go out to the soldiers of Valmy (6), fighting against the banded monarchies and aristocracies of all Europe, it is because the wars of the French Revolution were only the extension throughout Europe of the duel which began in France between the Third Estate and the old absolutist and clerical order.

In the same way, if I said that in spite of my "near sight," which does not prevent me from using a rifle, I would set out for Russia—and other comrades with me who are not near sighted—in the event of the German government's sending troops into Poland to break down the Russian revolution, it is because, under the semblance or a war of nation on nation, a war between the Russian revolution and the German Kaiser would still be a civil war, a war from which we might, perhaps, bring forth the European Social Revolution.

In the event, then, of an order for mobilization, we

6. Valmy, the field of the first great battle of the French Revolutionary wars (September 30, 1792), where the revolutionary army, mainly composed of young, untrained volunteers, drove back the Prussian forces who had invaded France on behalf of monarchy and reaction.

shall attempt to bring about the Revolution, in order to lay hold of the social wealth usurped today by a minority. We shall transform the dwelling houses, now the property of individual landlords, into communal property.

THE NEW SOCIETY.

We shall work the factories, mines, all the great enterprises, by our unions and our engineers. Our unions of workers will administer, like great co-operative societies, the big stores of today. By a more rational and more equitable organization of production we shall create a society in which there will be well-being, knowledge, and beauty for all; a society which will be far better than that of today, even for your sons and daughters; a socialist country—a country which it will be worth our while to defend against the aggression of any bourgeoisie whatsoever.

I know very well that our collectivist or communist conception is repugnant to you; that, at the very least, it seems to you a mad Utopia. Utopia? It is thus that Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI described the pretensions of your ancestors, the bourgeois revolutionaries, who dreamed of a society in which there would be no absolute king, no privileged nobles, and no state religion.

[The President of the Court: "Mister Herve, you are delivering a regular public lecture; you are trespassing beyond the subject. The gentlemen of the jury, by this time, quite understand your point of view.]

Herve (continuing): I am used to carrying on a discussion, and I assure you, Mister President, that I am in the very heart of my subject. It is necessary that the jury should understand exactly the basis of our ideas, and for that, instead of making use of grand phrases about the revolution, phrases which too often conceal the startling originality of our doctrines, I am obliged to explain precisely, by concrete instances, the ideal for which we contend.

Gentlemen of the jury, what ought to reassure you a

little is the fact that we are in full agreement with our foreign comrades, particularly with our German comrades. They profess for the Germans of your class the same sentiments that we profess for you. The German capitalist class finds no more favor in their sight than the French capitalist class does in ours.

OUR PROPAGANDA IS INTERNATIONAL.

The Advocate-General, either through ignorance or with the laudable object of terrifying you, gentlemen of the jury, has ventured to deny that our propaganda is a really international one, carried on from each side of the frontier.

He has dared to maintain that the German workers, at least—whose attitude naturally interests you the most—stand aside from our International.

Urbain Gohier has already read to you some extracts from the incendiary leaflets of which perhaps, Emperor William is ignorant, but which abound none the less in the German barracks.

Miguel Almereyda, secretary of the French section of the International Anti-Militarist Association, will quote other publications to you. He will lay before you the official organ of the German section of the Association.

Speaking for myself—a socialist before everything, and one who thoroughly understands the spirit of the German Social Democracy—I should like to add some supplementary facts which will edify and perhaps reassure those members of the jury who fear that this propaganda is confined to France alone.

The Advocate-General's argument is exactly the same as that put forward six months ago by certain comrades of my party: The argument is, substantially, this:

"In France, which is, comparatively speaking, a land of liberty, Herve and his friends are able to propagate their anti-patriotic ideas.

"In Germany, where the authorities are better armed against the authors of subversive ideas, that propaganda cannot be carried on.

"Consequently, when war breaks out, there will be insurrectional communes in France on the day of mobilization, whereas in Germany, where it had been impossible to carry on the same propaganda, the workers will march, like one man, behind the emperor; with the result that France, just because she has a little more liberty than Germany, will be invaded, crushed, and dismembered."

And you trembled, in your patriotic hearts!

Reassure yourselves, gentlemen of the jury.

The Advocate-General, once again, is badly informed on the state of things abroad.

There is no propaganda, however subversive it may be, which the German government can prevent by repressive measures.

And of that I will give you a palpable proof.

THE "IRON BISMARCK'S" FAILURE

In 1878 there was at the head of the German government a man who was not without some reputation for strength. I have only to name him, for you to admit that at once. His name was—Bismarck.

Alarmed at the progress of Social Democracy, which at the election of 1877 had received a million votes, he resolved to employ strong measures to stem the movement.

He forged against social democracy the most terrible laws—laws similar to those which in a moment of panic were forged in this country against the anarchists. They called them over there the "Iron Laws."

All the German socialist groups were obliged to disappear; the journals of the party ceased publication; it was forbidden under severe penalties to write in a journal or to pronounce on a public platform a word about socialism. Infractions of these laws were brought before the correctional courts, acting under administrative rule, which were simply machines for distributing years of imprisonment. Hundreds of active socialists were struck down; thousands of years of imprisonment were distributed; and with what result, gentlemen of the jury?

At the very height of the persecution, the journal of the party, printed in Switzerland, penetrated even into the German barracks; leaflets, similar to those which our comrade Gohier read to you, were secretly circulated in all quarters, the forbidden fruit being greedily devoured by the German workers. Never before had the propaganda been so strenuous or so fruitful.

When in 1890, after twelve years of persecution, the Emperor consulted the political barometer, he was terrified to find that instead of one million socialist votes it registered two million-and-a-half!

Then he did what you would have done in his place, Mr. Advocate-General. He repealed the "Iron Laws," and in so doing he showed to all the world that the most arbirtrary governments can do nothing against resolute men—men who are determined against all odds to propagate their ideas.

And what Bismarck could not prevent when Social Democracy was only in its infancy, do you think that the Emperor William will be able to prevent, now that there are three millions of socialist electors in Germany?

By temperament, and in order to avoid useless persecutions, the German social democrats have never shown any love for noisy demonstration of anti-patriotism, persuaded that their secret propaganda is quite as profitable to their cause as the more dangerous open propaganda. That is the reason why in our International Conventions, as well as in their own national conventions, the German socialists may at times appear somewhat timid in their attitude on anti-patriotism. But Emperor William is under no delusion on the subject. He knows to a marvel what the German workers think of him and of the German fatherland.

Moreover, a good many of our German comrades, especially among the younger ones, desire to see the social democracy take up a more combative, a more revolutionary attitude; they follow with interest, some of them with passion, our anti-patriotic propaganda in France.

I had hardly finished writing my book, "Leur Patrie," before some of the comrades of the German Social-Democracy asked to be allowed to translate it into German, which has now been done.

And, as a big book was not within everybody's means, they asked me to summarize in a pamphlet, which they would translate, the substance of our anti-patriotic ideas, and they assured me that they would willingly undertake to spread the pamphlet all over Germany, in the face of the judges, police, and soldiers of the Kaiser.

But you have had quite recently, gentlemen, a striking instance of the international character of our socialist movement; almost simultaneously in the French parliament and in the German parliament the same words rang out.

Ah! the parliamentary socialists, in France as well as in Germany, have no love for those members of their party who, especially at election time, scare the voters with brutal plain-speaking, instead of cajoling them with high-sounding but ambiguous phrases intended to reconcile opposing interests.

But when an idea has made its way in the revolutionary ranks, then even those in the parliamentary circles begin to stir.

In former times the parliamentary socialists of France and Germany were outspoken anti-militarists and internationalists. You all know that Bebel in Germany had to spend eighteen months in a fortress prison for having protested against the brutal annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. The German parliamentary socialists, more thorough going than ours, have even refused on every occasion to vote for the war supplies in parliament; but, in Germany just as in France, the parliamentary socialists have always been careful not to shock the patriotic prejudices of the voters. Yet, quite recently in the French Chamber and in the German Reichstag an entirely new tone was heard.

For the first time in the history of the French Chamber, by the voice of Marcel Sembat, an attack was openly made on the idea of country; and in the German Reichstag the voice of Bebel responded to him like an echo.

The veteran of the German social democracy declared, with brutal conciseness, to the chancellor of the empire: "Take care! If you maintain the German fatherland in such a state that the German workman begins to doubt whether it is to his interest to defend it, then take care not to land us in a foreign war, for on that day you are lost."

I have said enough, gentlemen of the jury, for you to see clearly that our propaganda, carried on as it is on both sides of the frontier, will not lead to an invasion or to a dismemberment of your country by the German army, but to a simultaneous rising of the French and the German workers against their rulers.

Mr. Advocate-General, you have said to me: "So much the worse for Herve if your ideas spread among the people."

No, Mr. Advocate-General, not so much the worse for me, but so much the worse for you and for your class.

Our threat, moreover, as you are all aware, is only a conditional threat, like our threat to the officers who give the order to fire on strikers, since it depends on the rulers, as it depends on the officers, whether our threats will be put into execution.

Yes, so much the worse for the ruling classes of France and Germany if they commit the crime of provoking an international war.

Gentlemen, I have spoken, as you have seen, without any anxiety to avoid prison, with not enough concern, perhaps, for the liberty of my fellow-defendants. I beg them to excuse me.

Moreover, I do not ask you, gentlemen, to approve of my ideas, nor am I so simple-minded as to ask the Advocate-General to do so; but I am sure that you will carry away with you the impression that our ideas—which, once

more, are not merely my personal ideas—form a solid body of doctrine which has behind it as its supporters men who are not lacking in courage, and who are more than a mere handful. It is not, as you tried to make out, Mr. Advocate-General, an individual opinion: it is the opinion of labor organizations which number thousands of militant workers, some of whom you have seen here as witnesses for the defense. For instance, it was on behalf of 85,000 organized woodsmen, the serfs of the forest, that our comrade Veuillat, secretary of the National Federation of France, spoke yesterday.

In spite of the somewhat offensive bluntness of my declarations, I count on an acquittal. Oh! you will need all your courage to acquit us. You will have to fight hard against the prejudice which your daily newspapers have instilled into you, and which has made you look on us as a lot of demoniacs who pass their time in insulting the officers of the army and in planting the national flag on the dunghill.

You will have to resist the temptation to strike down the adversaries who have fallen into your hands.

You will expose yourselves to the reproaches and the jeers of your friends, who will never forgive you for having acquitted the man of "the flag on the dunghill" fame.

To those who would reproach you for our acquittal, you will say first of all: "It was impossible for us to condemn people for their opinions, however freely, and even brutally, they may have expressed them; and we could not, in the twentieth century, incur the ridicule and odium of sending men to prison on the pretext that they were heretics, and that their doctrines seemed to us to be dangerous."

And you will add: "Besides, you did not hear, as we did, the evidence of the witnesses. If you had heard, as we did, the witnesses who described on oath how the cavalry officers had horsewhipped the strikers at Longwy, and how certain employers treat the workers, you would

have understood and excused the exasperation of those who signed the anti-militarist poster."

And finally, if you cannot touch their feelings, you will tell them: "It was in our own interest, in the interest of our class, that we acquitted them; we did not wish to give them the glory of martyrdom, and thus increase their moral authority and their power of swaying the workers with their ideas."

Ah! gentlemen, I tell you sincerely, it is in the interest of your class itself that we should be acquitted. We may not be of the same class, we may consider your class to be the enemy of ours, yet, still the claims of class have not killed in us all feelings of humanity.

We know well that under your bourgeois garb there beats the heart of a man, like our own. In the interest of your class itself, in the interest of the men and the women of your class—our brothers and sisters in humanity—we would have you pause before further exasperating by a vindictive verdict, our class, which is already sufficiently exasperated against you. I wish to preserve you from ferocious reprisals. Today you are the stronger, but your domination will not be eternal. I have an idea that it will not last long. Perhaps you do not believe it. Neither did the Czar, when a few years ago he came here in all his pomp and glory, believe that the day was so near when he would have to settle accounts with his people. When the day comes for your class to settle its account with us, we shall be happy, we the prisoners at the bar, to be able to plead extenuating circumstances in your favor. Please do not misunderstand me; I do not threaten you with reprisals; I do not want to terrify you; I imagine that fear has no more influence on you than on us. But, as we do not hold you individually responsible for the evils of the present social system, we desire that the approaching Revolution should make as few victims as possible among your class. When the turn comes for our class to judge yours, we shall be glad to be able to say to the more exasperated and bitter of our comrades

that, in the time of your might there were decent people among you, which is the truth; that there were judges, like the good judge Magnaud and the good judge Sere de Rivieres, among your justices; that there were courteous presidents of the court, like the one here today, to preside over the proceedings; that there were advocates-general who did not stoop in the mud to find insults to fling at the accused; and that there were jurymen, like those of Auxerre, of Troyes, and even of ultra-patriotic Paris, who did not hesitate to acquit their political opponents.

INSURRECTION RATHER THAN WAR

And, now that I have shown you the menacing side of our revolutionary socialism—the class war—let me in conclusion, gentlemen of the jury, point out to you the broadly humanitarian side of it, so that you may point it out also to those who might be led to reproach you for our acquittal. How is it that you have not felt that it is we who form your best rampart against the German Emperor? It is not your rifles that the Kaiser fears, but the rifles of the German social democrats, those comrades who, on the other side of the Rhine, are carrying on exactly the same propaganda as we are here!

All of you, even the most ultra-patriotic, desire peace, do you not? You would much prefer to see the big financiers of your capitalist class settle their differences with the big financiers of other countries by international arbitration. But perhaps you will say to yourselves: "These arbitration tribunals are nothing but a farce. They settle petty secondary questions, but when some big affair comes up the matter is settled by cannon-shots. The Czar of the Hague Conference acted just the same as the others." Well, we have found a recipe for compelling governments, all governments, including that of the Kaiser, to settle their disputes, all their disputes, by arbitration.

Our recipe consists in propagating, on both sides of all frontiers, and particularly in France and Germany, our war-cry against war: "Insurrection Rather Than War!"

We wish, in fact, to save your sons, as well as the sons of the people, from the horrible death of the battlefield.

If you throw us into prison, and if, by some impossible hazard, you stamp out our propaganda, then beware lest a war breaks out, perhaps at no distant day, and cut down, in the flower of their age, the beings who to you are the most dear. Beware, lest the mother of your son should come to you with accusing mien and cry: "Wretch! There were men who, at the risk of their liberty, tried to show the people a means of stopping governments from waging war, from killing my son; and it was you, wretched one, who threw these men into prison!"

Loud and repeated applause. The president threatens to clear the court.

The jury returns with a verdict of "Guilty, without extenuating circumstances."

Interrogated as to the application of the penalty, all the prisoners show a mocking and undaunted front.

Gustave Herve: I thank the gentlemen of the jury for the piece of work they have just done. I thank them for having illustrated and confirmed in such a striking manner the thesis which I put forward here on patriotism and the class war. You had sworn to judge without hatred and without fear—

The President: "Do not address the jury; address your remarks to the Court."

Herve: Gentlemen of the Court, they had sworn to try us without hatred and without fear. They have judged us with class hatred and with the fear of the press, of their friends, and of the public opinion of their class. They have widened the breach between their class and ours; they have dug deeper the pit into which we shall hurl them!

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

Gustave Herve is a native of Brittany. He was born in 1871, in the naval dockyard town of Brest. His parents were of the working class, and could only provide for the ordinary schooling; but by the help of a friend of the family he was enabled to continue his studies; and after years of hard work and privation,

he rose step by step, carrying on propaganda all the while, to the Professorship of History at the State College in the town of Sens, in the department of the Yonne.

Herve threw himself with great energy into the socialist propaganda in this region, accentuating the anti-militarist side of it by a series of articles in the local socialist paper. One of these articles, "Drapeau de Wagram," perhaps the most powerful indictment of war and militarism ever written, contained the famous phrase about planting the flag on the dunghill, and caused such a scandal that the government dismissed him from his post. He was also prosecuted for the article, but acquitted by the jury. At that trial, and on two or three subsequent occasions, he was defended by Aristide Briand, then an obscure barrister professing violent revolutionary opinions, afterward the Prime Minister of France, and the "hero" of the French railway workers' strike of 1910.

On being dismissed from the college Herve devoted himself entirely to propaganda among the peasants of the Yonne, touring the country side on foot. He continued his anti-militarist contributions to the local press, which led to further prosecutions and further acquittals.

It was during this period that his anti-militarism developed into anti-patriotism; and when in 1905 the dispute arose between the French and the German governments over Morocco, Herve brought before the French Socialist Party, on behalf of the Socialist Federation of the Yonne, the policy expounded in this pamphlet.

These extreme views were naturally received with violent opposition by the orthodox leaders and the moderate sections of the party; but with the active support of the powerful General Confederation of Labor of France, the anti-militarist and anti-patriotic propaganda has become a force to be reckoned with in France; and the recent great anti-war demonstrations in Berlin and other German cities (1911), show that it is also becoming a force on the other side of the Rhine.

As a result of the anti-patriotic menace to the rulers of France, Herve has spent a great part of his time in jail during the past seven years, where he continues his activity through articles in his paper, "La Guerre Sociale" (The Social War). During the summer of 1911 he was again haled before the Court of Assizes on account of articles in his paper signed, "Un Sans-Patrie" (one without a country). Prior to this trial, Herve issued the following defiance in a letter to the prosecuting attorney, which appeared in "La Guerre Sociale," June 13, 1911:

"Tuesday morning 'La Guerre Sociale' appeared once more in the Court of Assizes, in the person of its managing editor, my comrade Auroy, a building worker, because of an article en-

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titled 'The Funeral Rites of Colonel Moll,' and signed 'Un Sans-Patrie.' As everyone knows, 'Un Sans-Patrie is myself. You may now wish to give orders to include me in the prosecutions. I profit by the occasion to inform you that I am also the author of all the articles, signed or not, appearing in the same Guerre Sociale on the occasion of the railroad strike, such as those containing provocations to sabotage, and, I know not how many other, crimes and misdemeanors. . . . Seeing it is still necessary, after 40 years of republican etiquette, to fight for that liberty of the press which the republicans under the Empire proclaimed so loudly, we will fight! And I assure you that you will tire of prosecuting us, my friends and myself, before we ourselves become tired of passing our lives in your prisons."

Meanwhile, Herve is still in jail, and has recently had two years added to a four years' sentence, on account of his audacious propaganda. But his anti-patriotic, anti-militarist and rebel ideas are at large, and are gaining ground in every country on the globe.

With the exception of the title, which we have changed from "Anti-Patriotism" to "Patriotism and the Worker," and a few minor technical changes in the body of the work, the present translation of Herve speech is the same as that used in its publication by H. Beaumont & Son, Bradford, England, to which we beg to offer our acknowledgments.

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POEMS AND PROSE WRITINGS

OF

JAMES KELLY COLE

MEMBER OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
WHO WAS ACCIDENTLY KILLED NOVEMBER 17, 1909,
WHILE ON THE ROAD TO SPOKANE, TO TAKE
PART IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM OF
SPEECH, AS AN ORGANIZER IN THE
INTEREST OF HIS COMRADES

PUBLISHED BY

The Industrial Workers of the World

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James Kelly Cole

1885-1909

Seldom does Nature endow anyone with brilliancy, eloquence and promise, more richly than she did James Kelly Cole. Not often, perhaps, have the signs of the invisible future been more propitious to anyone than they were to him. He possessed many of the attributes of a genius. Just as the waters of the land find a home in the ocean, so did all fine, human qualities find a place in him. He felt in his heart the feverish throbs of the world, and keenly sympathized with the poor, the oppressed and the hopeless. He knew mankind well and wished it well. He hoped for the "parliament of man, in the federation of the world."

In the land of perpetual sunshine, down in old New Orleans, February

6th, 1885, James Kelly Cole was born. His father was a brave defender of Lincoln's cause and his mother was the gentlest of true womanhood. From his honorable parents, who still live to mourn their son, he inherited wealth, not in gold, but in character, mentality and sympathy. And of this fine inheritance he made good use for his fellow men.

Cole was educated in the North Division High School, Chicago, where his record as a student was unexcelled. He particularly was unrivalled in English, and as an orator he was brilliant. But his education was far broader than that afforded by the high school. The library almost became his home. He schooled himself so well and became so learned that he could discuss with unusual facility and intelligence any subject in economics, philosophy, history and literature.

While in high school, he established a flourishing school paper, "The Yellow

and Blue," of which he was the editor-in-chief. The ability he showed in this work presaged for him great success in the newspaper world. He had the power of administration, was inventive and able to execute his plans. After his high school course, he engaged in the advertising business and was very successful.

The temperament of Cole was always sunny and hopeful. In him were mixed the elements of June. His humor and wit made him a much-sought companion and famous among all who knew him. Once in high school, a girl began hopefully to recite that poem, "Spring is coming, I know it, I know it." She got no further, but paused and stammered. Like a flash Cole cried out, "You don't know it." And then the stern teacher had to rap hard for order.

As an orator, he was brilliant, forceful and ready. When only a small boy he was known as the "boy orator," and

was much in demand as a speaker, especially in Grand Army circles. This gift of oratory grew with him, so that when he had become a man, he had already made an enviable record. When he spoke he said something interesting and of value, for his beautiful voice and art of oratory were only the agents for expressing the thoughts of his clear, trained mind.

Music was part of his life. The violin never refused to yield up its sweetest tones to him. And any song, however simple, when he sang it, became beautiful. Often he would come out of the theater and sing some song he had just heard better than the hired singer had done. And poetry, which is only a part of music, he loved intensely. The poets of all times he knew well, and much of their works he was ever ready to recite in a manner that they themselves would have been proud to hear. When something happened to strike his fancy,

he would lapse into appropriate verse. However, his modest nature never laid claim to the title of poet or author. He wrote poetry and essays, much of which has been lost, but fortunately a few remain to honor his memory. If he had given himself to literature, success for him would not have been uncertain.

James Kelly Cole, however, tried to help mankind in a more practical way. To that irrepressible class, which is struggling against oppression and the system of ages, he belonged. He believed in the rights of man and that man should meet man face to face. His whole being felt the injustice of present economic conditions and his sympathies were ever with the workingman, that toiler of the seas. He did all he could to remove the evils of capitalism and to supplant those evils with the rights that belong to men. His was never the part to make jest of the needy, but his was the part to help them. He believed

in socialism, hoped for it, worked for it and died for it. He saw in it the solution of unsolved problems, the realization of justice and the victory of men.

And it was on a pilgrimage to help others who believed in the rights of men that James Kelly Cole was halted suddenly by death. A railroad accident at Tomah, Wis., November 17th, 1909, ended only too untimely his brief, young, hopeful life. He lived well and bravely and thus did he die. He was sincere, just and upright. He left many friends and sweet memories.

> " His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, 'This is a man!' "

James Kelly Cole often recited these lines. They were true of him.

Poems

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

Is he draped in ragged clothing,
    Are his hardened features vile;
Do you look on him with loathing,
    Or a thoughtless, sneering smile;

Does he leer at you in envy;
    Evil gleaming in his eye?
In the darkness of the twilight,
    Would you fear to pass him by?

Is his life an allegory,
    Made of hatred and despair?
Doesn't some one know his story?
    Doesn't anybody care?

Will he trudge the city's highway,
    Friendless, doomed to ever roam;
Is his bed a sheltered byway;
    Has he pawned the joy of home?

For a body racked and broken,
Don't you think he'd understand,
Just a kind word softly spoken,
Or the pressure of a hand?

Will at last the highway lead him
To the river's brink at night,
Where upon the restless ripples
Shine the moonbeam's ghostly light?

Will he hesitate a moment
'Till the latest hope has fled;
Has another soul been added
To the kingdom of the dead?

He's your brother.

* * * * * *

Did you meet her in the glamor
Of a city's gilded hell;
In a mercenary amour,
Did you drink and wish her well?

Do you really think her laughter
Rang out truly, rang out free;
The deep sigh that followed after
I am sure you did not see.

And I wonder if you noticed
The sad longing in her eye
When that mother with a baby,
All unconscious, passed you by.

Did you know she got a letter
From a country 'cross the sea,
That a mother, who had loved her,
Passed to all eternity?

Did you know the tears went coursing
Thru the paint upon her cheek,
As she gazed upon a picture;
Did you hear that fearful shriek?

Did you stand among the curious,
Looking through the open door,
Where beside a lifeless body,
Lay a pistol on the floor?

Did you note the worried visage
Of the "Madame" by her side;
Did you read upon the first page,
Of another suicide?

She's your sister.

* * * * * *

They are falling, brother, falling,
Almost daily in the land.
Won't you heed their silent calling?
Won't you stretch a kindly hand?

THE SHADOW OF THE BARS

The raven croaks her lone, prophetic flight
Across the dismal waste, and sable Night
Hath clothed the prison wall in garb of gloom.
Unseen the orbs which thru eternal time
Are Wisdom's fount, and source of Hope, sublime:
The fearful shadows shroud a living tomb.

The vagrant wind taps constant on the pane,
A dreary chant of woe, without refrain,
It beats with careless count the pulse of strife:
And restless, fevered thought of bitter things,

Discordant with the wind intensely
rings
The tuneless canto of a wasted life.

The convict brooding in his narrow cell,
Awaits the ringing of the signal bell,
Which bids the weary soul to sleep
and rest:
Ah, if that brazen thing but had the
power
To lull in slumber sweet one little hour,
Those tireless phantoms of the mind
arrest.

Unknown, upon that hard and narrow
cot,
The peaceful sleep of boyhood's happy
lot:
Here dreams grotesque the fevered
brain abuse:
Dreams conjured in the glaring pit of
hell,
Wove red with threads of pain in Mab's
weird spell,

With terror glint the eye, the brow
suffuse.
Upon a meager shelf a picture stands,
A pile of faded letters, slender strands,
Which hold the heavy heart in Love's
embrace:
'Tis all that's left him of the golden
hours,
When life was sweet with song and
scent of flowers,
And Hope revealed her glory in his
face.

He reads again the missives, one by one,
From her who e'er was proud to call
him son:
With words of hope and gentle love
they teem.
His many boyhood graces well she knew,
In her fond eyes he ne'er to manhood
grew—
Remained the idol of her virgin
dream.

How ardently he hoped if wanton fate,
Should e'er unbar the cruel prison gate,
To rear a home and prove his love
with deeds:
And testify that many useless years
Could not resist a mother's loving tears;
That seeds of love do not grow
thankless weeds.

That though the harvest may be long
deferred,
The tree well pruned by gentle deed and
word,
Will bear a harvest worth it's weight
in gold:
That storms of vice and ugly drouth of
sin,
But serve to purge the latent sap within,
And yield a richer flavor than of old.

Another year has made its dreary
round:
The village sexton tends a vernal mound,

Wherein the convict's hopes lie with
the dead.
The brief oasis in his desert heart
Became as burning sand, the better part
Is sere and dry—nought lives but
hate and dread.

Dread of the god who turned away his
face,
Hate of the cruel, blind, indifferent race,
Who treat their kind far worse than
beast treats beast.
What jungle despot ever kept his prey
Confined in sunless vaults, to pine away,
For seeking higher place in life's
rich feast.

Hath not the earth brought forth abun-
dantly,
In field of grain and heavy laden tree,
Enough for all: then why, in jus-
tice, should
Some bear the curse of poverty and
crime,

Some live in sunny places, sweet with thyme,
When all belong to Man's great brotherhood?

The felon feels within his heavy heart
That fate, perverse, has played a wanton part
In his mere life, that some dread pow'r unknown,
Has cast its spell, and with a ruthless hand
Has scattered Father Time's unconscious sand
And left him bitter hours to brood alone.

Days, weeks, months, years, in dull procession plow
Their tiny furrows on the smoothest brow,
And scatter silver threads thru golden hair:
No other tokens mark the flight of years,

The days of fruitless toil and bitter
tears,
Nights spent in fearful thought, in
faithless prayer.

Beneath the callous guard's malignant
eye,
In silence he must toil, nor satisfy
The yearning in his heart for fellow-
ship,
By word or sign to those who share his
fate:
All sympathy is crushed or turned to
hate,
And Self and He hold grim compan-
ionship.

Hate grows and feeds upon its mon-
strous growth,
Vile brooding lust becomes his mate,
and both
Rule jointly in the heart where Vir-
tue's throne
Was burnt to ashes in the flames of fear,

Where Hope was drowned in mem'ry's
acrid tear,
And Faith mocked God and died un-
wept, unknown.

How can such fearful cost annihilate
Sin's crimson stain? How can we com-
pensate
By starving in the prison's iron
hole?
'Tis true this felon killed a fellow man,
And now society with pedant plan
Will straightway right the wrong
and kill a soul.

If, interfused in earth and sky and sea,
Pervading all that breathe and all that
be,
A law of Compensation turns the
scale,
And weighs and pays the penalty of
pain,
What ponderous weight of woe shall
men sustain,

To meet the cruel prison's mighty
tale.

And now the brazen bell its warning
rings:
The lights go out—the night wind gently
brings
The solemn tone of taps; nerve-
racking jars
Of bolts and keys disturb the stifling air,
Beside his bunk the convict kneels in
prayer,
And o'er him steals the shadow of
the bars.

"TAPS"

When lights go out and darkness reigns
alone;
Borne on the whispering wind, a plain-
tive tone,
The sacred chamber of my soul invades,
And thrills, and flits with sorrow's soft-
ened shades.
O bugler! well we know, without thy art,
That lights are out in every human
heart!
Hear the sad, the solemn call,
Wafted o'er the prison wall—
NEV—ER—M-O-R-E! NEV—ER—M-O-R-E!
Nevermore—Nevermore—Nevermore!
NEV—ER—M-O-R-E! NEV—ER—M-O-R-E!
NEV—ER—M-O-R-E! NEV—ER—M-O-R-E!

WHAT'S THE USE?

This world is full of pain and gloom;
What's the use?
We fight through life from crib to tomb;
What's the use?
We work and sweat both night and day,
For that wee bit that men call pay,
And then we prod the same old way,
What's the use?

We rise at dawn to start at work;
What's the use?
We cannot rest or labor shirk;
What's the use?
We come home worn at night to sleep,
But when the sunbeams light the steep,
We hustle out our job to keep;
What's the use?

DREAM TIME.

It's not in the glory of sunrise,
    It's not in the heat of the day,
The Dream Fairy opens our eyelids
    To visions of Far-off-away.

She comes in the cool of the twilight,
    Astride of the North Star's beam,
Attended by many an elf-sprite
    Each bearing a beautiful dream.

THE PRISONER

When pacing my cell in the gloaming,
I dream of the years yet to be,
Of wonderful lands I'll go roaming,
Of wonderful sights I shall see.

No country too distant to foil me,
No ocean too rough for my boat,
I ride on the mist of a dream cloud,
On the sure ship Hope I'm afloat.

The Niger's jungles I'll conquer,
Her denizens weird to behold;
In south seas my good ship I'll anchor,
To load with Australian gold.

Then, Ho! for the land of the Indus,
The call of the east comes so plain.
In "Mandalay" lines I have heard it,
The temple bell's ringing again.

I'm tired; I've sailed the world over,
I'm longing the home land to see,
But the *"screw" turned the lights on
this evening
And brought back the present to me.

---

* A "screw" is a prison guard.

PATRIOTISM

Behold the child his toy sword wave in glee,
As phantom-thousands fall or turn and flee;
For Conquest, Glory, Blood, his soul's afire;
'Tis Patriotism feeds the mad desire.
When Crœsus needs a cut-throat to defend
His blood-bought pow'r, a simple child he'll send
A man in strength and years, yet still the prey
Of platitudes, gay flags and roundelay.
For fools and knaves severe the patriot shrine;
But wise men, underneath the gilded shine,

The tawdry brass of Self can well di-
fine.
For Love's not bounded by geography,
By color, language, wealth nor heraldry,
Her bourn is Heaven and Humanity!

REFORM

I saw him come—his face was fair
To look upon, though Penitence
Her chastening tears had gathered there;
Though pale his cheek and worn with care,
And grief-disheveled the brown hair
That crowned a boyish countenance.
The hopeful eye e'er prophecies
Success and joy;
Five years—his star may yet arise—
He's but a boy!

I saw him go—a cunning leer
Beamed from the sullen eye;
Where love had ruled, now hate and fear
Reigned in the heart, a desert sere,
Long thirsting for contrition's tear,
Its fountains choked and dry.
Five years! With how much evil fraught
Their burning scroll;
Man's penal plan no good had wrought,
But damned a soul!

TO AN OLD PAL

Our ships have different courses,
    Our aims have changed, 'tis true;
At the call of Nature's forces,
    Our paths have branched in two.

But when our ships are ready
    For the long, long journey home;
When our sails are trim and steady,
    And the tide becks toward the foam;

When the port at last is entered;
    When the sails are reefed and dry;
And our thoughts are ever centered
    On the wherefore and the why;

When our barks begin to waver,
    And the cable parts in twain;
When we feel the last light quaver,
    As we drift upon the main;

When we note the sails about us,
    Drifting slowly, drifting far,
And we scan with eager eyes,
    To find some ship upon the bar;

Then, perhaps, at that last mooring
    Our barks may anchor fast
To Friendship's rock, enduring
    Hulk to hulk and mast to mast.

BROKE AT CHRISTMAS TIME

W'en a feller's flat agin th' wall an'
hezent got a sou,
An' things jes sort o' go contrary-
wise;
He mopes along without a home, a feel-
in' hungry, too,
Th' tears er jest wellin' to 'hiz eyes;
He empties out his pockets in a listless
sort o' way,
An' can't rake up a solitary dime;
It's a queerish kin' o' shiver as he looks
into th' river,
We'n a feller's broke 'long 'bout
Chris'mus time.

Ye feel yerself a outcast, ez thru th'
streets ye roam,
Ye really don' no wa t' say er do;
An' thoughts jes keep a risin' uv th'
luvin' ones at home,

A watchin' an' a waitin' there for you.
W'en th' copper roughly shoves ye, an' sez "now move on, jay,
An' don't 'che dish me eny uv yer whine";
W'y ye jes can't help wishin' in a brok-en-hearted way,
Thet you wuz dead, 'long 'bout Chris'mus time.

Peepul pass by heedless uv a dirty wretch like you,
Th' wind, it almost takes away yer breath;
Yer nose iz sorely frosted, yer lips er thin an' blue;
It's times like these a feller thinks uv death,
Th' crowds all bump an' push ye, th' sleet drips down yer neck;
Th' 'lectric lights jes seem t' lose ther shine.

Th' snow iz ten times colder an' ye feel
jes ten times older,
W'en a feller's broke 'long 'bout
Chris'mus time.

We look into a winda all ablaze with
light,
See children rompin' round' a Chris'-
mus tree,
A suckin' "all day suckers," their faces
shinin' bright;
Th' ole folks joinin' in th' jamboree.
Then ye think of yer own mother, an'
th' story thet she told,
'Bout a babe who came to banish sin
an' crime;
An' ye wonder if He'd care, if He wuz
here, fer sich az you,
W'en a feller's broke 'long 'bout
Chris'mus time.

AN OLD FRIEND

When searching through the attic,
To while away the time;
Through trunks and rusty boxes,
Inch deep in must and grime.

In an ancient, battered hat box,
Almost buried out of sight
I found a friend, forgotten,
An old, neglected pipe.

Where are the dreams I conjured
From your care-dispelling bowl;
Fragrant breaths of inspiration
To my sorely-troubled soul?

Where are the castles, airy,
You and I together raised?
They have crumbled with the ashes,
Like the joys of other days.

But I'll take you down this evening,
And when lights are dim and low,
We'll drift on mem'ry's dream-cloud
Toward the mists of Long Ago.

And, old friend, if you can summon
Flemish pictures of the past,
You shall have a fitter guerdon,
Than an attic's airy fast.

For the breath of mild Havanna
Will your longing satisfy;
Old loves, old times, old pleasures,
We'll review, pal, you and I.

Your glowing eye will lighten
Care's heavy-laden yoke,
And regret for present blunders
Will vanish with the smoke.

We'll go back to the cottage
That stood upon the hill,
Where breath of homely flowers
The peaceful twilights fill.

Trudging up the dusty highway,
Free from school's confining grind;
Whistling airs that wise old masters
Have searched in vain to find.

'Mid the classic lore of music;
A wild, free melody,
That combined the happy heart-throb
With the song of bird in tree.

And there upon the green-sward
Stands one whose love is true,
As the dear, warm-hearted friendship,
Old friend, I feel for you.

Again we'll taste the cookies
From the sacred pantry store,
Such as make the hungry barefoot
Eat his fill and yearn for more.

Again we'll con the lessons,
Grim, knotty tasks for school—
Would that Life's entangled problems
Could be solved by rote and rule.

Once more we'll climb the stairway
To the tempting, billowy bed,
And listen to the music
Of the patt'ring rain o'er head.

MY MOTHER'S GOD

Oh, Deity! Who hears my mother's
prayer,
When silent Night clothes gloomy
Earth
In sable mantle, decked with gems;
I would to Thee a supplication make.
Nor come I, heavy with great sacrifice;
Incense, forms and favors shunning,
Loved by all other gods.
Full well I know Thy judgment rests on
love;
Full well Thy tender justice have I
proved,
When earthly sin, the vestige of my
birth,
Hath borne me down to sinful earth.
Thou sit'st enthroned in loving hearts;
No jeweled, gilded heaven Thy delight,
Like unto other gods,
Who dote on pearly gates

And streets of massive gold,
And shining vestments, and
Whose being rests on naught but praise,
And the applause of men!
I am of earth.
I have smelled the sweat on toiling men,
At end of labor's gloom and grime.
The broken bodies of humble women;
Eyes sore with slaving in the night, I've
seen;
And children aged at suckling time;
Not as to body, health and mind;
Mature for labor's killing grind!
Sad earth is full of these,
And dread disease, that hydra-headed
monster,
Waits at the door of man!
And crime, a gaunt and grizzled growth,
Is but reactive of the Master's sloth!
Enough!—To him who toils for bread—
Enough is said!
Such know the staleness of the social
life,
Whose element is strife!

* * * * * *

My mother's God, Thou'rt not omnipotent,
And be it to Thy glory,
Or else, like thundering Jove, from out the sky
Would come the flashing of Thine eager eye!
And with one sweep of august might,
Earth's sin and gloom would vanish—as the night,
When morning's glory puts her shade to flight!
Thou wouldst not e'er disgrace Thy god-like power,
In feats of clownish jugglery, a little hour,
With giant deeds of mercy yet undone,
When dank disease and death insult the sun!
No trifling miracles would Thou perform
To astonish and astound a few;

Thy wondrous grace would not be property of Jew,
Or Christian. But all men
Would be encompassed by Thy mercy's ken!
And earth would blossom into golden age;
And crabb'd history's bloody page,
Would pale into the hue
Of Heaven's blue!
The Eden time, through atavism's law,
Would come again,
And normal life would banish pain;
When men would live and walk in quietude,
Their only thought—their only law,
Their brother's good!

* * * * * *

My mother's God, what power stays
The lives of men from goodly ways?
What fiendish, fickle sprite
Dims reason's light?
Useless the question—well we know,
That cursed exploitation stops the flow

Of human kindness, and conjures woe!
Men feed on men as beast on beast
And human life is but a bloody feast!
Where kings sit down to banquet on
their kind!
Where Matter rules and Lucre con-
quers mind!
Men curse and women die!
Yet not a weeping eye, save 'mongst
those
Who wear the proletarian's rough
clothes.
And little children feed the golden pile,
While bloody barons look and smile,
Or curse the Master of the show,
Who fails to keep the fires aglow!

* * * * * *

My mother's God, what can weak man
Attempt? To lift this frightful ban!
Where shall men find relief,
For slavery's grief?
Thou art the true God of Love,
But Love, but follows where,

Keen Knowledge leads. Pray lead us
there!
And—knowing—then the proletarian
Will shake the shackles from his aching
limbs,
And breathe again;
And know that Socialism's plan
Is the enfranchisement of man.

"TO THE ROSE"

Once this rose bloomed full and sweet;
Soft zephyrs bore her rare perfume,
A stranger found her at his feet;
Could flower wish a nobler tomb?
Perhaps in perfumed litany,
She sought her soul-mate—Poetry!
When desultory reader opes,
This book, to strengthen feeble hopes,
While on this barren desert cast,
She conjures memories of the past.
Her life, though short, with beauty rife;
Knew naught of care; knew naught of
strife;
To-morrow's, never changed the gay,
The tender tints of yesterday,
So men shall learn to live, I vow,
As free from care, Oh, Rose! as thou!
Oh, Rose; soon will my journey cease.
My spirit seek an earthy peace,
Among the stones, the clods, the clay,

That gave to thee thy colors gay.
Only a fool would fear to go,
Where tints like thine are taught to
grow
And bloom, to meet the shining sun—
The climax this: Then duty done!
I pray my soul, in grand attune,
With natural things, may greet the noon
Of manly deeds and in the light,
Of duty done—then seek the night
Of rest and peace, that other men,
The law of love and life, may ken.
Now to thy soul I make this prayer,
That when I go; no matter where;
I shall have left a few good deeds;
That I may not be cast with weeds,
To die forgotten; but like thee,
Find rest in glorious history.

Woman the Reformer

The greatest deed of woman was persuading Adam to eat the apple and become wise. Since then her power as a reformer has been on the slump. From the time of her first intellectual awakening, not long since, up to the present she has stood individually and collectively for petty reform.

Women are impressionistic. They see an evil but do not look for the cause. Blindly they endeavor to remove the unsightly thing without reasoning out a process. It could not be otherwise, for they have been and ever will be unreasonable creatures. Thank God for it. It makes them beautiful.

An old farmer down in Maine built a

new house. The roof leaked slightly, not enough to be unpleasant or to make things damp, but just enough to cause the walls of one room to become somewhat streaky. On this account the old farmer had to whitewash the room once a month. It never occurred to him to fix the roof, or if it did, the job appeared too strenuous, and the whitewashing removed the evil for a time at least.

WOMAN IS A WHITEWASHER.

With brush in hand she roams about the world daubing an ugly spot here and there. By the time she has gone the rounds the spots are out again more numerous than before, an unpleasant way ugly things have of multiplying. This whitewashing has a purpose, however. It proves the inefficacy of reform measures in this system. Disease, crime and evil of every sort is but the macular evidence of a diseased condition of the social organism. Evil in society is

a constitutional disease. If a man were like Job, covered with boils, he would be hooted should he attempt to cure himself by treating each boil individually. He would find himself on a continual round "reforming" boils. The outgrowth of social evil can rarely be removed by reform and never can be cured by it. The constitutional remedy, economic revolution, must be applied. The evils attending the liquor and tobacco habits, about which the W. C. T. U.'s, the Y. M. C. A.'s, the I. O. G. T.'s and other alphabetical combinations are continually howling, will never be removed until the intensity of machine labor is mitigated, the hours shortened and labor receives its full product. The problem of the unemployed will stand sphinx-like, let demagogues rant how they may about tariff and immigration, until the great financial barons are forced, through economic revolution, to desist from changing the life-blood, en-

ergy, joy and freedom of innocent childhood into piles of yellow gold reeking with the sweat and stink of human bodies. The divorce and marriage problems; the problem of the fallen woman, will be ever with us until womankind are placed in an economic position where they will not be dependant upon man for a subsistance, a position in which they may bud and blossom into beautiful, normal womanhood and not become, as under the present regime, intellectual and physical dwarfs—unsightly and useful only to the Capitalist.

Meanwhile let the whitewashing continue. It is valueless as a remedy but an excellent illustration.

Only a Tout

It was Getaway day at Harlem. A crowd made up of all sorts and conditions filled the spacious grand stand and lined the fence along the "stretch." The dapper, easy-going young "sport," dressed in the latest fashion, a field-glass slung over his shoulder, reading an official "dope" book; the seedy looking old-timer, a cigar jabbed in his red countenance, intently studying the newspaper tips; the clerk with a Saturday afternoon off; the broken-down gambler; the vagrant; all these and many other types were in evidence.

The brazen young woman, with a line of racing talk that would humble a sporting editor, was telling the frail little woman in the blue goggles that "Allegro" was a "pipe," and would "cop" the

"stake." "Why look," said she, "his last time out he was only sixth in a field of eight. Let's see; oh, yes, 'Judge Himes' won that race, and you can bet your last shekel 'Himes' is no 'dog' in the mud. Harris is up on her, he's a nigger, but he's great on the finish." At this stage of the conversation a colored enthusiast of the feminine gender "butted in."

"Yo' is shore right there, leddy. Dat boy Harris ain't no kin' uv a fool on no kin' uv a horse, dat boy ain't. He may be black but de goods am dar." Feminine satellites of the racing game put great confidence in the colored fraternity, having the absurd idea that these colored women are bulging with inside information from the stables. For this reason the little woman with the blue goggles was convinced beyond all doubt that "Allegro" was a good horse and she "'lowed he had a chance."

"Chance," sniffed the brazen young woman, "chance? Oh fudge"!

"Chance?" echoed the colored lady. "Oh my."

"What's his odds?" piped the little lady, in a mincing voice.

"Forty t'one, madam," volunteered a gentleman, rather large in the abdomen and small in head, who "sported" a pasty looking pin on a dirty red necktie. "Forty t'one, madam, and he's got about as much chance as a fav'rit in the Derby. Why, he couldn't win," continued the fat gentleman, in short, impressive gasps, "if the rest of them horses was tied to that sprinklin' cart."

This voluntary information rather startled the little woman and she waited for support from her late friends. The colored lady looked sheepish. The brazen young woman sniffed contemptuously and "guessed that some people didn't know Washington was dead"; and that "she had her opinion of some pikers."

The portly gentleman smiled uneasily and looked for consolation to his newspaper.

It was an ideal day. The sun was shining bright and the beautiful hats of the women bedecked with ribbons, birds and flowers shimmered in the sun. The band was playing "Bill Bailey," and all hearts seemed light and gay, for old Sol has a way of chasing gloomy looks from careworn faces, of coaxing tardy smiles to sour lips. "Favorites" had won the first two races, and this fact alone would prove to the initiated that the crowd was in good spirits, for Saturday crowds have a weakness for favorites.

When looking over the vast sea of faces in the stand, some youthful and denoting inexperience, others bold and bearing the telling lines of vice and depravity, the onlooker saw pictured by Time's unsparing hand, in the varied and diversified physiognomies, every human frailty, vice, folly and imbecility.

For whom but a mental degenerate is found at a race course? As one's eyes roamed over these upturned faces the attention was fixed upon one face. It impressed the onlooker with a semblance of occult power or magnetism. The features were lined and drawn with care; the inflamed eyes, red through loss of sleep and nightly debauch, were starting from their sockets; the lips were compressed with mental agony. The cheeks had the pale flush of the consumptive. But aside from these marked features there was something depicted which kept the onlooker hypnotized. It was the wrestling of a soul. The whole visage bore such a look of abject misery, wildness, forlorn hopelessness, and yet the owner was so young, not above twenty, that the onlookers' heart is touched with sympathy. The whole aspect of the man portrayed such woe and despair that many eyes are rooted on the spot. He looks listlessly

at the happy faces about him and moves slowly toward an exit to the ring. His bearing is that of a gentleman, not the swaggering poltroonery of a gambler. He reaches the stairway and looks down upon the seething mass of humanity in the betting ring. The ring is about fifty yards long and nearly as wide. Along two sides of it stand the booths of the bookmakers. A motley crowd is madly surging and swaying around these stalls, holding money above their heads and trying frantically to place their bets before the "odds" are shortened. Here we see thousands of individuals, day by day, idling their time away in the vain hope of getting something for nothing. In these sloughs of idleness and degeneracy the youth gets the first brand of the criminal. He receives here the impetus which ultimately makes him a social outcast, a physical and mental degenerate. Here under the eyes of the jurist, theologian and politician is a can-

cerous growth which preys upon the manhood of the rising generations. You judges sitting in ease upon the bench; you eminent divines preaching mildewed orthodoxy to your flocks; you corrupt politicians basking in your power; you are responsible. At your door we lay the fruit of the gambling evil.

After watching the gamblers a few moments the young man descended the stairway toward the ring. The fierce light of gambling which once lighted his eyes is gone. It is changed to the dull glow of fevered despair. He reaches the bottom step and leans against the balustrade.

Other eyes are watching our hero. An individual in plaid trousers and orange jersey, coatless, and wearing a little blue cap is gazing intently at him.

He is a small man, wiry, with a weather-beaten visage. The face, though cunning, bears traces of good humor. This is the type often seen at

race tracks, a typical tout and hanger-on, one who gains a livelihood by "roping in suckers." This, in the vernacular of the ring, means the selling of racing information to the unwary.

After scrutinizing our hero for a few moments, evidently for the purpose of ascertaining whether he had found a prospective "sucker," he crossed the ring and accosted the young man in a friendly way.

"Played this race yet, pal? There goes th' horn; they'll be at th' post in a minute."

Our hero looked steadily at the tout for a moment as if debating whether to answer this seeming familiarity, but finally answered surlily:

"I'm not betting on this race."

"Got bumped in the first two, huh?" questioned the tout.

"Yes, I lost a little——my God." With a low moan he reeled and would have

fallen headlong had not the tout supported him.

"What's th' matter, pal, yer ez white's a sheet?"

"Oh, it's nothing. Just a little pain in my side. I guess it's the excitement." He steadied himself against the balustrade.

"Come an' have a drink. A little "three-star" 'ill fix y' right. Y' musn't take th' game s' hard." The tout grasped him by the arm and led him hastily to the bar, although he made a slight resistance.

"Here, Jack, a couple out o' the' brown bottle." As the bartender responded, a smile of recognition passed between him and the tout.

"Up to th' brim, pal, that's th' medicin; here's 'how.' " With one gulp the tout took his "medicin" and eyed his new acquaintance. The stranger swallowed the burning liquor and coughed violently. He seemed about to faint and

staggered against the bar, passing his hand over his face like one bewildered.

"Whatche coughin' fer, pal; y' can't be ust to that stuff?" said the bartender.

"I never drank before I played the races. This is my first season and my last, I hope."

"Well, pal, horse racin' an' drinkin' kin' o' pull together, that's a fact," said the tout. "Have another?"

"No, thanks; this has braced me up wonderfully." At this moment the bell in the paddock rang for the jockeys to mount.

"There's the secon' bell, pal," exclaimed the tout. "Th' jocks er gettin' up. Look, they're comin' out now. Say, pal, I've got somethin' right in this one. I'm from th' Cummin's stable an' they're ears ain't muffled any. Ther's goin' t'be a hot one put over in this race. Wan'a get next?" The stranger looked up suddenly and eyed the tout for a few seconds and then said:

"How do you know this horse will win"? The tout took him by the arm, walked toward the ring and said in a confidential way:

"Didn't I jes tell ye I got this frum the right people, an' b'sides this filly breezed a mile yisterday in one-fort'-two an' this gang uv sellin' platers she's hooked up with can't do it in one-fort'-four in this goin'. She's perpared fer this race an' th' owners an' wise ones er goin' t'make a killin'. It'll be th' biggest s'prise uv th' meetin'. O' course we fellers ain't s'posed t' give this information out, but y' looked kind a lippy and I thought ye'd 'preciate it if I butted in. Seein's yer out on the day here's a boss chance t'git ahead uv um. O'course if she wins, an' there ain't nothin' that kin go her route, I'll expect a little fer lettin' y'in. It's a lead pipe, what-a-y'say?" While the tout was speaking the stranger listened eagerly.

His face lost its look of ennui and became flushed with hope.

"If I thought this horse could win I would bet ten dollars," said he.

"Ten, why, pal, that hoss is worth th' biggest bet y'ever made."

"What horse is it?" the stranger asked eagerly.

"Lucy M., pal, an' a real hoss." Our hero scanned the boards on which the "bookies" write the odds. His face bore a look of keen surprise.

"Why, she's twelve to one," said he.

"Juicy odds, huh, fer a big bet," exclaimed the tout; "she opened at twenty, but wise money has cut her t'twelve. You better git yer money up quick. She'll be th' favrit near, before th' race." By this time the pair had reached the outskirts of the motley crowd jamming the ring.

"Do you think she can beat Hayward the First; he's four to five?" The

stranger looked anxiously into the tout's face.

"Ah, them favrits. Say, pal, eny duffer what follys favrits 'ill go to the bad in a hurry. Some guys come out here, full o' dope, with a 'scope hangin' 'round ther' neck; they go to th' paddock en squint knowin' like at the hosses bein' exercised, look at th' condition uv th' track, an' then they got a idee they kin call um one, two, three. They're piker-dopes, pal, piker-dopes. They ain't nothin' a layer likes better than a dope fiend, especially if he's got his pockets full o' paper dope. W'y, say, the guys what write them newspaper tips couldn't tell a cheap sellin' race from the American Derby. Their nut's full o' bug juice. If a guy folly them tips he'll walk home from Ran'olf street nine days out uv th' week. Pal, I'm on the inside t'day en 'y kin bet all yer worth Lucy M 'ill deliver th' goods."

"If I thought she could win"—the stranger broke in.

"Win, pal? W'y, it'll be a shame t' take th' money. Harris, that's her owner, bet on her outside th' track, so's not t' spoil th' odds. Look, she's down t' ten now. Ye better hurry if y' wan's get a good price." The young man's face was a study. He seemed to be undergoing a great mental strain. He hesitated a moment, passed his hand tremblingly over his brow, and said:

"I think I'll bet fifty to win and fifty to show." The tout grasped him by the arm and whispered in hoarse, eager accents:

"Pal, if yuv got big money in yer pants don't pass this one up. Bet a hunerd each way if it's in yer jeans, en ye won't be sorry. Go ahead, pal, it's the easiest thing I seen this summer."

"Is it true that you have inside information on this race? Be honest with me; is it true?"

"Sure's shootin', pal. Cassidy give it to me this mornin', en he's from the Cummin's stable. It's dead sure. There's only two ways to stop Lucy M, her er th' jock must drop dead. She's th' real dope." The young man leaned against a booth and placed his hand to his throbbing head. He was silent a few moments and then murmured almost inaudibly:

"Shall I risk it—shall I risk it?"

"Go ahead, pal, an' ye'll thank me for tellin' ye. They must be at th' post. Don't hesitate. Some guy wrote somewhere's—He what hesitates is—is—well, he ain't in it. Hurry, pal, er ye'll be too late." A look of desperate determination came over the young man's countenance. He reached in his pocket and counted out two hundred dollars. He had but three dollars left. He turned to the tout and said fiercely:

"Well, I will risk it."

"Said like a true sport. Ye'll be on th' block some day."

"God, I hope not," answered the stranger. "If I could only get even I would quit gambling forever."

"Well, yer right fer once, ole sport. Git that money up before it's too late." They pushed their way through the surging crowd. After a short struggle around a booth the stranger exchanged two hundred dollars for the coveted ticket. He hurried through the crowd toward the back of the ring closely followed by the tout. They made for the stairway and went up on the run, for but a few seconds would elapse before the horses would be off. They found two seats near the top of the stand. Every eye in the crowd was rooted on a line of bobbing color and caps across the infield of the course. It was a six-furlong race and much depended on the start. The stranger's face was white and drawn. He groaned.

"Say, sport, you mustn't take th' game so hard," said the tout. "It'll kill ye." The stranger turned upon him fiercely. "Do you know," he said, "that my future depends on the issue of this race?" A desperate light came into his eyes. "I am playing with stolen money." The tout moved uneasily, but said nothing.

"My God, why don't he let them go. This suspense is awful—her colors are green and white."

"Two-year-oles er a hard bunch to start, pal," volunteered the tout. The stranger paid no attention. His whole soul was in his eyes and they were riveted on the quivering mass of horseflesh that could hardly be distinguished across the course. He was muttering inaudibly; his fists were tightly clenched. "Lucy M must win," he said, "if I——" "They're off!" roared the crowd. As the white barrier shot up a cloud of dust rose and the race was on. As the view cleared it was seen one horse was left

at the post. The stranger jumped upon his seat. He was wild with excitement. All his pent-up feeling was released on the rising of the barrier. "Lucy's in front," he shrieked, "they're crowding her but she's got the rail. A good length ahead and running easy. Go on, Lucy M." The tout's face was clouded.

"Yer wrong, pal; that's Hayward the First. Lucy was left at th' post." The distress of the stranger was pitiful. "Lucy M left at the post; my God, I'm ruined." He sank upon his seat and buried his head in his hands. The crowd about him gave no heed. Their attention was fixed upon their several choices. What cared they whether a human life was staked upon the outcome. Perhaps several lives at stake, what difference as long as their horse won. Meanwhile the tout was watching the race with great interest. Suddenly he said, "By God, she's got a chance." He touched the stranger on the shoulder.

"Don't give up yet, pal, Lucy is still in it; she's runnin' great." The stranger jumped quickly to his seat, a wild look of hope upon his face. "You say she has a chance," he said, "is that her fifth?"

"Yes, an' she's catchin' Allegro," exclaimed the tout. The stranger resembled a maniac. "Come on, Lucy M," he shrieked, "come on."

"At the half now, pal," said the tout, his voice trembling with suppressed excitement.

"She's passing that red one. She's fourth now," exclaimed the stranger. Our hero was now almost insane with excitement. His face was flushed; his eyes dilated; he was wildly waving his hat. As the horses made the far turn he lost what little remained of self-control.

"Go on, Lucy M! Go on! The jockey is whipping her! She is responding no-

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"Go on, Lucy M! Go on! The jockey is whipping her! She is responding no-

bly! She's catching the leaders! Go on, Lucy M! Go on!"

"The back stretch will tell, pal," said the tout. The stranger paid no attention. He was in another world. "Look at her go. Why, the others are standing still." He was laughing hysterically. "She's second now. Go on, Lucy M!"

The tout was beginning to get excited. He had thought Lucy M would "blow up," as he put it, in the stretch, but as she seemed to be holding on and gaining slightly, his face became flushed. At last he jerked off his cap and became as frantic as the stranger.

"They're in the stretch," he yelled. "She's a length behind Hayward, but gaining." Both the stranger and tout acted like madmen. But now on all sides were madmen. The race was evidently between Hayward the First and Lucy M. Hayward was leading, but under punishment. Could he hold the lead? Pandemonium reigned. The sup-

porters of Hayward were howling, bawling, yelling and cursing. Were these creatures civilized men? It seemed hardly possible. The horses had now reached the front of the stand, Hayward still leading by a half a length. The stranger's voice could be heard above the awful din. "Come on, Lucy M! Come on! Oh, that jockey's noble."

"That coon kin ride, pal," shrieked the tout. "They're heads apart. By God, pal, she'll win." Head and head they ran. They passed beneath the wire like a team. Bodies extended; necks stretched; eyes glaring; jockeys using whip and spur with might and main.

The race was over. A mighty silence reigned. Breathlessly the crowd awaited the decision. Every eye was riveted upon the number board. The tout crossed the fingers of both hands and groaned. At last the marker raised the number. The stranger was the first to see it. "Hurrah for Lucy M. I'm sev-

enteen hundred to the good." The tout and the stranger fell into each other's arms and hugged themselves for joy. At last the tout extricated himself and said: "Let's git in line, pal, and spot the cash before it spoils. Pal, that wuz certainly a killin'. Seventeen hunerd bones. Holy swipes. Ain't I th' candy kid, pal? Stick it here." He extended a hand. The stranger grasped and said fervently: "You have saved my life." They hurried to the ring and got in line. Both the stranger and the tout were jubilant. "Stick to me, pal, en I'll make ye a millionaire. Gee, they're takin' a long time to cash. There's a crowd aroun' the judge's stand. Wait here 'till I see what's up." The tout ran from the ring. The stranger looked anxiously toward the judge's stand. Suddenly a cheer broke from the crowd and they started toward the ring.

"What's it about?" he asked the first man to line up.

"Lucy M was disqaulified; they gave the race to Hayward the First." The stranger groaned, staggered and fell senseless upon the ground. Three men carried him to the stairway. One man put a flask to his lips. After a few moments he came to. He was bewildered a moment, and then all came back to him. He buried his head in his hands and groaned. The crowd about him began to disperse with the exception of a few of the more curious. The tout came running up:

"I've been lookin' fer ye everywhere, pal," he said. "That wuz a hard ole knock ye got. Lucy M ran a great race and won right enough, but Murphy claimed a foul. Plain case a' stealin', but us fellers git used to that; a part uv of th' game ye know. W'y, ye look all in, ole sport, what's th' row? Some, cheer up. There's three more on th' card en maybe th' bookies 'ill treat us

better. I got a good one in this race and we'll git it all back."

"I put up my last," moaned the stranger without looking up.

"Yer dead broke, eh? Well, that is bad. But ye'll be out t'morra an' ye kin fin' me here at th' Cumberlan'. I'll have somethin' good."

"I won't be here again." The stranger looked up. His face was white and drawn, his eyes cold and lusterless. He was the picture of despair.

"Ye won't be here no more? Oh, yes, ye will. They all say that, but they generally turn up again."

"Tomorrow I will be in jail," said the stranger in harsh tones. "Today I wagered stolen money to recuperate past losses. If Lucy M had won that race I should have quit for good. I am a criminal." He bowed his head in his hands. The tout looked thunderstruck.

"Well, this game does get a lot uv you high-toned guys, don't it. Well, I'm

sorry for ye, pal; but it ain't my fault Lucy M was disqualified; damn th' judges."

"Don't feel sorry for me," said the stranger; "even I don't care what becomes of my miserable self. I've been a fool, and I realize it now when it is too late. I deserve all I'll get, but my poor mother will suffer more than I. How will she stand the disgrace, her son a common thief and gambler. It will kill her; my God, it will kill her." Tears began to trickle through the stranger's fingers. The tout stepped about uneasily, then sat down by the stranger, a look of sympathy upon his face.

"Brace up, my boy, it may not turn out so bad. Can't ye borrow from yer frien's er hock some uv yer duds. Maybe ye kin raise five hunerd that way?"

"My case is hopeless. I've borrowed and borrowed from every one that would trust me, until now my credit is worthless. My watch, stud and everything I

own that is of any account is in pawn. This cursed fiend of gambling has led me on and on to—hell. I've squandered all my mother's savings and at last stooped so low as to commit robbery, thinking all the time my luck would change and I could put it all back. I don't know why I tell you all my troubles, but I must tell some one. My God, I cannot bear them alone. But I deserve it, I deserve it." The stranger bowed his head and continued: "Oh, what a cowardly cur I am. My old mother away down in Maine, dear old Maine, has denied herself to furnish money which I have squandered. I'm the most miserable man on earth."

"In Maine, pal; did you live in Maine? What town in Maine?"

"Bangor," whispered the stranger. The tout started up.

"Bangor, Maine!" he exclaimed. The stranger looked up. The inflection of the tout's voice was peculiar.

"Did you know any one in Bangor, Maine?" the stranger asked.

The tout did not answer the question. He stood for a few moments looking toward the betting ring.

"How much did you borrow, pal?" the tout asked.

"Borrow?" question the stranger.

"I mean, from your boss," said the tout apologetically.

"Five hundred," the stranger answered in a low, fierce whisper.

The tout seemed engaged in a great mental struggle. The stranger's head was bowed, his hands covered his face. At last the tout broke the silence.

"Well, I tell ye, pal, I feel ashamed an' sorry. I'm part th' cause o' yer condition. I'm only a tout, a hanger-on. I lied w'en I said as how I wuz on th' inside. I ain't, ner neither is nobody as fer as I know. I didn't bet a cent on Lucy M in that race. I jes give her a outside chanst. I touted ye on Lucy M,

pal." The stranger looked up in angry surprise, his fists clenched. The tout continued: "I thought ye wuz a big gun. That's th' kin' us fellers look fer, th' big guns, that are green to th' game. I thought all th' time ye had a roll an' could afford to lose. If I'd known ye wuz up agin it like this, I wouldn't a touted ye, honest I wouldn't. Pal, I been on th' tracks since I wuz a yearlin'. My ole man wuz a stable boy. I wuz a jock, an' a good one, too, if I do say it, 'til I got thrun in the Brooklyn handicap an' put this leg out o' gear. Now, I'll tell ye a funny story, pal. Ye wouldn't think a guy like me ud have a mother, would ye? But I did an' through my sickness she nussed an' watched over me. It was brain fever, pal, an' a broken leg. Time an' again I rode that race in my delirium, an' I'd a rode it to my finish, if my mother hadn't stuck to me. I ain't dippy, pal, er nothin' like that, but I know what a frien'

is—I had *one*. She wuz a good woman, she wuz—one o' them bible-kin', ye know; not one o' them kin' that spiels a lot, but one that does a lot. Th' jocks ust to call her 'The' Angel of Sheepshead.' Pal, if ever ther' wuz an angel, she wuz one; married th' ole man to make him better—didn't succeed though. Well, pal, she left us one day an' then's w'en I lost th' only frien' I ever had. Pal, she's buried in Bangor, Maine; dear ole Bangor, where I wuz a yearlin'. W'en ye said ye hailed frum Bangor, it put a different color on yer story. An w'en ye mentioned yer mother, ye kin' a touched a tender spot, I guess th' only one in this ole carcass. Durn me, if I didn't nearly bawl. Pal, I'm sorry fer you, an' I'm as much to blame almost as you are, but I'm sorrier fer yer mother. She mustn't know about this, pal. I've got jes' about five hundred left in my wad an' yer welcome to it, if ye'll promise me one thing—never play th' races

again. Y' ain't built fer it, pal. Yer too excitable, an', b'sides, horse-racin's a game fer such fellers as I, that don't know nothin' else. It's a game fer gamblers an' thieves, not fer a feller like you. Take th' advice of an' old timer, keep away from th' ponies. Th' game ruins more than it makes. I've seen th' effects uv it. Here, Pal, take it. Me name's Bud Mayer, an' if ye happen to get ahead that much some day, w'y jes' drop in on me, maybe it'll come in handy." The stranger rose and took the tout's hand, tears coursing down his cheecks, his voice shaking with sobs. He tried to mumble an expression of gratitude, but failed. He broke down and wept like a child. "Don't thank me, pal, it's nothin' much. Pal, I know if she wuz here she'd say: 'That's right. Bud,' an' that's all the reward I want." He squeezed the stranger's hand and with some trouble broke away. "Well, if I haven't clean missed th' fourth race.

The bunch 'ill think this tout's a dead one. Good-bye, pal; remember yer promise." He entered the ring. The stranger sat upon the stairway clutching the tout's money, a prey to many emotions. A moment later a merry voice was heard above the babble of the ring. It came from a little man in plaid trousers and orange jersey, coatless, and wearing a little blue cap. "Hey, Charlie, what a'ye know in the fifth?"

PROLETARIAN AND PETIT-BOURGEOIS



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Proletarian and Petit-Bourgeois.

Marxian Socialism predicates the formation of what is called the proletarian class. The process of the organization and development of that class is, in fact, the most striking phenomenon of the present industrial age, for on its organization and development depend the break up of the existing system, and the substitution for it, as a successor, of another industrial system, which for want of a better name is called socialism.

The term socialism at the present time has two distinct concepts, the one standing for the process by which the proletariat develops its political and industrial independence of the existing capitalistic regime, and the other a more or less hazy objective, which is sometimes called socialism and often the co-operative commonwealth.

We may ignore this latter as being a sort of apocalyptic vision.

How is the proletariat to obtain the supremacy?

According to Marx by the operation of two distinct processes—one, the growth of the proletariat itself, the rise and progress of class consciousness, with all the industrial and political manifestations flowing therefrom; the other, the automatic process of capitalism which necessitates ever more involved and complex industrial machinery, the coming into being, the development and the perpetuation of combinations.

This process of necessity implies the extinction of very large numbers of small competing capitalists, industrialists, and merchants, who formed the backbone of the present system in its earlier stages.

There can be no real doubt as to the correctness of the Marxian predictions with respect to capitalistic development, for we have now unquestionably the greater capitalism with all the legal and political problems which it involves. As a counterpart also we see the decline in

importance of the smaller capitalism which in its turn has in all modern communities given rise to certain very distinct and easily differentiated political manifestations.

The question thereon occurs: Is the Marxian theory of the rise of a revolutionary proletariat correct?

Unless this can be shown the whole of the revolutionary theory topples, at least as far as the socialist propaganda is concerned.

So we are brought to an examination of the proletariat itself and to a somewhat close analysis of its component parts, that we may the better appreciate the substantial power which it actually possesses, with a view of determining its possible effectiveness in a revolutionary struggle.

It will be observed that the term "revolutionary" is used in the broadest possible sense and is not confined to those physical manifestations and ebullitions which are generally the concomitants and transitory expressions of politico-social movements but which are not to be confused with the movements themselves.

The Marxian classification broadly and very satisfactorily divides modern industrial communities into three broad sections—the greater and dominant capitalism, which is practically in control; the smaller capitalism which has lost control but which stubbornly and incessantly maintains the fight against the greater capitalism, and the proletariat which is practically, so far, a negligible quantity.

The Marxian theory predicates the destruction of the petit bourgeois and the forcible thrusting of that somewhat unpleasant individual into the pit of proletarianism whence he is to come forth as an avenging angel and to repay his sufferings at the hands of the greater capitalism by the destruction of the latter.

But here we encounter somewhat of a check for the beaten petit bourgeois does not to any extent take sides with the proletarian and does not furnish that leadership and brains to the proletarian movement which it was con-

fidently expected that he would. On the other hand, the later decades have been marked by the growth of what is called "the new middle class" which is not revolutionary. Indeed, the whole Bernstein controversy which has occupied so much space and generated so much heat rests precisely on this undeniable fact.

If we look at the matter from a practical and concrete standpoint it is easily understood why this is so.

When a trust takes over the field of an industry it disposes of its opponents two ways. It buys them out and takes the best brains of the smaller industry into its own service, the rest it annihilates by sheer force of economic superiority. It is obviously true that the more vigorous portion of the petite-bourgeoisie thus assimilated by the trust does not become revolutionary. On the contrary, its interests are henceforth identified with the interests of the trust of which it has become employee.

Economically, the smaller capitalist has been crushed out by this process, he has become a proletarian in receipt of a salary. Obviously he cannot be generally described as a capitalist large or small, and, according to the Marxian idea, he ought to be ranged with the proletarian class, but, as a matter of fact, he is no proletarian. He becomes a good servant of his new master, he accepts the political views of his new master as a good servant should, and he is not to be reckoned as a force with the revolution but as a distinct acquisition to the power of his destroyer.

Besides this, large numbers of the middle class are shareholders in the greater capitalist concerns. The Pennsylvania R. R. has twenty-five thousand shareholders and the steel trust an even greater number. In fact, the capital of the great trusts rests largely upon the subscribed capital of middle-class stockholders. It is clear that the economic interests of these people are not with any other than the greater capitalism into which they have become merged.

The small fish swallowed is transformed into part of the shark, and the petit-bourgeois losing his economic identity is absorbed in the Nirvana of the greater capitalism.

With respect to the beaten small bourgeois, he does not count. There is no revolutionary effectiveness in a beaten class, and the defeated small tradesman either sinks into oblivion, buried in the slums, the cemeteries of the unfit, or perambulates the earth an uneasy ghost entirely out of place in society and tampering with reactionary politics, in the ranks of the Roosevelt pseudo-progressives or playing with the Socialist Party.

Really, this new middle class did not enter into the calculation of Marx. It could not have done so, for the economic facts of his time did not allow of such an anticipation.

He wrote in a milieu of which the dominant note was the petite-bourgeoisie, the philistines of the early Victorian era.

The great concerns were only just beginning to raise their heads above the welter of the competitive chaos. The mass of the workers, denominated proletarians, had no political representation, and had not even learned to organize trade unions on any effective scale, indeed, they were only just beginning to develop rudimentary forms of these organizations. Marx could see—and surely that is credit enough for one man—that the greater capitalism was the next order of the day, and that the proletarian class must remain as the only effective class with which a revolution could be made.

As a generalization the conclusion is correct. It remains practically unassailable in spite of the vehemence of the attacks made by the Revisionists, but it ignores a whole intermediary period through which we are passing at the present time. It leaves out of consideration the work of the petite-bourgeoisie in the political and social world; it does not take into consideration the tremendous efforts put forth by that class in antagonism to the

dominant capitalism, efforts which are distinctly reactionary, though apparently progressive, and still less does it recognize the unexpected vulgarization of the socialist party by the same petite-bourgeoisie.

The British Reform Acts as well as the development of liberalism in Europe placed the old world on a practical level with the new as regards the influence of the petite-bourgeoisie. In Europe the old aristrocracy was more and more forced to make common cause with the capitalistic magnates and both landed and moneyed aristocracy, forgetting their old differences, were driven into the same fold.

The non-existence of those differences in the United States made the progress of the latter country in the direction of economic concentration more easy and the vastly greater opportunities afforded to the individual to prosper economically for a long time obscured the issue between the petite-bourgeoisie and the dominant class.

In Europe the process of bourgeois development was retarded by the complications of the fight for liberalism. On the continent that fight is still going on, though involved with the introduction of social ameliorative tendencies on a scale unknown to the liberalism of Great Britain until very recent times. But as time went on and as the inability of the small bourgeois to maintain a position on the economic field became more and more obvious, he was obliged to turn his attention from laissez faire of which he had formerly been the exponent to the very antithesis of liberalism, to-wit: state interference.

Thereupon he began to view with some complacency the socialist platform which by its denial of laissez faire and its demand for interference with those capitalistic activities which at the beginning had been the very basis of liberalism, served to offer some relief from the pressure to which he was subjected.

But it will be observed that the small bourgeois did not turn his attention to the socialism of Marx with its proclamation of the class struggle and its insistence upon

the triumph of the proletarian. That would never have done. The petit-bourgeois was by no means anxious to become a proletarian. On the contrary, his grievance was that he was likely to become one under the pressure of the great capitalism.

Thus he sought a remedy in State Socialism, or collectivism and the Fabian Society of Great Britain became his exponent. He favored attacks upon rent, profit and interest above certain amounts, inheritance taxes, and heavy land and income taxes, extension of government works, and greater governmental control of franchises, and finally a form of collectivism which contemplated the expropriation of the private owners of the so-called public utilities.

This last form of public ownership was triumphantly heralded as socialism and a propaganda was set on foot by which the political fortunes of the petite-bourgeoisie came to be linked with those of certain sections of the working class.

As a matter of fact the prevailing influence in the socialist parties has therefore been not proletarian but petit bourgeois. Even the membership has borne the mark of the small trader though somewhat of a transformation is now taking place, but by far the most influential men in the socialist movement are not members of the working class, a very curious state of things in a movement which according to its founders rests primarily upon a proletarian base.

In proof of this an analysis of the membership of the Socialist Party in the United States published in the Socialist Party Official Bulletin for April, 1909, shows the following figures: Laborers, 20 per cent; craftsmen, 41 per cent; transportation, 5 per cent; farmers, 17 per cent; commerce, 9 per cent; professional, 5 per cent; housewives, 3 per cent.

Eliminating the 3 per cent credited to housewives, it gives 77 per cent non-proletarian as against 20 per cent proletarian in the membership of the Socialist Party

itself, in which the proletarian elements might be considered to be the determining factors. It is clear that so far from the Socialist Party being a proletarian party, it is hardly a working class party, even, for the laborers and craftsmen combined only give 61 per cent as against the balance obviously and distinctly petit bourgeois.

It will be seen later, moreover, that the term working class by no means necessarily implies the term proletarian.

In fact the Socialist Party is just a rallying ground for the discontented petit-bourgeois and working class to coalesce. It is a cave of Adullam, as Robert Lowe would have called it, merely that.

It is very obvious that in this borderland we find but scant traces of that proletarianism which is to redeem the world.

II.

We now shift our enquiry to the realm of the working class.

In Marx's "Capital" we find "Productive activity, if we take out of sight its special form, viz., the useful character of the labor, is nothing but the expenditure of human labor power . . . it is the expenditure of simple labor-power, *i. e.*, of the labor power, which on an average, apart from any special development, exists in the organism of every ordinary individual. Skilled labor-power counts only as simple labor-power intensified, or rather as multiplied simple labor, a given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labor. Experience shows that this reduction is being constantly made." (Vol. I. P. 51 Kerr's Edition.)

The differentiation between skilled and unskilled labor is therefore, according to Marx, merely quantitative. The proprietors of skilled labor have, however, persisted in regarding it as qualitative and have considered the possession of this particular species of property,

i. e., a skilled trade, as marking them off from the unskilled mass.

The trade unions were formed really in defense of the property of the particular craft in which the associated members claimed special skill. The protection is two-fold. First, against the employer, and seeks to regulate the wages and hours in the special craft, to make special arrangements with respect to the conduct of business, sanitary conditions, lighting, method of collecting wages and a host of other matters which necessarily arise in the course of the production of commodities. Second, against the unskilled mass on the outside, by the regulation of apprenticeships, both as to number and duration, the imposition of a high initiation fee, and the payment of a comparatively large sum as dues. Besides in some of the more highly specialized organizations there has always been a marked tendency to crowd out competitors even in the ranks of the unions themselves, so as to give the remainder a better hold on the jobs—in other words, greater security of property.

Protection at the hands of the employers has been sought by entering into contracts for the security of the union position during an agreed period of time, and, in the case of the more highly specialized unions, frequent conferences and gentlemen's agreements have taken place in order to prevent the outbreak of hostilities and the declaration of strikes and lockouts.

In all this it will be noted there is no approach to that revolutionary attitude on the part of the proletariat predicted by Marx; on the contrary, there is no sign of proletarianism here at all. The laborer comes on the scene, not as a proletarian, but as the possessor of a specific property, to-wit: specialized skill. This property he has more or less protected by cornering the market, and he offers this property for hire or sale just as the employer offers his property. In fact, there is a labor market and there can be no labor market without the existence of objects of exchange, that is property on both sides.

The very phrases which have accompanied the labor movement show this to be the case. "A fair day's work for a fair day's wage" is nothing but a demand that the laborer should have the price on the market for which he is willing to part with his property. "Labor has rights as well as capital"—what is this but a recognition of the property in labor power? Under circumstances in which the capitalistic control of the government has become so apparent that the unions have considered it to be essential that they should make an effort to retrieve their position by the acquisition of political power, or where the unions have grown to such an extent that their economic power naturally seeks its political expression we get political platforms which express the views of these unions. An examination of these views will show that they do not differ essentially from those of the petite-bourgeoisie but are directed to the protection of themselves in terms of the existing system and do not offer any real revolutionary tendency.

The San Francisco Labor Party platform is one in point. In it the rights of capital are fully recognized and the claim is made that under the banner of trade union political victory all classes of the community will flourish, a statement which could be made equally well by any political party. In fact, the sole attack on the union labor administration by its enemies is that it is a political effort to protect the job, to-wit, the property of the union men, to the detriment of the property of other proprietors, the merchant, the manufacturer and the small capitalist. In England, where the unionists went into politics on their own account under the name of the Independent Labor Party, the essential unity of the union man with the petite-bourgeoisie has been shown in the fact that the Independent Labor Party has become little more than an appendage of the Liberal Party. Even the German Social Democratic Party cannot be shown to be other than of the same stripe, and its success in point of numbers has lain in the political sagacity of its leaders, which has

effected the assembly of liberal elements on a large scale under the apparently revolutionary banner of socialism. Australia and other places furnish the same spectacle, and what is called the Socialist victory in Milwaukee is nothing but the triumph of the trade union property notion, as an examination of its platform will conclusively show.

So far then the unions have not made any revolutionary attack upon the existing system and the proletarianism which is to destroy it obviously does not proceed from them. Their political and even their economic action is vitiated by the recognition of their craft as a property. They make their fight against the capitalist enemy in terms of that property, and thus in terms of the present system. As if it were possible to upset a system in terms of the legal and political notions on which that system actually itself depends.

The truth of the above contention is apparent from an examination of the platform of the Socialist Party in so far as it contains the actual and practical proposals of that party apart from merely rhetorical flourishes.

It will be found to embrace demands which may be conveniently classified under the heads of collectivism; attacks upon the greater capitalism, fulfilling the aspirations of the petite bourgeoisie; and the recognition of certain legislative measures which would tend to make the path of the organized unions more easy, or at least to partially block the attack which the greater capitalism is making by judicial decisions upon the organizations.

The National platform adopted at the last National convention, and particularly the State platform of Wisconsin and also of the State of California, on which the last political contests were waged, are directly in point. You may study them carefully and fail to find anything of a revolutionary nature in them, if the high-sounding platitudes of the preambles are excepted.

We are forced then to the conclusion that so far the organized working class has not shown any marked

tendency to the revolutionary attitude of the Marxian prediction.

Are we then to abandon the Marxian revolution notion as false to historic fact and therefore untenable?

By no means, the results so far merely show that the proletarian has not yet begun to operate either in the economic or the political field. But he is here and has to be reckoned with and will in the future begin more and more completely to prove the truth of the Marxian prediction.

For, what is a proletarian? He is one who has nothing but his labor power to sell, and in addition one whose labor power is incapable of being turned into property. In that respect he is differentiated from the skilled laborer who by association has to a certain extent been able to make his craft a property peculiar to the members of that craft, and to that extent interfere with free exchange in the market in terms of his particular commodity or property. The proletarian can only profit in terms of the profit of the whole class to which he belongs.

In the statement of Marx quoted above it is said that all labor is economically reducible to unskilled labor and may be expressed quantitatively in terms of ordinary unskilled labor.

But the truth is even stronger and broader than that statement. Skilled labor is being qualitatively reduced to terms of unskilled labor. The crafts are tottering and the future of the proletariat is no longer in the hands of the aristocracy of labor but is being transformed at an ever increasing speed into those of the common labor masses.

This comes about by the natural process of the economic system and the development of industrialism itself. The element of individual skill, which is the fundamental underlying base of the craft and upon which the craftsman relies for his superiority over unskilled labor, is being rapidly obliterated. Standardization and

the control of technical processes which become more and more perfect with the increasing knowledge of scientific laws and mechanics fling the craftsman in ever increasing numbers upon the scrap heap and confiscate his precious possession, his particular little piece of property.

The present system which is the great confiscator of property and which in the name of preserving property rights destroys all inferior property rights, has him in its clutch and he has to go the way of the small bourgeois. He cannot save himself.

Every strike proves his position to be more and more precarious. The scab becomes more and more of a terror to the skilled laborer, even to the highly skilled laborer, for the scab can so much the more readily now take his place. It is not difficult to learn to operate the mechanism of modern production, and a few weeks of employment of men who began in total ignorance of an industry are sufficient to make those men competent to run an industry effectively enough, at least, to destroy any chance of the success of the strike.

The scab is for the most part an unskilled laborer. Against him the craftsman contends in vain and he has no real ground of appeal to him. For has not the craftsman looked down upon him hitherto as a person possessing no specialized trade and therefore no property and has he not also on these grounds forbidden him the advantages of unionism?

The unskilled man takes the place of the skilled one. If he does so in the iron trade today he will do so in the building trade tomorrow. In fact he will invade any trade where men are required and he stands a chance of making even an uncertain living.

A force even more powerful in the break up of the crafts than the progress of mechanism is the other factor on which Marx counted, the process of capitalist development itself.

The formation of the great concerns has broken

down the dividing lines of the crafts and has transcended the old form of organization of industry in accordance with which the craft organization was formed. The small competing capitalist engaged in a specific and narrow part of the process of industry has been displaced by the combination of crafts which go to make up an industry.

The result upon unionism is not difficult to see. The striking craftsman finds himself confronted not by competing craft employers but by an entire industrial capitalistic organization in which the enormous resources of the combined industry are pitted against the feeble efforts of the craft. It is impossible except in very unusual circumstances for the craft to be able to meet the situation. It opposes to the united strength of the employers only such resources as it can bring to its aid under the circumstances of the particular case, and the result has been, in the majority of recent cases, crushing defeat. Then the craft organization, seeing that its property is gone, and desperate at the loss of that which it has relied upon as the only means of saving it from the pit, becomes angry, and the violence which is inseparable from strikes of this character supervenes.

It is obvious that the craft union is an individualistic manifestation. Now, physical violence is, as it always has been, the last resource of baffled individualism. To the absolutism of the trust the craftsman replies, as does the thwarted Russian revolutionist to the absolutism of the Czar, and the results are very much the same. Now and again the world is shocked by happenings in the trade union world, but the absolutism persists, just as in Russia, because there is no effective social attack upon it and because ineffectual acts of violence have precisely the same effect in trade disputes as in Russian politics of alienating public sympathy from the rebel, and strengthening the public belief that after all absolutism is the only protection from anarchy.

The craft unions are thereupon compelled to look in

another direction and to turn their eyes towards industrial unionism as a remedy. Louder and louder the demand arises that the only way in which the working class can expect to achieve progress in face of the odds which confront it is by organization in terms of the capitalist industry, and that means the practical elimination of the crafts, as protectors of special property interests.

That this question is becoming one of first class importance even in the Socialist Party is to be seen from the following extract from a recent article by Eugene V. Debs. The tone of impatience with the present attitude of the Socialist Party will be readily noted:

"Voting for Socialism is not Socialism any more than a menu is a meal.

"Socialism must be organized, drilled, equipped, and the place to begin is in the industries where the workers are employed. Their economic power has got to be developed through efficient organization, or their political power, even if it could be developed, would but react upon them, thwart their plans, and all but destroy them.

"Such organization to be effective must be expressed in terms of industrial unionism. Each industry must be organized in its entirety, embracing all the workers, and all working together in the interest of all, in the true spirit of solidarity, thus laying the foundation and developing the superstructure of the new system within the old, from which it is evolving, and systematically fitting the workers, step by step, to assume entire control of the productive forces when the hour strikes for the impending organic change.

"Without such economic organization and the economic power with which it is clothed, and without the industrial co-operation, training, discipline and efficiency, which are its corollaries, the fruit of any political victories the workers may achieve will turn to ashes on their lips."—International Socialist Review, January, 1910.

That the period when trade unionism, by which of course is meant craft unionism, could be considered a

menace to the existing capitalist institution is past may be gathered from the following statement from a speech delivered before the Quill Club of New York by Mr. Paul Morton, President of the Equitable Life Insurance Company:

"The real object of a labor union should be the true and ultimate welfare of labor, of the employer, and of the country in which it does business. I am a great believer in organized labor, but it is a big mistake to misdirect itself by attempting to bring a good man down to the level of a poor man. Its aim should be to encourage the man who wants to work and who is efficient, and to undertake to educate the inferior man to become as good as the best and thereby increase the production of its organization as a whole. Personally, I think it should stand for and not discourage piecework. Organized labor and organized capital should both stand for efficiency and do everything possible to create wealth. I am sure there is no sensible man who will not entirely approve of a labor organization which has efficiency as one of its chief reasons for existing. Without co-operation between labor and capital we cannot meet the competition of the world."—Outlook, January 7th, 1911.

As a commentary on the above the following extract from the speech of Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, is interesting. The speech was made at the last meeting of the Civic Federation on January 12th, 1911:

"Let me warn those who are attacking labor unions that they are attacking the greatest bulwark standing today between property rights and a wave of anarchy like that of the bloody commune which will sweep over the land if the radical spirits get control of American labor."—New York Call, January 13, 1911.

When the greater capitalist finds approval for the craft union it is obvious that the latter can no longer be regarded as a very serious protagonist of labor.

It has ceased to have fighting capacity because that for which it seeks to fight is already doomed.

A new form of organization is taking its place. This new form, called Industrial Unionism, implies more than the possession of a more effective weapon by the working class.

In fact the advent of industrial unionism brings us back to the fundamental Marxian thesis which was the starting point of our discussion.

III.

The new unionism is of necessity a revolutionary manifestation. This appears from an examination of its necessary structure.

It must include all the various kinds of labor required in a specific industry; labor of every kind which contributes to the production of the commodity for the making of which the industry exists; all the various factors which combine to form the marketable object.

By all the kinds of labor we do not mean merely all the crafts, but in addition factors which have been overlooked in the organization of crafts—factors which appear at each end of the productive apparatus—at the one end, clerks, salesmen, stenographers, telephone operators, telegraphers, and all the non-handworking staff which is essential to the practical handling of a great business, and at the other end the unskilled laborers who are equally essential but so far unorganized and unrecognized.

Both of these factors have been neglected by the trade union or rather have failed to come into the realm of operation of the union.

The former the union has so far been practically unable to affect, because, not being hand workers, they have looked down on the unions; the latter, the union has neglected because, not being craftsmen but merely unskilled hands, they have not been considered worthy of the recognition of the union.

Hence each industry has and now consists of a core of organized mechanics and operatives, surrounded by a rind of unorganized, and in the last resort the juice is squeezed out of the organized core through the unorganized rind.

It must be remembered also that even this organized portion is not a homogeneous body, and that even the crafts are not organized in terms of the industry in which they operate, but are separate entities. None can be brought to the assistance of its neighbor without much delay and the solution of involved jurisdictional questions. Consequently, we see the craft, even the highly skilled craft, engaged in a protracted struggle, expending money which it can ill afford and finally yielding to the greater force or even if it is able to secure such a compromise as enables the leaders to advertise a victory it is at such expense as to be a Pyrrhic victory.

The plan generally followed is to determine what amount of strike pay can be given to the men who come out and having settled that this strike pay can be found for at least a time to declare a strike.

Thenceforward the process follows a routine. The strikers picket, the employer imports scabs; physical conflicts arise which necessitate the employment of the police. Both sides engage a corps of lawyers. The scabs start up the industry. The unions keep on paying strike pay. Finally, one of two things happens, either the employer, by reason of the interruption to his business loses valuable customers and his business is attacked by competitors so that he is compelled to make terms, or the strike pay gives out and the striking union men are driven to return to work. It will be observed that the former alternative is less and less likely to occur with the growing concentration and the extinction of competition between employers.

All this time men not belonging to the crafts actually engaged in conflict go on with their work. I have known a building struck by one craft which picketed the build-

ing, and all the time the members of other crafts, each man with a union card in his pocket, have walked every morning past the pickets of the striking craft and gone to work on the building which was so picketed.

A more advanced form of trade organization would combine the crafts on that building and then all the crafts would go out on strike. That result has been achieved and so far progress has been made in certain industries. But the unskilled laborers are unorganized. Therefore, the unskilled swarm upon the task and complete it. With the present development of the machine industry it is quite possible to do this; though of course more expensive to the employers and in many ways not so satisfactory. These drawbacks, however, will gradually disappear in face of the machine industry, the further elimination of craft distinctions and the general progress of technique in production. This last consists in the constant subdivision of mechanical processes and a tendency to the repetition of monotonous acts even more easily and quickly learned by the average man without specialized skill.

Everything then combines to place the unskilled laborer in the strategic position in the labor struggle. He becomes the one vital factor without which no victory in the fight between the laborer and the capitalist can be won. He who has the unskilled laborer has the victory. If the employer is able to call to his aid the legions of the unskilled and unorganized his victory in the struggle is practically assured to begin with. If organized labor on its part can secure the unskilled its triumph becomes an assured fact.

The foregoing is simply explanatory of the statement that industrial unionism of necessity predicates the organization of the unskilled.

The organization of the unskilled in the industrial union at once places that class of labor in control of the situation. It can dislocate an industry whenever it chooses to do so. It can practically dictate the terms on

which the so-called skilled trades must operate. Since it is largely migratory in character and is used to the ebb and flow of demand lack of employment does not have the same terrors for its members; it can manage without strike pay, and by frequent strikes of short duration can inflict a vast amount of damage upon the enemy without much suffering to itself. Indeed, in France, where the organization of the unskilled is being so effectively carried out by the Syndicalists, the long strike has become almost extinct. To win or lose in two weeks and go back with the organization intact is the aim of the leaders. The superiority of this method over the old fashioned long fought out struggle with the suffering of families and the expenditure of strike pay is obvious. Industrial conflicts tend to become shorter and sharper.

The unskilled laborer of today is the pure Marxian proletarian; he has nothing but his labor power to sell, and his labor power cannot by any possibility become property in any sense. He closely approximates to the definition in the Communist Manifesto.

"The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with bourgeois family relations, modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests."

It is, of course, impossible in the course of a short paper to examine the testimony from which the above conclusions are reached. It may be noted in passing, however, that the unskilled laborer is not as a rule a voter; he can seldom stay long enough in one place to acquire residence. He is still more seldom a property owner, as so many of the craftsmen are, whose property represents so much impedimenta in the event of a strike, for it usually consists of a partly paid-up contract for the purchase of a house and lot. Owing to the present re-

strictions upon citizenship an ever increasing number of the unskilled must remain aliens, for it is very difficult even for a craftsman to find witnesses covering a period of five years and it is next to impossible for an unskilled laborer to do this.

The separation between the rest of the community and the unskilled laborer is therefore practically complete. His class stands as a permanently outlawed class. He has no part or lot in the existing social system. The occasions when he is interested in the present system are when he comes into collision with it and the officers of the law inflict every indignity upon him and render his necessary migration through the land as difficult and as dangerous as possible.

It will be noted that we are not speaking here of tramps or derelicts, of the social detritus which is continually being thrown off into the fetid pools of professional trampdom and of crime. This derelict or slum element is quite another factor with which we have no present concern. The unskilled laborers referred to are those who do the rough work of the world; who work hard where opportunity for work is afforded; who fill the contract camps and mines, harvest the grain and perform the thousand and one tasks upon which we are dependent, and who form the definite and indispensable substratum of every industry.

The theory in the United States at least is that such employment is permanent only for the unfit; that the best elements graduate out of it into more remunerative toil. The former history of the country goes far to establish that belief. But it is no longer tenable in face of the facts. The appropriation of the public lands, the practical closing of opportunity, the degradation of the crafts in face of the consolidation of industry, all tend not only to shut the avenue of escape for the unskilled laborer but to greatly increase his numbers.

This mass is already beginning to show signs of independent life. It is not waiting to be organized from

above, it is trying to organize itself. Slowly and painfully it is trying its limbs and exercising hitherto unused functions. Within a few months that portion of the population which has been regarded with scorn and which has been considered unworthy of recognition by the regular organized trades has made McKees Rocks, Spokane, Lawrence, Little Falls, Canadian Northern, Paterson, Mesaba Iron Range, Fresno and Everett historic names in the American labor movement. The Industrial Workers of the World may be regarded as the first definite step in the organization of the real proletariat.

With the advent of the unskilled into the ranks of organized labor there can be no further blinking or obscuring of the real point at issue between the capitalist and the laborer.

The unskilled laborer knows without any telling that he is exploited at the point of production. No question of taxes can help him, municipalization or nationalization is no remedy for his ills, no scheme of municipal or other reforms can meet the circumstances of his case.

He challenges the whole structure of modern society at its base, the contract of employment. He matches his no-property against all the property of the dominant class, his no-law against the law of the industrial and commercial masters, his ability to starve against all the resources of civilization.

When the unskilled laborer enters the fight he drags the rest of the crafts after him. They must take up his fight. Even the respectable petit-bourgeois socialist must dance to his tune, as is seen in the French chamber where the Socialist representatives vigorously took up the cudgels for Durand, the syndicalist, unjustly sentenced for the killing of a scab.

What is still more remarkable he, by means of the industrial union, builds up a society within society, an "imperium in imperio." He consolidates and harmonizes every branch of wage labor in the industry, until should he declare the present owners expropriated the industry

would go along its accustomed course in the hands of the industrial organization without any shock or jar to the rest of us.

So the fullness of time and capitalistic development have at last brought about the Marxian proletariat.

Time, however, the great dispeller of illusions, has wrought its effect upon the mind of that proletariat. No longer will it satisfy itself with the belief that parliamentary action will bring the relief which it so earnestly deserves. On the contrary it grows more and more distrustful of mere parliamentarism. It has learned the lesson that political power is merely the reflex of economic power, and that political advantage can only be had through economic superiority; that there is no road to power save through the "will to power" and all that that implies.

The proletarian, which is just entering the ring as a contestant for the mastery of the modern world, comes equipped with the knowledge that its victories are not to be won by the babblings of public men and the intrigues of political place-hunters, but by stern conflict on the industrial field and by ceaseless and relentless war upon those whom it must expropriate.

What Comes of Playing the Game.

By Charles Edward Russell.

A proletarian movement can have no part, however slight, in the game of politics. The moment it takes a seat at that grimy board is the moment it dies within. After that it may for a time maintain a semblance of life and motion, but in truth it is only a corpse.

This has been proved many times. It is being proved today in Great Britain. It has been proved recently and most convincingly in the experience of Australia and New Zealand.

In Australia the proletarian movement that began eighteeen years ago has achieved an absolute triumph—in politics. Under the name of the Labor Party it has won all that any political combination can possibly win anywhere. It has played the political game to the limit and taken all the stakes in sight. The whole national government is in its hands. It has attained in fullest measure to the political success at which it aimed. It not merely influences the government; it is the government.

To make the situation clear by an American analogy, let us suppose the Socialists of America join hands with the progressive element in the labor unions and with the different groups of advanced radicals. Let us suppose a coalition party to be formed called the Labor Party. Let us suppose this to have entered the state and national campaigns, winning at each successive election more seats in Congress, and finally, after sixteen years in conflict, electing its candidate for President and a clear majority of the Senate and House of Representatives. This would be admitted to be the summit of such a party's aims and to mean great and notable success; and it would closely parallel the situation in Australia.

Exactly such a Labor Party has administered the affairs of Australia since April, 1910. Its triumph was the political success of a proletarian movement that was steered into the political game. What has resulted?

This has resulted, that the Labor Party of Australia is now exactly like any other political party and means no more to the working class except its name. Constituted as the political party of that class, it has been swept into power by working class votes, and after almost a year and a half of control of national affairs it can show nothing more accomplished for working class interests than any other party has accomplished. The working class under the Labor Party is in essentially the same condition that it has been in under all the other

administrations, nor is there the slightest prospect that its condition will be changed.

In other words, the whole machine runs on exactly as before, the vast elaborated machine by which the toilers are exploited and parasites are fed. Once in power, the Labor Party proceeded to do such things as other parties had done for the purpose of keeping in power, and it is these things that maintain the machine.

On the night of the election, when the returns began to indicate the result, the gentleman that is now Attorney General of the Commonwealth was in the Labor Party headquarters, jumping up and down with uncontrollable glee.

"We're in!" he shouted. "We're in! We're in!"

That was an excellent phrase and neatly expressed the whole situation. The Labor Party was in; it had won the offices and the places of power and honor; it had defeated the opponents that had often defeated it. It was "in." The next thing was to keep in, and this is the object that it has assiduously pursued ever since. "We are in; now let us stay in. We have the offices; let us keep the offices."

The first thing it does is to increase its strength with the bourgeoisie and the great middle class always allied with its enemies. To its opponents in the campaigns the handiest weapon and most effective was always the charge that the Labor Party was not patriotic, that it did not love the dear old flag of Great Britain with the proper degree of fervor and ecstasy; that it was wobbly on the subject of war and held strange, erratic notions in favor of universal peace instead of yelling day and night for British supremacy, whether right or wrong—which is well known to be the duty of the true and pure patriot. This argument was continually used and had great effect.

Naturally, as the Labor Party was now in and determined to stay in, the wise play, indicated in the game upon which it had embarked, was to disprove all these

damaging allegations and to show that the Labor Party was just as patriotic as any other party could possibly be. So its first move was to adopt a system of universal military service, and the next to undertake vast schemes of national defense. The attention and admiration of the country were directed to the fact that the Labor administration was the first to build small arms factories, to revise the military establishment so as to secure the greatest efficiency and to prepare the nation for deeds of valor on the battlefield.

At the time this was done there was a crying need for new labor legislation; the system or lack of system of arbitrating labor disputes was badly in need of repairs; workingmen were being imprisoned in some of the states for the crime of striking; the power of government was often used to oppress and overawe strikers, even when they had been perfectly orderly and their cause was absolutely just. These, with many other evils of the workingman's condition, were pushed aside in order to perfect the defense system and get the small arms factories in good working order, for such were the plain indications of the game that the Labor Party had started out to play. "We're in; let us stay in."

The next thing to attest properly the true spirit of patritoism that burned and throbbed in the Labor Party was to send the Prime Minister and eighteen members of Parliament, at public expense, to the coronation puppet show. The Prime Minister was, in fact, one of the bright ornaments of that precious occasion, and was universally admired as he pranced around in knee pants and other regalia. He is by trade a steam engineer, and for years lived by the work of his hands. He was said greatly to enjoy the gew-gaws of the occasion. I do not know whether this is true, but certainly he presented a sad and humiliating spectacle as a representative of the working class, and one that would never have been offered to the world except for the necessity of "playing the game." It would have been bad politics for the

Labor Party to have appeared in the least indifferent to the childish and silly tricks of the coronation; hence it must leave nothing undone to show its loyalty, lest our enemies get ammunition to use against us and we shall not be able to stay in. Nothing more absurd and degrading can be imagined than the participation of any Labor Party in such a spectacle, but such are the conditions of this game. If you start in to play it you must play it, and you must play it in the way that will win.

Meantime there remains this awkward fact tbout the condition of the working class. It is no less exploited than before. It is as far, apparently, from the day of justice under the rule of the Labor Party as it was under the rule of the Liberal Party. What are you going to do about that? Why, there is nothing to be done about that as yet. The country, you see, is not ready for any radical measures on that subject. If we undertake to make any great changes in fundamental conditions we should be defeated at the next election, and then we should not be in, but should be out. True, the cost of living is steadily increasing, and that means that the state of the working class is inevitably declining. True, under the present system power is steadily accumulating in the hands of the exploiters, so that if we are afraid to offend them now we shall be still more afraid to offend them next year and the next. But the main thing is to keep in. We're in; let us stay in.

Hence, also, the Labor administration has been very careful not to offend the great money interests and powerful corporations that are growing up in the country. These influences are too powerful in elections. Nothing has been done that could in the least disturb the currents of sacred business. It was recognized as not good politics to antagonize business interests. Let the administration keep along with the solid business interests of the country, reassuring them for the sake of general prosperity and helping them to go on in the same safe, sane and conservative way as before. It was

essential that business men should feel that business was just as secure under the Labor administration as under any other. Nothing that can in the least upset business, you know. True, this sacred business consists of schemes to exploit and rob the working class, and, true, the longer it is allowed to go upon its way the more powerful it becomes and the greater are its exploitations and profits. But if we do anything that upsets business, or tends to disturb business confidence, that will be bad for us at the next election. Very likely we shall not be able to keep in. We are in now; let us stay in, and have the offices and the power.

Therefore it is with the greatest pride that the Labor people point out that under the Labor administration the volume of business has not decreased but increased; the operations of the banks have shown no falling off; they are still engaged as profitably as of yore in skinning the public; the clearings are in an eminently satisfactory condition; profits have suffered no decline; all is well in our marts of trade. The old machine goes on so well you would never know there had been any change in the administration. Business men have confidence in our Party. They know that we will do the right thing by them, and when in the next campaign the wicked orators of the opposition arise and say that the Labor Party is a party of disturbers and revolutionists we can point to these facts and overwhelm them. And that will be a good thing, because otherwise we might not be able to keep in. We're in; let us stay in.

So stands the case in Australia. But if anyone says to me that the heart of the trouble is some defect in the men that are the leaders of the Australian Labor Party, I deny it. There are no leaders of the Australian Labor Party in the sense that American politics understands leaders. Whoever comes to the front in the affairs of the Australian Labor Party is chosen by a free vote of the members of that Party and has not pushed himself to the front in the manner to which American politicians

are accustomed. And as for the men that hold cabinet positions in the Labor administration, and therefore may be regarded as chiefly the advocates of the policy I have here outlined, if we think that these men are at fault we shall make the greatest possible error. There are no better men anywhere. Their sincerity is beyond question. They believe absolutely in working class government, they are personally above reproach, they represent a class of public men that for flawless honesty and purity of purpose is almost unknown in American public affairs; I wish we had a thousand like them in our government this day.

Nor is there any question about their ability. They are among the ablest of all executives. Every one of them, when he came into office, gave a notable example of efficiency by studying, simplifying and improving the operations of his department. The fault is not with their convictions nor with their intellectual resources. The trouble is with the game that they started out to play. That game has always these results and no others. Whosoever starts to play it must play according to the rules, and these are the rules. You sit at the grimy board to win. If you win you can win in but this way, by continual compromise and by continual sacrifice of your principles.

Most of these men are Socialists. One of them, Senator George H. Pearce, now the able and efficient Minister for Defense, once delivered in my hearing the clearest and most concise exposition of the fundamental principles of Socialism that I have ever heard anywhere. They are convinced Socialists and they will tell you that their ultimate ideal is the Co-operative Commonwealth—when the people are ready for it. And yet, sincerely and truly believing in the Socialistic theory, they proceed to play the Capitalists' game, because they must play that game to keep in. We're in; let us stay in.

Meantime, how has the cause of Socialism progressed in Australia? Not at all. I would by no means dis-

parage the efforts of the band of clear-sighted and able men and women that in Australia and New Zealand steadfastly insist upon the truth that nothing will ever be won by palliatives; but the great working population, carried away by the idea of winning political victories, is so far indifferent or hostile toward the only movement that can really accomplish anything. I know of but one other country in the civilized circuit where Socialism is so dead. The full attention of the proletariat is centered in the political success of this Labor Party. It will give no heed to anything else, and the few men that with clear vision and inspiration continue to insist that the only way to emancipate the working class is to emancipate it are like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. If the capitalists had designed the very best way in which to perpetuate their power they could not have hit upon anything better for themselves than this. It keeps the working class occupied; it diverts their minds from the real questions that pertain to their condition; it appeals to their sporting instincts; we want to win, we want to cheer our own victory, we want to stay in; this is the way to these results. And meantime the capitalists rake off the profits and are happy. We are infinitely better off in the United States. The Labor Party of Australia has killed the pure proletarian movement there. At least we have the beginnings of one here. If there had been no Labor Party there would now be in Australia a promising working class movement headed towards industrial emancipation. Having a Labor Party, there is no such movement in sight.

I said a moment ago that there is but one other country in the civilized circuit where Socialism is as dead as it is in Australia. The other country is New Zealand, where the game has been played as assiduously as in Australia and with identical results.

Here is the one spot on earth where the proletarian movement ought to be the strongest, and where it is, practically speaking, the weakest.

New Zealand was the first country where the workingmen recognized something of their power, the first country where the labor union was made a part of the government, the first to try to deal adequately with problems of factory conditions and hours of emplopment, the first to seek a peaceful solution of the problem of the strike.

Having made years ago so excellent a start, it is discouraging to find that the pristine spirit died out so early; that in these days the first concern of the working class seems to be the figures of the ballot box; and that, while the country has gone over wholly into the control of the capitalists, the workingman now gets nothing from his government but an elaborate confidence game and swindle.

In the face of injustice and governmental oppression as bad as anything we know in the United States and somewhat worse, there is no more revolt in the New Zealand proletariat than there is in so much putty. It has been hypnotized by the political game.

Year after year the wily gentlemen that hold the offices and rake off the good things in that country assure the workingmen that they are better off than the workingmen anywhere else in the world, and then fasten their minds on the Punch and Judy show of an election that, however it may result, can mean nothing to any toiler except the right to carry a banner in a parade and cheer on the streets on election night.

Nearly twenty years ago the working class of New Zealand went into politics as a game and won the nominal control of the country's affairs. A telegraph operator forgot all about his fellow workers when he got a cabinet office and accepted knighthood. The carpenters, masons and journalists that led the first movement lost sight of the real labor question as soon as they began to scheme and dream about getting office and keep it. After twenty years of government by the Labor

Liberal combination, the telegraph operator, now became Prime Minister, slips over to Great Britain a present of a Dreadnaught battleship, taxes every man, woman and child in the country ten dollars to pay for the gift, and then parades England in the glory of his achievement. Meantime the condition of the workingman, absolutely and relatively, is worse than it has ever been; the government placed in power and held there by workingmen's votes gives to them such treatment as you would expect from a member of the National Manufacturers' Association; and a man that preaches the social revolution among them is looked upon as a strange, weird beast. What do we want of a social revolution? There is an election next year, and if you talk like that you may injure the chances of our candidate. People are not ready for that sort of thing, you know, and we must be practical.

Practical—that is a good word, especially in New Zealand. In that country striking has been made practically a crime; a man that engages in a strike (except under the impossible conditions laid down by the government) can be thrown into jail for that mere act alone. This is the express and practical provision of the statute and there is no protest against it from the working class.

In New Zealand the government operates a coal mine, wherein it exploits its workers and extorts from them more labor than private mine owners get; and the working class makes no protest against that.

Men have engaged in a just and necessary strike, and to punish them their homes have been invaded and the sewing machines and little personal belongings of their wives have been seized and confiscated; and the working class accepts that.

The system of compulsory arbitration is now being worked by the capitalist class to keep down wages in a country where the cost of living rapidly increases; and the working class endures that.

For some years almost every important issue has been decided by the arbitration court against the toiler; and the working class endures that.

The government is plainly in alliance with the exploiting corporations, upholds the steamship trust, the coal trust, the bank trust, the fish trust, the oil trust, and many other trusts, and although this is perfectly apparent to any observer, the working class submits to it.

To make any protest and to urge the pure proletarian movement would not be to the advantage of our party or our candidate. People are not ready for such things yet. If we take an advanced position we shall not be able to carry the election.

In New Zealand, as in Australia, all workingmen continue to create wealth but do not possess the wealth that they create. They continue to toil for the pleasure and aggrandizement of the masters. They continue to live under a system that enables idlers, parasites and cogging knaves to ride pleasantly upon the toilers' backs; a system that makes the poor poorer and the rich richer; that places a premium on dishonesty and penalizes virtue; a system so ingeniously contrived in deviltry that the greater the efficiency of the worker the greater the amount of which he is robbed. They continue to live under this system and to have no means of protest against and no present hope of relief from it, although they know that it condemns four men in every five to existence below a rational standard of food, shelter, comfort, leisure and opportunity. They see, or can see if they but look around them, that every year the forces that establish and maintain these evils become more powerful in their country and that the difficulty of ever dislodging them becomes greater, and against all this they have no means of revolt and no impetus thereto, because they have been bedeviled by the game of politics. They want to elect this man or defeat that, and they entirely lose sight of the only thing in the world that is of real importance to them or to any of us, and that is the

destruction of the wage system and the emancipation of the working class.

You say: Surely it was something gained in New Zealand to secure limited hours of employment, to have sanitary factories, clean luncheon rooms, old age pensions, workingmen's compensation. Surely all these things represented progress and an advance toward the true ideal.

Yes. But every one of these things has been magnified, distorted and exaggerated for the purpose and with the result of keeping the workingman quiet about more vital things. How say you to that? Every pretended release from his claims has been in fact a new form of tether on his limbs. What about that? I should think meanly of myself if I did not rejoice every time a workingman's hours are reduced or the place wherein he is condemned to toil is made more nearly tolerable. But what shall we conclude when these things are deliberately employed to distract his thoughts from fundamental conditions and when all this state of stagnation is wrought by the alluring game of politics?

I cannot help thinking that all this has or ought to have a lesson for the Socialist movement in America. If it be desired to kill that movement the most effective way would be to get it entangled in some form of practical politics. Then the real and true aim of the movement can at once be lost sight of and this party can go the way of every other proletarian party down to the pit. I should not think that was a very good way to go.

When we come to reason of it calmly what can be gained by electing any human being to any office beneath the skies? To get in and keep in does not seem any sort of an object to anyone that will contemplate the possibilities of the Co-operative Commonwealth. How shall it profit the working class to have Mr. Smith made sheriff or Mr. Jones become the coroner? Something else surely is the goal of this magnificent inspiration. In England the radicals have all gone mad on the subject

of a successful parliamentary party, the winning of the government, the filling of offices and the like. I am told that the leaders of the coalition movement have already picked out their prime minister against the day when they shall carry the country and be in. In the meantime they too must play this game carefully, being constantly on their guard against doing anything that would alarm or antagonize the bourgeoisie and sacred businesses and telling the workers to wait until we get in. I do not see that all this relieves the situation in Whitechapel or that any fewer men and women live in misery because we have a prospect of getting in.

Furthermore, to speak quite frankly, I do not see where there is a particle of inspiration for Americans in any of these English speaking countries. So far as I can make out the whole of mankind that dwells under the British flag is more or less mad about political success, parliament and getting in. They say in New Zealand that the government can make a conservative of any radical, if he threatens to become dangerous, by giving him some tin-horn honor or a place in the upper chamber. In England we have seen too often that the same kind of influences can silence a radical by inviting him to the king's garden party or allowing him to shake hands with a lord. I do not believe we have anything to learn from these countries except what to avoid. And I do not know why we should not look for an American ideal in Socialism that will listen to no compromise, play no games in politics, care nothing for temporary success at the polls, seek to elect no particular individual to any office, never lower the standard, look beyond the skirmishes of the day, and following unhesitatingly and confidently the one ideal of the emancipation of the working class as the only object to which it will pay any attention.

Socialism or nothing. If this cause of Socialism is worth believing in it is worth following to the end without compromise. Either it is the greatest boon, incom-

parably, that ever was dreamed of for the human race, or we are a lot of lunatics. If it is what we believe it to be, then what shall we gain for it by compromise or coalition or turning for one moment from the ultimate goal? All the offices in the world—what are they worth compared with putting an end to wage slavery?

THOSE WHO OWN AND THOSE WHO WORK.*

By Scott Nearing.

Those who own and those who work face each other. The worker demands a return for his work. The owner demands a return for his ownership. The rapid growth of property values during recent years has accentuated and emphasized the conflict between work and ownership. On the one hand, are the people who devote their time and energy to the production of wealth. On the other hand are the people who own income-yielding property. The workers receive a wage or a salary; the owners receive payments of rent, interest and dividends. Many of the workers are growing clamorous over "human rights." The property owners, persistent, and ever watchful, urge the "rights of property." The time has come when the claims of the contending interests must be analyzed and understood.

A clearer idea of the points at issue will be assured if the term "property income" is applied to the returns that accrue from ownership and the term "service income" is applied to the returns that accrue from the expenditure of time and energy in the rendering of service. All regular income owns its origin to one of these two sources.

The owners of property bulwark themselves with certain prerogatives that have proved of the greatest impor-

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*This same line of argument and much of the following material will be found in "Income," Scott Nearing. The MacMillan Company, Chapter 7.

tance in the conservation of property interests. Speaking broadly, there are four characteristic features of the shares of income which are derived from the ownership of property. First, property income enjoys priority in its claims upon the proceeds of industry. Second, the vicissitudes of industry affect property income less sharply than they affect service income. Third, income-yielding property exhibits a tendency to concentrate in the hands of a small fraction of the people. The total effect of these characteristics of property income is stupendous. The priority, regularity, permanence and concentrability of property income combine to place the owners of modern income-yielding property in a position of economic security that surpasses the dreams of past ages.

Those who are giving their time and energy to the production of wealth, face the fact that property rights have been so construed as to give property owners a first claim on production and to make property income a fixed charge on the industry of the community. This priority of claim has played a leading part in raising property to a position of supremacy in the economic world.

The risks of industry, the burden of economic uncertainty, and the losses incident to the dislocations of the industrial systems are carried in the first instance by labor. The first appearance of hard times is followed by a decrease in the working force. The least curtailment in orders leads to part-time work. Wage rates are not cut—that method is crude and disastrous—but men and women are laid off temporarily or permanently. Bonds still draw their interest; the dividends are paid on stocks; and labor waits for a job. The defender of property income will say at once,—"If there is nothing to do, why pay labor?" The counter question is obvious. "If there is nothing to do, why pay capital?" "Ah," responds the propertied interests, "you can get rid of the laborer by firing him, but the investment still stands." That answer carries the essential distinction in priority between the

position of the property owner and of the worker. Mines, railroads, factories, and machinery, cannot be laid off. Through good times and bad, they are a fixed charge, unless the business wishes to face bankruptcy proceedings. The most important obligation of a modern business is the interest on its bonded debt. Wages and salaries may stop, but interest on bonds must continue if the business is to remain solvent.

Thus land owners, the owners of bonds and mortgages, and in late years, the owners of stocks as well, have saddled their property ownership claims on society. They are possessed of the vitals of present-day economic life. Armed with title deeds to natural resources and to machinery alike, they are in a position to dictate terms to the remainder of mankind. Before a tree can be cut or a ton of coal mined; before a wheel can turn or a locomotive speed along the steel pathway; before a wage-earner can raise a hand to labor for himself and his family, the proper owners must be assured that they will receive a specified rate of return on their holdings.

Society, for the use of the earth which was here before our forefathers came, and for the use of the machinery of production which the people of America have spent three centuries in building, must pay a royalty, or tax, to the owners of land of machinery. The method by which the owners came into possession of this property is scarcely brought into question. As owners, they are entitled to the first fruits.

The point is well illustrated by an analysis of the way in which periods of prosperity and of adversity affect the shares of income. First, take railroad earnings. During a good year, a regular rate—say 5 per cent.—is paid on bonds. The earnings being high, a dividend of 8 per cent is paid on the stock. The general run of wages and salaries remains the same, although they are increased in a few departments. A bad year ensues. The interest on the bonds is paid at the same rate as in a good year. Earnings are low, therefore

the dividends on the stock are cut from 8 to 5 per cent. There are less freight and fewer passengers to carry. No new construction work is undertaken; therefore, a quarter of the railroad employees are dropped from the pay rolls. No reduction is made in wages; the wage earner is simply denied the opportunity to earn a living. Interest must continue, else bankruptcy ensues. Dividends may be, and frequently are, cut or passed. Earnings for a considerable proportion of the employees stop absolutely. In other industries, such as textile manufacturing and coal mining, instead of dismissing employees, the establishment is worked two or three, or perhaps four days a week during bad times. The interest on the bonds is, of course, paid. Dividends on the stock may be passed or paid out of surplus. Wages are decreased by the simple methods of part-time work. In short, the incorporation of industry, involving the issue of stocks and bonds, creates a situation in which, during periods of adversity, the chief burden is borne by the employees; and year in and year out, through adversity and prosperity, interest is paid to bondholders. Exactly the same thing is true of the rent of land. In good years and bad years alike, the tenants must pay the same amount. Certain forms of vested income thus continue, while earned income and the opportunity to earn income are dependent on the caprice of industry.

Heretofore the bonds of an industrial enterprise have been looked upon as the stable form of security. The development of law and of public opinion has rendered them ironclad. The United States Commission of Internal Revenue reports, for the corporations coming under its purview, a bonded indebtedness of $34,749,516,354. Here is a fund, which at the very outset will yield at 5 per cent, a billion and three quarters annually.

The same security which now surrounds bonds, is being gradually thrown around stock issues. In days gone by, stock issues were not taken seriously. Today, the right to pay a 6 per cent return on stock—even if

the issue did not originally represent value invested—is being recognized in court decisions, in the decisions of railroad commissions, and in the attitude of industry toward income. Thus there has been effected a reversal in the relation between property claims and the claims of labor. Time was when property shouldered the give and take—the profits of industry. If there was a lean year, profits were small. They were larger in fat years. The man invested his money, took the risk involved, and was paid for it.

At present, labor shoulders the give and take of prosperous and adverse years. When times are bad, men are laid off. Orders decrease, and part-time automatically ensues. Meanwhile the snipping of coupons sounds at regular, unvaried intervals, and the book in which dividend checks are drawn is busy four times every year.

Modern business practice has wielded an immense influence in the direction of property permanence. A thousand dollars, once invested, is virtually immortal, unless it is stolen, or disposed of in some extra legal way. Depreciation, amortization, insurance and special surplus-fund charges throw around income earning property a large guarantee of safety. Any failure in the perpetuity of the property values is due to inadvertence or impotence in the property interests. For centuries the thought and effort of the business world have been directed toward the increasing permanence of property rights.

The efforts of the propertied interests have been exerted to good purpose. The public mind, the laws and constitutions, the forms of judicial practice—in short, all of the social forces that were of advantage have been bent to the guarantee of property income permanence.

Granted the continuance of the present system of property, the student trembles to think of the task in store for the toiler of the future. Each year, besides producing wealth in sufficient quantities to provide for himself and his family, he must devote a large portion of his

energies to the provision of income for the owners of a vast and ever-growing body of immortalized property rights and interests.

Men look with pretended aversion toward the Feudal System—an organization of society under which the nobility and the priestcraft, through the control of the natural resources (agricultural land) were able to live upon the efforts of the great mass of the people. Is it not time to turn from the perspective of history to the realities of the present day economic organizations? Here, in the twentieth century, civilization of the Western World is an economic system which automatically turns into the coffers of those who control the natural resources (forests, ore, coal, fertile land) an endless stream of wealth. As rent ate up the fruits of a man's energy, under feudalism, interest and dividends do likewise under the modern system of industrialism, which has given to income-yielding property a permanence that rivals that estate held by the mediæval landlord.

There is one further feature of the property income situation which cannot be dismissed without a word of comment—that is the tendency of property income to concentrate in the hands of a small group of the population. The tendency is revealed by the record of wealth distribution in every society about which history contains a page. It is present, no one can say with what impetus, in the United States today.

The present system of property ownership places no limitations on the amount of income-yielding property which one individual may control. The Rockefellers, Guggenheims and Carnegies may secure title to a hundred-thousand, a hundred-million, or a hundred-billion estate. There is nothing in the custom or law of the land to check such a procedure, and in the course of the undertaking, business practice affords every conceivable advantage. The modern property-owning world is organized on the assumption that every man has a right to as much property as he can get. Under the circumstances, it is

not strange that there has been a very considerable concentration of property ownership in a comparatively few hands.

The rapidity with which large fortunes have been acquired is one of the wonders of the modern world. At the present time, the United States numbers its millionaires by thousands. The mere mention of such names as Vanderbilt, Gould, Astor, Rockefeller, Morgan, Havemeyer, Belmont, Whitney, Goelet, Carnegie, Armour, Harriman and Dupont (all of them families numbered among the multi-millionaires whose wealth was acquired, for the most part, since the Civil War) calls to mind the immense concentration of income-yielding wealth which has been going on within the past century. The industrial system is interwined with a device known as private property in income-yielding wealth, which leads inevitably to the concentration of property income in the hands of a comparatively small portion of the population.

The exact figures showing the concentration of property values are unobtainable, and of no great moment in the present discussion. The tendency of income-yielding property to concentrate in a relatively small number of hands is evident on every side. The extent of the concentration cannot, and need not, be ascertained with accuracy.

The actual amounts paid to the men and women who do the work of the industrial world are extremely small. Current wage rates, placed side by side with the expense accounts of thousands of families whose sole claim to income rests upon their ownership of property, are startling in their paucity. Five hundred dollars a year paid to an able-bodied man whose back was bent three hundred days of the year in his efforts to support a wife and four small children; seven dollars a week to the anæmic man whose eye races with his machine along the seams of ladies' coats; fifteen dollars a week to a mechanic, keeping a family in a big city; a thousand dollars a year to a skilled artisan. These wage rates are meagre when

contrasted with the returns to the men who own the valuable property of the country.

More than nine-tenths of those who are at work in organized industry are clerks or wage-earners. Among male clerks and wage-earners an annual return of $1,000 is exceptional, while $1,500 is almost unique. Almost the entire male wage-earning population receives less than $1,500 per year; most of it receives less than $1,000, and full half of it falls under $600. The incomes of women fall far below those of men. At the same time the owners of property receive an annual income of many billions. The facts adduced in the present investigation tend to show at least six billions of property income—a sum sufficient to support the twelve million poorest families in the United States on their present level of existence, or to add $300 per year to the income of every family in the United States. The amount now paid in property income, distributed among the producers, would probably raise every family income in the United States to a level of decency or efficiency.

Property income is relatively stable. Numerous and effective safeguards have been thrown around it. Despite occasional breaks in the abatis protecting property income rights, as a general rule, the defenses erected by the propertied classes have proved well-nigh impregnable.

With those receiving service income the situation is far different. Excepting the small percentage of high-salaried workers, the great mass of those who receive service income are forced to struggle in a sea of economic uncertainties. There are five forces always confronting the workers, any one of which may reduce or entirely eliminate service income. They are (1) overwork, (2) sickness and accidents, (3) invention of new machinery, (4) shutting-down of individual plants and (5) industrial crises.

Under the strain incident to overwork, a man may break down at forty and be discharged because he is physically or nervously unable to continue with his

duties. Modern industry is run at a terrific speed which leads inevitably to a shortened working life, or decreased efficiency. The speeding-up system clearly places a premium on youth and vigor and a serious handicap on age. This fact the companies are not slow to recognize. They do not want old men on their pay-rolls—and they say so, clearly and emphatically. There are many industries in which men are expected to go to pieces before reaching normal old age. The pace is set high, and those who cannot keep it, must drop out or take less lucrative positions.

Industry offers the workingman an opportunity to earn a living, subject to the caprice of overwork, sickness, accidents, new machinery, individual shut-downs and general suspensions of industrial activity—a hierarchy of forces which overshadow every movement of his life, threatening continually to hurl him into an abyss of hardship and misery. Any one, or any combination of these five forces, may, at any time, diminish, temporarily or permanently, the income-earning capacity of the worker. All of them are beyond his individual control, yet they strike, with mericless certainty, the sources of livelihood of the family in which they occur.

The nation is built on the work of its workers.

Today, as in every past age, the idler and the parasite are burdens on national life. They add nothing to national well-being, while they cost their keep.

The workers are the nation. As they thrive, the nation thrives. As they succeed in life, the nation is prosperous and great. The future of the nation is inseparable from the future of the nation's workers. It was not for nothing that Capt. John Smith insisted,—"He who will not work, neither shall he eat."

Fronted by these facts, we are deliberately working out an economic system which glorifies ownership and penalizes work. The owner prospers; the worker exists. The owner lives upon the fat of the land, which the worker has created.

A survey of the relative positions occupied by the recipients of service and of property income, shows that the property owners hold practically all of the strategic points. They are supported by tradition; bulwarked by custom, and protected by most of the motive forces of society. The social mind and the social structure alike have been shaped so that they would function in terms of property income rights and privileges.

Those who receive service income have the advantage of numbers and the possibilities of organized action. They are convinced of the essential injustice of their position. Otherwise they are compelled to go weaponless into the conflict.

Economic forces are pushing forward the issue. They have placed on one side the majority of the population, who carry the burdens of economic society, and put forth the energy necessary to propel industry. On the other side, the economic forces have ranged a small group of persons in whose hands is concentrated the great bulk of the income-yielding wealth of the community. The forces of economic society are sharpening the contrast between service and property income, and adding daily to the irony of a status which compels workers to skimp and abstain while property owners may idle and luxuriate.

Wherever one group in a community secures large income return without participating in the work of creating those returns, while another group in the same community carries the burden of the work and at the same time receives a meager share of the product of its labor, there, sooner or later, a conflict will arise. The conflict may be peaceful, and long drawn out, like that between the English peasantry and the English landlords, or it may be dramatic, spectacular and bloody like that between the French peasantry and their landlords. The conflict will come, however, because if there is one deep-rooted conviction in the human breast, it is that each person has a right to what he earns. Crude, indeed,

are the definitions, and the ideas and standards for "earning" are incomplete. Always the thought is there in its most general form, carrying with it the possibility of revolt against any economic order which denies to a man the right to his full earnings.

The economic conflict in the United States will eventually develop between property owners and the producers of wealth. A student of current American economic facts is led to the inevitable conclusion that there is only one economic contrast that can be made clear cut and definite—the contrast between service income and property income; between income secured as a return for effort, and income secured in return for property ownership.

The facts in the case point clearly to the distinction between service income and property income. The line of future contrast and of future conflict is the line which separates these two ideas.

The student will search in vain through the annals of economic history for a situation more fraught with destructive possibilities than those now confronting the American people. The recipients of property income (derived from property ownership) and of service income (paid for the expenditure of effort) face each other and prepare for the conflict. Those who have put forth the effort, declare their right to the products of that effort. Those who own property hold fast to their property and to the prerogatives which are inseparable from them.

Law, custom, and business practice have made property income a first charge on industry. There can be no considerable readjustment of income values until the pre-eminent position of property is overbalanced by some social action.

The present tendency should greatly increase the total amount of property income and the proportion of property income paid with each passing decade. Land values should continue to rise; as population grows

denser, demand for land increases, and methods of using land are perfected. The returns to capital (the interest rate) show every indication of advancing. It certainly will not decrease in the near future.

Meanwhile the immortalization of capital proceeds apace. The day when capital could be easily dissipated has passed away. Accounting systems, insurance devices, depreciation funds, boards of directors, and trusteeships conserve capital, reduce risks, distribute dangers, and in general, provide against misadventures for which interest, at least in part, is supposed to be a recompense. When once created, capital does not disappear. Instead, every conceivable method has been devised to perpetuate it. It may even add to itself, as it frequently does, when earnings, instead of being used for the payment of dividends, are reinvested and turned directly into new capital.

The workers, meanwhile, are living, for the most part, a hand-to-mouth existence, successful if they are able to maintain health and keep up appearances. Against the value of the products which their energy creates, is charged the property incomes for which the labor of some one must pay. Today, the producers of wealth are saddled with an enormous property income charge which increases with each passing year—increases far faster than the increase in the population—and which, from its very nature, cannot be reduced, but must be constantly augmented.

Were there no protests from the producers of wealth, the future for capital would, indeed, be a bright one. With increasing stability, increasing safety, decreasing risks, an increasing interest rate, and increasing land values, the property owners might face a future of unalloyed hopefulness.

Fortunately, no such situation exists. On the contrary, there is every indication that, with the passing years, the producers of wealth will file a protest of ever increasing volume against an economic system which automatically gives to those who already have.

While the spirit of protest grows in intensity, the form remains a matter which future years alone may determine. An appeal to the available facts leads to the conclusion that the most effective protest the producers can make will be based on a clear recognition of the distinction between service income and property income. Shall the economic world decide that only those who expend effort shall share in the wealth which is the result of that effort? Shall the economic world decide that each person expending effort is entitled to all the value for which his effort is responsible—no more and no less? Shall the economic world set its stamp of approval on effort, and its stamp of disapproval on parasitism, by turning the income from activity into the hands of workers, and denying income to all others? Has the time arrived when a few may no longer live in idleness upon the products created by those who give their lives to labor? Shall not the social blessing be bestowed upon those who labor and the social curse be hurled upon the idler and the wastrel? Lo! these many years has mankind looked forward to a day when economic justice could prevail. Is not this the day and this new century the seed-ground for this new idea?

Who shall say? Who but those who carry the burden of production, and are bound by the bonds of economic necessity to the tread-mill of toil?

The hope of America lies in its workers. To them the nation owes its existence. Upon them rests the possibility of continued growth. The worker must be encouraged and the idler penalized.

Pay should be a reward for work; not for ownership which leads to idleness.

THE I. W. W. PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto: "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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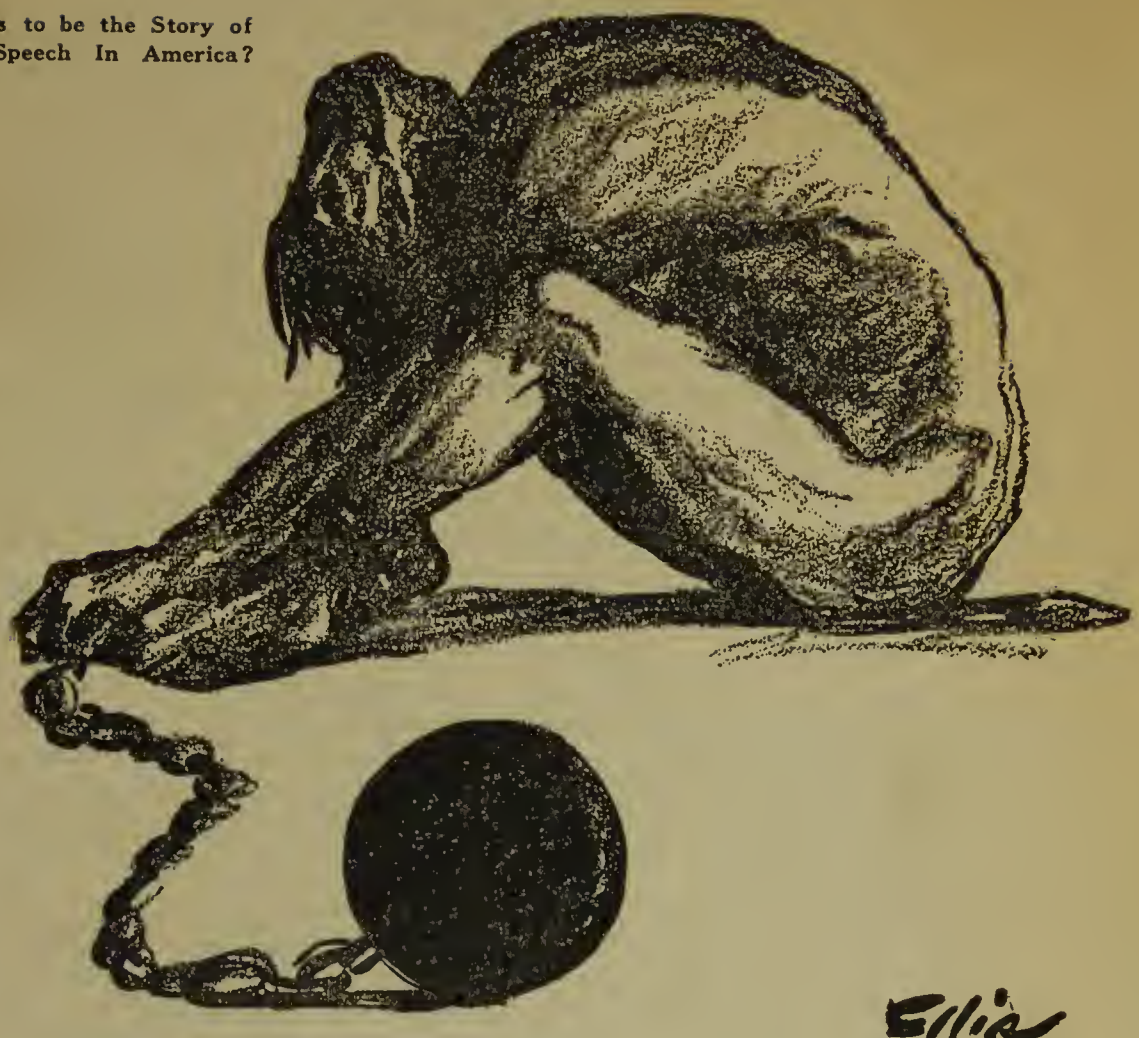
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Is This to be the Story of Free Speech In America?



Public Opinion

Where Does it Stand on the Question of Amnesty of Political Prisoners?

Do you know that there are working men—right here in the U. S. A.—in prison for their ideas? Read what editorial writers on our leading newspapers and magazines have to say on the subject.

Printed in U. S. A.

Foreword

The demand for the release of political prisoners becomes more insistent every day. The first few voices raised in behalf of amnesty could scarcely be heard above the tumult and shouting of the war. But they were brave voices and refused to be silenced by indifference, misrepresentation or arrogant disregard.

It was not primarily a question of sympathy for the unfortunate workingmen who were imprisoned by the Government in 1917. It was a question of whether or not these men had received justice under the law. If, in the heat of war passion, injustice had been done, many people believed such injustice should be corrected in the light of cool reason and sane judgment.

The first half-smothered demand for amnesty has now become a clarion call. It is a thing that is arousing the entire nation. The jailing of war-dissenters, at one time looked upon as a national necessity, is now considered a national disgrace. Conservative citizens, heretofore apathetic, are joining in the fight for amnesty feeling that the vindictive punishment of a minority for unpopular opinions endangers the dearly-bought right of every American to express freely the convictions of his mind.

Many things have worked together to produce this result: the bitter period of persecution that preceded the arrests, the length of time the men were held in jail awaiting trial, (in some cases over two years), the irregularity and unfairness that characterized the trials themselves and the unequal and savagely long sentences, (ranging up to twenty years) that were inflicted during the war-hysteria.

Men and women in the United States are sick of such things. They are impatient with the idea of persecution—especially persecution for opinion's sake. They want the old concept of justice to prevail that made America honored among the nations. They want to know why political prisoners were not freed here as they were freed years ago in war-torn Europe.

It will be noted that the demand for amnesty does not come from the "sentimentalists" and "sob sisters" of the press but mainly from substantial conservative or liberal publications. Nor is this demand confined to a single group, class or district. It is general. Important editors of every shade of political, social and religious persuasion have put aside differences to unite upon this issue.

Surely the editorials on the following pages indicate a cumulative mass of public opinion that cannot comfortably be overlooked.

Publicity Department,
GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,
Chicago.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

PUBLIC OPINION

WHERE DOES IT STAND ON THE QUESTION OF AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS?

The following editorials—most of them excerpts—were compiled from a huge number of similar statements from the metropolitan newspapers and magazines of America. A few from the liberal, religious and labor press are included also. The editorials offered below are indicative of numerous others that do not appear.

TRADITIONS

From BOSTON DAILY GLOBE

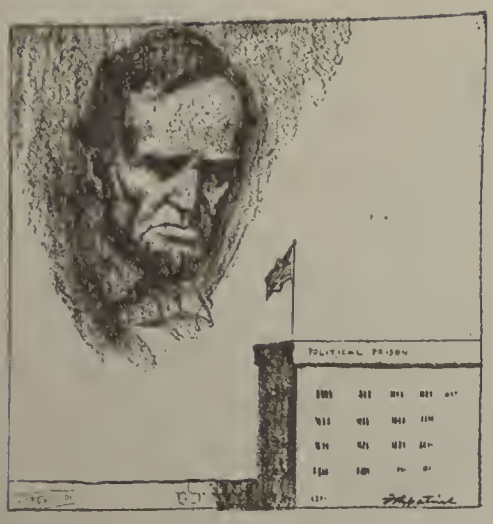
In Leavenworth Penitentiary are political prisoners, sentenced to serve terms ranging as high as 20 years. They were charged with having conspired to hinder the United States Government in its conduct of the war against Germany. Their "conspiracy," boiled down, seems to have amounted to little more than expressing their opposition, by voice and in print, to war in general and to the late war in particular.

There is a general impression that the Espionage act, passed during the war, has been repealed. Such is not the case. It is still in effect; only it is not enforcible in peace time. But if war were declared by the United States, say, on Mexico or Haiti, it woud automatically come into force again. This means that anyone expressing disapproval of such a war, even in private conversation, would become liable to 20 years' imprisonment and $20,000 fine.

Such a law is a sharp break with the tradition of American liberties. If it had been in force during the Mexican War, Abraham Lincoln would have been liable to 20 years in jail, for he expressed his disapproval of that war in no uncertain terms. If such a law had been in force in 1812 a large proportion of the blue-bloods of New England would have had to go to jail. Every member of the celebrated Hartford Convention would have been just as guilty as these members of the I. W. W. in Leavenworth Penitentiary—including George Cabot, the ancestor of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, for he presided over that assembly. Our Governor of Massachusetts in 1812 would, under the Espionage act, have had to go to jail, for he also denounced that war.

Lincoln himself got through the Civil War, a much more desperate struggle for us than this last one, without any such law as the Espionage act.

England, far more desperately beset in the late war than



NOT HIS POLICY
—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

ourselves, passed no such panicky legislation and imposed no sentences on such war offenders as ours of more than six months. All her political prisoners were long ago released.

Why are not ours released? What has got into us? The detention of these men in jail is certainly not due to any lingering war sentiment, for most of the German spies and dynamiters were released long ago. Only a short time since, one of the most notorious of them, Captain Robert Fay, who attempted to blow up a munition ship in New York Harbor in 1916 was freed. These German spies were caught red-handed in acts of genuine conspiracy or actual violence. They are released. Our own fellow-countrymen are serving sentences of from 10 to 20 years. This incongruity is ghastly.

The war hysteria has passed. Things which looked one way in 1917 look very differently now. It is due our self-respect as a justice-loving people to rectify a situation which does our reputation for fair dealing no credit.

AN UNFORTUNATE TONE

From PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN

Other nations, passing the war period, have released their political prisoners. Even though in the case of the United States, the prisoners were chiefly offenders against the draft laws, the Government might well be equally generous, four years after the close of the war. In the case of several of the men, guilt was merely of a constructive participation in the alleged conspiracy and plain justice pleads for commutation.

THE HEART OF A GEORGIAN

From ATLANTA GEORGIAN

What a depressing thought it is that this great country of ours—the mightiest and most magnificent in all the world—should persist in incarcerating these so-called "political prisoners" when every other country on earth engaged in the World War released its prisoners of the sort long ago—many of them, too, far more offensive in what they did and said than any of these misguided and unfortunate "political prisoners" of our own were, or, in the very nature of things, could have been.

FRIGHTENED OR CRUEL?

By DR. FRANK CRANE

In DES MOINES, IOWA, CAPITAL

In America of all places! Political prisoners still languish in confinement.

General Amnesty proclamations were issued by Italy on Nov. 19, 1918, by France on Oct. 24, 1919, by Belgium on Oct. 31, 1919, and by Canada on Dec. 30, 1919. British prisoners had all been given short sentences which ended not long after the armistice.

For nearly three years the United States has been the only country too frightened or too cruel to release its political prisoners.

It must be that our Government is too cruel. If we were afraid of these men who are accused of nothing but the expression of opinions during the wartime, we surely would not have set free those others who were convicted of dynamiting and burning. And we have turned loose all of the wreckers.

Only the critics of our course in the war remain incarcerated.

It is rather startling to think that our Government should be so vain of its war behavior, and so sensitive to remarks made years ago, that it cannot bear to restore their Constitutional rights to these much-punished men.

Perhaps, however, it is not fear and it is not cruelty that ails us, but a tertium quid. Perhaps we are just plain stupid. Just logy and cloddish.

For there are many sins we attribute to active malice which are really committed by inactive indifference and vacuity.

More people are damned by things they don't do than by things they do.

It is lack of exercise that invites disease, lack of study that makes ignorance, lack of love that destroys families, and lack of thrift that creates poverty.

In fact, the pitiable after-war condition of the world is not so much to be blamed upon what the Turks are doing as upon what America is not doing.

And very probably these political prisoners are rotting in jail simply because it is nobody's business, and we are content to sit on our porch and smoke our pipe in smug comfort rather than take the trouble to cross the street to do a humane act.

In the Parable of the Last Judgment those who were sent away into everlasting punishment, as you will find if you read the story carefully, were not those who had DONE something frightful, but those who had NOT done something thoughtful.



STILL IN THE DARK AGES
—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

RELEASE THEM ALL

From NEW YORK POST

It is too late for us to do what we ought to have done with reference to our political prisoners. Nearly five years have passed since the signing of the armistice. We cannot undo the record. But it is not too late to finish the process by a stroke. It is not too late to abandon with respect to the remaining prisoners the unworthy policy of doling out commutations from time to time and to adopt regarding them the larger policy which it would have better accorded with our ideals to adopt at the outset regarding all their fellows. If Senator Pepper is correct, we are depriving men of their liberty because of their mere opinions with reference to a state of affairs that no longer exists. In any event we are pursuing a policy far less liberal than the policy pursued by nations which we would emphatically refuse to admit to enjoy greater freedom than we enjoy.

It is an anomalous position for the United States to occupy. The President can end it by a word. It is his duty to say that word.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

From THE SURVEY

The official statement which accompanied the President's action drew a distinction between the I. W. W.'s convicted at Sacramento and the other political prisoners. The Sacramento defendants, it was said, were not convicted for mere expressions of opinion, but for acts of property destruction and for inciting others to acts of violence. With this view Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania disagrees. He has made an exhaustive study of the records of all the I. W. W. cases and has recommended to the President that all of the prisoners, including the Sacramento group, be pardoned. He agrees that there is a technical difference between the situation of the cases, due to the fact that the evidence in the Sacramento case could not be reviewed by the Appellate Court, but he insists that there is no moral distinction and that all should be treated alike. In such technical matters lay opinion is perhaps out of place, but we cannot help recalling that not long ago, the Department of Justice said about all the I. W. W. prisoners what it now says about the Sacramento group. Senator Pepper's report should move the President to have the matter sifted to the bottom and to rectify any mistakes which have been made by the pardoning

machinery in the Attorney General's office. To do less than this will be to do less than justice demands. . . . The widespread feeling that the offenders against the Espionage Act who languish in our federal prisons are political prisoners and not common criminals persists and grows deeper with each passing month. Five governors, eleven college presidents and enough other prominent citizens to command attention in every section of our national life have presented a new petition to the President urging the release of these men. In it they say that "adherents of the most divergent schools of thought and politics have joined together in asking the release of all the remaining free-speech prisoners," an expression, repeated in another part of the document, with which they clearly oppose the view adopted by the President's advisers that these men are guilty of acts of moral turpitude. But the petitioners in this case commit a curious error in stating as one of their motives the "belief that the United States should not stoop to the methods of Old World despotism in suppressing free speech." The fact is that all European governments, whether we regard them as democratic or despotic, have long since set free their war-time prisoners of this class . . . Impatience with the course pursued is spreading to more conservative circles and there is increasing pressure of public opinion on the administration to delay no longer in meeting the issue which these political cases—all of them—present.

NONE WAS A SPY—PROFITEERS STILL FREE

From THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Persons who committed overt acts against this government are out of jail. A certain woman committed the overt act of teaching young men how to impair their eyesight in order to get exempted from the draft. She is out. Two men committed the overt act of selling their influence to obtain exemptions of young men by a certain draft board. They are out. The men who are still in jail are men who in virtually every case did nothing against the war except talk—or belong in silence to an organization which had some leaders who talked.

But these men were labor men and the organization to which they belonged was a labor organization. No shipbuilder who robbed the Shipping Board during the war is in jail. The food profiteers who paid fines for violating the Lever law are now getting their fines paid back to them by the government. The Attorney General has not yet handed a prison cell to a single one of all the numerous capitalists who have been repeatedly charged by the auditors of the War Department with having conspired to defraud the government on war-time contracts.

The capitalists who did things that were unpatriotic are out. The 'radicals' who said things that were unpatriotic are in. If the unpatriotic capitalists and the unpatriotic 'radicals' were in cells together, the government would look impartial. Today it looks partisan.. Today the 'radicals' are able to say to the striking coal miners and to the striking railroad shopmen:

"Look! The government imprisons war-time offenders who represent labor. It does nothing to war-time offenders who represent capital. Are you going to submit your grievances in this strike to any arbitration by any such government?"

That is the importance of these political prisoners who are still in jail. As war-time dangers to the invincible armies of this Republic they are a joke. As peace-time dangers to the reputation of the government for impartiality between labor and capital, they are a genuine and a serious menace. It would pay us to pay them to leave their jails and go home.

WHICH THE WORSE CRIME

From THE SIOUX CITY TRIBUNE

The political prisoners, who are still incarcerated and to whom no promise of early freedom has been given, at most only talked. Some of them did not even do that,—just belonged to organizations whose patriotism was questioned. These other chaps and the host of others who have already been freed after conviction of war fraud charges undoubtedly took the safer course. They used whatever crooked means that came to hand to get all they could of the money the government was spending so freely, without a qualm of conscience that the fighting men were being made the special victims of their criminal greed.

With the charges all fairly presented it would be interesting to know which crimes the American people would vote the graver.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

From THE BALTIMORE MORNING SUN

The President signalized his departure on his transcontinental trip by an act of justice and mercy which, though long delayed, is to be commended as better late than never.

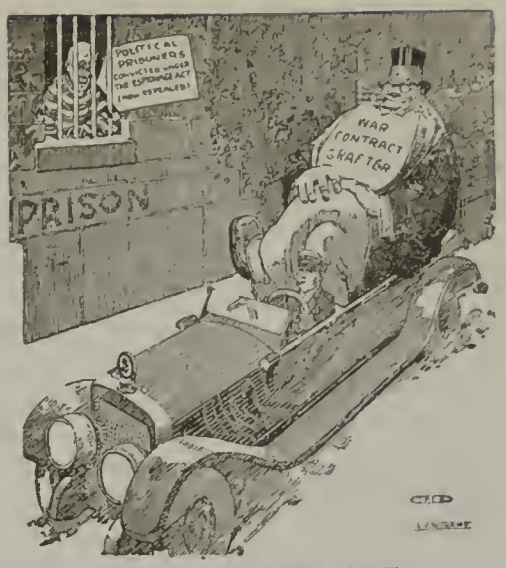
FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS

United States Proved Itself Most Intolerant and Tyrannical Government During the War

From THE BOSTON AMERICAN

So long as this Republic lasts it will bear on its escutcheon a mark of shame for the brutality with which men who opposed the late war and had the courage to say so were treated. With all our vaunting about our equality before the law, about our American democracy, about the rights guaranteed us under our free Constitution, we proved during the war to have had the most intolerant and tyrannical government among all the nations that fought in the war on either side. Our constitutional safeguards proved to be rotten threads. They protected us in nothing against the hysteria of the people excited by the war profiteers and big business and the crookedness of public officials under the control of these aggressive profiteering minorities. We proved we were the most excitable, emotional people among the allies; that we had not yet learned, with all our political ex-

perience, tolerance of opinion. Our courts gave the most savage sentences given by any of the countries in the war against those who opposed the war. The very life of Great Britain was at stake during the war. A few miles separated her from the enemy. Yet her longest sentences for offenses which were alleged against these American political prisoners was SIX MONTHS.



ON THE OUTSIDE
—Williams, Washington Times.

In Germany the Socialist party was a powerful party and the radical Socialists were a powerful body. The leader of these Socialists denounced the war, denounced the government, denounced the Emperor and urged his followers to refuse to fight. He was given only three years, while men in America, who were in no position to do the slightest harm by even the wildest talk of which they were capable and who as a matter of fact indulged in no wild talk that had a tendency even to be harmful, were imprisoned for twenty years. Not only that, but they were imprisoned alongside of murderers and thieves and highwaymen. These men against whose character not a whisper ever had been raised, are still serving their sentences.

The liberal element of this country, the intelligent element, the patriotic element, will not rest until as much of the shame of these sentences as can be removed by promptly freeing these men has been removed.

A PRISON FOR YOUR THOUGHTS

From TOLEDO NEWS BEE

Were they living today, would Abraham Lincoln and Daniel Webster be in prison for their independent thoughts questioning the recent war? Senator Borah thinks they would be.

"Liberty means the right to express oneself," remarked Borah in the course of a meeting which called upon the President to release political prisoners. "If a man thinks a war is unjust or improvident, it is his absolute right to say so."

But the Department of Justice doesn't concede that point, altho the constitution promises it. So political prisoners are still languishing in penitentiaries for their thoughts.

OUR POLITICAL PRISONERS

From NEW BEDFORD (MASS.) STANDARD

Every belligerent nation, save the United States, has released its political prisoners of war. It is high time that a nation that has always prided itself upon standing for freedom of belief and speech should follow in the steps of Europe.

AMNESTY

From EMPORIA (Kan.) GAZETTE

Every other country that participated in the war has long since freed prisoners convicted of obstructing the war and the draft. In the days following the Civil War the American government released its political prisoners, and men convicted as these men were, immediately after the war.

The clamor to have these prisoners of the late war held came largely from persons who wished to make their own patriotism obvious. Patriotism like any other virtue, is most dependable when it is least advertised by its possessor.

WHY AMNESTY MATTERS

From THE NATION

Something very definite and important will have been lost by the American people if they persist in regarding amnesty as a matter of mercy or at best a grudging recognition that to release a few prisoners may silence an annoying clamor. Much of the hope for the future depends upon a clear recognition that since "heresy is the growing point of society" it is socially disastrous to punish it by legal penalties. All progress begins in a protest against generally accepted opinion, and the menace of the prophet or pioneer—even if in particular instances his theories do not stand the test of practice—is not comparable to the menace of the demagogue who caters to popular passion and ancient taboos. Particularly in an age and a country where schools, printing press, moving pictures, sound amplifiers are so many means for the regimentation of minds, and democracy is interpreted not as an incentive to think for oneself but as a constraint to think like one's neighbors, it is important to insist in season and out of season that a society which punishes heretics as American punishes her political prisoners is a society which is committing slow suicide.

One reason for hostility to amnesty is the fact that the critic of war is the critic of the social order. There may be peace with Germany, there is not peace within the social order, and our political prisoners are probably not confined as much for fear of what they may do as for anger for what they have done. It is very hard for a dominant class to recognize that not mercy or even justice but sound social policy requires toleration of its enemies. Amnesty as an act of mercy has little

social value; as an act of justice it is invaluable. To be unconcerned for the fate of our political prisoners is to invite the settlement of all questions, not by discussion but by relentless conflict between groups which will use their control of political machinery remorselessly against their opponents. It is to invite also the death of that regard for personality which is imperative if we are to escape a mechanized society and a servile state.



A PRISON FOR YOUR THOUGHTS
—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

ACT OF JUSTICE

From THE NEW REPUBLIC

The act of amnesty by which President Harding released twenty-seven political prisoners serving sentence under war-time laws will be received with satisfaction tempered with indignation. What two years ago would have been a bold and generous declaration of good will appears now as a delayed, grudging and rather cowardly measure of reparation. The President has bowed for two years to the truculence of the American Legion and the malevolence of his Attorney General. Now that public opinion under the energetic spurring of Senator Pepper has become enlisted in sufficient force on the other side, the President does what he confessed he should have done and wanted to do two years ago. Meantime the campaign to accomplish in the United States what took place automatically in other countries has occupied the time energy and money of public-spirited people which would certainly have gone into other and constructive forms of public service. The New York Tribune entitles its editorial on the amnesty, An Act of Justice. If it is an act of justice today it was so two years ago. Senator Pepper's report, which the Tribune mentions with respect, was anticipated in the case of the Chicago I. W. W.'s by that of Captain Lanier, the representative of the United States Army at the trial, in an open letter to President Wilson shortly after the conviction. And finally our enthusiasm is chastened by the reflection that there are still twenty-four political prisoners at Leavenworth. The campaign must go on.

COMPLETE THE JOB

From THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

David Starr Jordan said recently: "A law . . . . which makes it possible for men to be sentenced for mere membership in an organization is dangerous and should be removed from the statute books."

There are men in the Leavenworth Federal penitentiary who are there because they were members of an organization which was opposed to the war.

Not a single one of them was shown to have **done** a thing. They simply thought, and expressed their thoughts. And those thoughts happened to be opposed to the general thought upon the subject of the war.

All the European countries had similar hard-minded citizens who refused to run true to form. They, too, were imprisoned. But not a single one of such political prisoners in France, England or Germany is still in prison. They were all released within a year after the armistice.

GOVERNMENTAL APOLOGY IS DUE

From THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT

Over and over again, in hope that the shame of it might burn, the insistent statement is made that the United States lags behind the whole world in giving amnesty to political prisoners. The enemy agents who blew up our factories and docks have been released. Suspect aliens of every degree have been released.

But Americans whose chief fault was that they held a certain economic theory are still in jail. Of all the nations joined in the war on either side, only Russia and the United States continue to use prisons for the punishment of differences of political opinion.

Men were arrested, thrown into jail, railroaded to prison under long sentences, because they had ideas about industry with which others did not agree. Men were arrested because they had ideas about wages which were inconvenient at the moment, and the easiest way to suppress the idea was to have them hauled off to jail. In no case was disloyalty proved; in many cases it was not even charged. Some of the men had not even expressed their distaste for war, a distaste shared by millions of us whom no government would dare touch.

The friends of these men and the believers in liberty everywhere are making one last effort to get American decency into action. Their fear is that a few of the more favored men may be released as a sop to public opinion and the rest forgotten. The very possibility of such an occurrence, the very possibility of such a fear under any system of Justice, is significant in the extreme.

If Justice has become subject to mass movements of opinion, it is because of the extreme possibilities for injustice in the hands of everybody, from town marshals upward, during the war. What the friends of the prisoners want is their liberty, but what we as citizens should also desire is an exposure of the methods by which these men lost their liberty.

Worst of all was the deliberate and diabolical use of the war-passion and the war-time power to satisfy private grudges.

There is no doubt now that under cover of the war it was deliberately planned to use the confusion to strike down certain attempts at industrial independence; there is no doubt now that the program which began in wholesale arrests of certain classes of American workers, ended in the deflation of the currency which threw wages down and then brought unemployment.

Let the political prisoners go free.

INCREDIBLE

From HEARST'S INTERNATIONAL

If anybody asks us how an experienced, self-governing country like this can endure the spectacle of the way Messrs. Daugherty and Harding treat our political prisoners, we simply give up. It cannot be fear. It must be either stupidity or the cheapest kind of politics. They can mumble something about the red peril's lurking under the dining-room table, and about respect for law, and say "we will take up each case on its merits about the time Hades freezes over," but an adult can scarcely listen to such meanderings. The American people, in its infinite wisdom, stands for such Tsaristic and Kaiseristic and anti-freedom acts by the John Marshall now in the attorney general's office, and by our own benign ruler in the White House, so who are we that we should expect our howling to avail?

Medieval, indeed, is the savagery with which our statesmen are keeping people in jail for thought. Nevertheless, criticism should be focused on the intellectual class in America which rests supine. As Ralph Chaplin, one of the prisoners for opinion, himself now rotting in Leavenworth Penitentiary, puts it, we should not mourn the dead, nor yet the captives,

> "But rather mourn the apathetic throng—
> The cowed and meek—
> Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong
> And dare not speak!"

FRESH AIR BLOWS AWAY HOT AIR

From COLLIER'S WEEKLY

We are still listening for President Harding to say about the political prisoners in Leavenworth words as bold and ringing as those that Governor Al Smith of New York spoke in pardoning Big Jim Larkin:

"I pardon James Larkin, not because of agreement with his views, but despite my disagreement with them. . . .

"Our State rests too firmly upon the devotion of its citizens to require for its protection an imprisonment of five years for the mere expression of erroneous or even illegal political doctrine unaccompanied by an overt act."

After all, political radicalism is the cry of the outs against the ins. And it is silly as well as dangerous to silence the outs



—Talburt, San Francisco News.

SICK MEN

"Many of them (political prisoners in federal penitentiaries since the war) would have been released by this time if it had not been for the illness of the attorney-general, who has been giving these applications his personal attention. I asked him to do so, and have not been disposed to a n n u l the request."—President Harding.

James Quigley and Caesar Tahib, political prisoners, are languishing in penitentiaries, their health failing, due to active tuberculosis. They may not live out the year, doctors report.

Harry M. Daugherty, attorney-general of the United States, was ill from a lesser malady. He languished at Palm Beach. He is better now.

—San Francisco News.

or to make martyrs of them. The best thing is to let them blow off steam.

We commend to Washington the classic example of the English policeman in Hyde Park who moved a traffic-obstructing anarchist off the sidewalk with the admonition: "You can 'ang the King and Queen just as well hon the grassplot hover there."

AL SMITH PARDONS JIM LARKIN

Editorial By GLENN FRANK
In the CENTURY MAGAZINE

We should long since have granted amnesty to all political prisoners who were imprisoned during the war for the utterance of radical ideas that ran counter to majority opinion and the war-time purposes of the Government. If Governor Smith follows his pardon of Larkin with pardons for the other political prisoners in the State of New York and succeeds in reversing the un-American and czarist policies that Mr. Lusk and his associates fathered, he will set an example which should be followed by every Governor in the United States and by the president of the United States.

The fact is that conservatives have just as much at stake as radicals have in the preservation of the complete freedom of thought and speech. I believe that America has far more to fear from the violence of repression than it has to fear from the violence of revolt. The dictatorship of the reactionary is as undesirable as the dictatorship of the radical. Forcible governmental repression of minority thought and minority utterance, as Lord Macaulay long ago suggested, takes away from the rattlesnake the rattle by which he warns you of his approach, but leaves it with the sting by which it kills you. It is of vital public importance that, as a people, we force ourselves to think clearly upon this issue of the freedom of speech, press, assembly and instruction, for this problem is coming more and more to the fore. The temporary intolerance of war-time may be on

the wane, but hard upon its heels are coming new moods and movements that threaten to effect a permanent organization of bigotry on a national scale.

I believe that progress depends more upon our safeguarding the rights of heresy than upon the protection of orthodoxy. Every forward step in history, in the very nature of the case, had to begin with an attack upon the then existing order. Had effective means for preserving the status quo existed from the dawn of history, instead of our today living amid surroundings of culture and safety, we should probably be chasing one another through the forest and drinking blood from the scraped skulls of our victims, while the head of some primitive Patrick Henry afforded a delectable dish for some embryo censor.

FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS

From THE NEW YORK EVENING POST

Was the United States ever in as dire danger from the enemy as Italy, France, England or Belgium? Is there any reason why American political offenders should stay in jail longer than British, Belgian, Italian or French political offenders? To state these questions is to answer them. We were never in as much danger as our allies. Our Government is safer now than are their Governments. Yet the United States continues to hold political prisoners long after the jails of Western Europe have been cleared of such offenders.

Our allies issued general amnesty proclamations on the following dates: Italy, November 19, 1918; France, October 24, 1919; Belgium, October 31, 1919; Canada, December 30, 1919. British sentences were short and terminated soon after the armistice. "For nearly three years," to quote the Joint Amnesty Committee, "the United States has had the unenviable distinction of being the only country to keep prisoners of this (political) character in jail."

This is shame and argument enough; the case might be rested here. But the American people should know that all the German spies and agents imprisoned by our Government during the fevered days of the war have long since been released, and that the seventy-six remaining prisoners stand convicted not of deeds dangerous to life and property, but merely of expressions of opinion against the Government's course in the war. Their offenses were not crimes per se, but actions not criminal in peace which became criminal by definition during an emergency long since passed. Whatever the attitude of the imprisoned individuals, all who are held simply on the ground of words uttered, written or circulated four or five years ago, in the extraordinary circumstances of those distraught days, should be released forthwith. Keeping them in prison this long has been a mixture of cruelty and folly unparalleled in American history.



"GRANT GARLANDED VICTORY WITH MAGNANIMITY."—PRES. HARDING

—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

PRISONERS OF WAR

From THE CHICAGO HERALD AND EXAMINER

Human beings are still in prison in the United States for no other crime than the expression of their political opinions.

Technically, of course, they are incarcerated because they spoke words during the war which in the opinion of the court tended to obstruct the draft.

We make no apology for the men who made these utterances. We do not indorse what they said nor approve of their conduct. But two wrongs never made one right, and it is just as wrong for the government to keep these men in durance as it was for these men to speak as they did.

Even granting that these men are dangerous citizens, the most dangerous place for them to be is in jail.

When you put a little heap of gunpowder on a rock in the open air and touch a match to it, all that will result is a little poof. Tamp the same amount of gunpowder into a steel shell and touch it off with a spark and you get a deadly explosion.

To keep these men in prison is a mistake. If they were liberated they would be comparatively harmless, no matter how they talked. So long as they are confined they are dangerous, no matter whether they are guilty or not.

These men should be released, not so much for their own sake as for the sake of the rest of us.

WOULD IT HURT TO BE HONEST?

From NEW YORK AMERICAN

Governments are only slowly coming under the rules of morality. Therefore, not too much is to be expected, nor too soon, of even the American Government.

Comparisons between Europe's and America's treatment of so-called political prisoners have been none too complimentary to the United States. Whereas all such Europeans have been free now nearly four years, we still harbor in jail near two score.

Perhaps that only means that Europe is nearer to its next war than we and that we, on the other hand, want to keep some living souvenirs of "the war to end war." But, seriously, we are shamed by our own record of remissness and vengefulness, when only the item of Germany's treatment of Karl Liebknecht is recalled. He received a sentence of three years for appealing

to soldiers on the streets of Berlin to desert the colors!

Among all our "political prisoners" there is no instance of war-time opposition to Government to match this. And yet twenty-three of these men from Sacramento are still held as hostages by Uncle Sam and given free board and lodging at Leavenworth.

Would it hurt the Administration to be honest on this score? Of course, it would!

The Government can not afford to admit that this particular group of twenty-three is no more dangerous or offensive than the hundreds of wartime culprits already released.



THE LAST VESTIGE OF OLD RUSSIA

—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The Government can not afford to admit that these prisoners from Sacramento are really held not for wartime crime, but for membership in the I. W. W., and because of the industrial war now going on in California between the I. W. W.'s and their militant oponents.

Nevertheless these remaining "political prisoners" should be released. If, thereafter, they commit offenses to life or property, the peace-time statutes should be strong and explicit enough to punish them.

SENTENCED FOR LIFE

From THE EVENING BULLETIN, Philadelphia, Pa.

Two of the group of so-called "political prisoners"—actually prisoners on conviction for having violated the Espionage Act—at Leavenworth are dying. Victims of the horrors of the inhuman Calfornia pen for months while awaiting trial, they contracted tuberculosis, and there is no challenge on the part of the medical authorities at Leavenworth that they cannot live out their ten-year terms. They are under sentence for life, and that life is to be shortened by reason of their confinement.

There could be no violation of the integrity, nor any derogation of the dignity of law, were mercy shown to Edward Quigley and Caesar Tahib. Even the law may properly soften its stern mandate in the valley of the shadow of death.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

From COLUMBUS, O., JOURNAL

The enlightened, liberal sentiment of the country must be with President Harding in his release of 27 of the wartime political prisoners and against him in his refusal to restore liberty to 21 others. What evidence or arguments prompted

the discrimination against the 21 is not made plain but we doubt their disinterestedness and validity. These men's offenses were wartime offenses, criminal only because the nation was at war when they were committed, and the war ended more than four and one-half years ago.

We are not sobbing over the individuals but the principle that one man is as good as another under the law in this country is inestimably precious. It is the keystone of American liberty. Let us fight for it always and safeguard it as best we may. To stand always for that principle comes as near as anything to being 100 per cent Americanism.

CAT AND MOUSE "PARDONS"

From THE BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE

It required a distinct act of Parliament to apply the "cat-and-mouse" idea to releases for militant suffragists from British prisons. The act was passed. The "cat-and-mouse" plan was tried. We know of no constitutional provision under which Congress has been empowered to invest the Executive pardoning power with such elastic after-control of the acts and the opinions of persons granted Executive clemency. We rather doubt the validity of later arrests "by Executive order." Indeed, we are quite sure President Harding doubts it. No attempt has been made to rearrest Eugene Debs, who is sufficiently defiant at all times.

If all political prisoners, all persons in cells for the opinions which differed with the opinions of Congress and the President when war was going on, had been released when Harding became President thirty months after armistice had ended the war, sane believers in freedom of opinion would have applauded the course taken. "Inter arma leges silent" does not apply to peace times. Not one of the "draft discouragers" had been more explicit than James Russell Lowell when we were at war with Mexico, or more explicit than fine old Tom Corwin of Ohio, when he said on the floor of the Senate: "If I were a Mexican, as I am an American, and hostile troops were landed on my soil, I would welcome them with bloody hands to hospitable graves." No pacifist had been more explicit than Benjamin Franklin when he said: "There never was such a thing as a good war or a bad peace." The logic of history was all for a general release.

Now after the curious "cat-and-mouse" pardons, twenty-two political prisoners are still wearing stripes, treated as criminals,—and with long terms imposed in the heat of the war hysteria hanging over them. The striking thing about it all is that the offense thus punished was failing to conceal honest opinions. Hundreds of thousands who held the same opinions were discreetly silent. Yet in the older days of a free republic our fathers thought of the concealment of freeman's opinions as pretty close to cowardice that ought to be despised.

THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

From SIOUX CITY TRIBUNE,



WHEN THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR COMES!

AMERICAN LEGION OFFICER: "That's where we keep the boys who didn't believe in our late misunderstanding."

—Art Young, in the "NATION.

The appeal of 50 bishops of the Episcopal church for the release of the so-called political prisoners now in federal penitentiaries should go a long way to convince the government and the public of the advisability of an amnesty. The house of bishops of the Episcopal church is a body both safe and sane. It is above any suspicion of dangerous radicalism or lack of patriotism. What so many of its members advocate may be taken on faith as not likely to subvert this nation or its institutions.

It is rather ironical that America, "the land of the free and the home of the brave," should have taken the attitude it has in this matter. During the conflict, other countries, just as we did, restricted the right of free speech. But they looked upon that restriction as an evil, though a necessary one. Just as we did, they imprisoned those whose utterances were likely to hinder the prosecution of the war. But they did so in order to silence those utterances, whereas we did so as a kind of punishment.

PROFITEERS AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

From THE CINCINNATI POST

"Many of them (political prisoners) would have been released by this time if it had not been for the illness of the Attorney General, who had been giving these applications his personal attention. I asked him to do so and have not been disposed to annul the request."

Daugherty is back on the job now—has been for several weeks. The only news of his activity on behalf of prisoners asking for clemency so far is the following item:

"Prison sentences of Paul and Fred Wolf of Quincy, Ill., convicted of war frauds, have been commuted by President Harding to half their original length, it was announced today at the White House."

The Wolfs went to prison because they were caught cheating the United States by selling the government worthless materials. For them, a White House pardon.

The political prisoners were sent to prison because their opinions did not agree with those of the majority during the war, for most of them a case of honest difference of opinion. For their opinions, they rot in federal penitentiaries.

LOGICAL

From THE WICHITA, KANSAS, EAGLE

The wisest political action that the present administration can take would be the releasing, unconditionally, of all political prisoners, without exception, at once, and as quietly as possible.

MR. DEBS IS NOT REPENTANT

From YUMA, ARIZONA, SUN

The country is entering upon the fifth year since the armistice, and the folly of heavy sentences imposed by excitable Judges on citizens whose only crime was a more or less academic disapproval of war becomes daily more apparent. Mr. Harding and Mr. Daugherty have admitted the unnecessary severity of a majority of these sentences by commuting them. Why they were not all cut short when the separate treaty of peace was signed or when the Espionage Act was repealed it is difficult to explain.

AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

From ERIE, PA., POST

There are those who refuse to admit the existence of "political" prisoners. The offenders, they say, have been convicted of crime. This position, we believe, makes too legalistic an interpretation of the facts. The political offender must necessarily be branded as a criminal before he can be confined. The fact remains that he has actually been convicted of some expressed or implied opposition to the war purposes of government.

Amnesty is desirable because there is no advantage in further imprisonment, because the existence of a large group of political prisoners is excellent propaganda for the discontented, and because it is one of the first characteristics of a free people, loving liberty, to display tolerance toward those who disagree with it. The amnesty ought not to wait on a Presidential election. It ought to be granted now by the Administration.

AMNESTY IN DRIBLETS

From NEW YORK CITY WORLD

President Harding draws a distinction in discussing his amnesty for twenty-seven political prisoners between the I. W. W. members convicted at Sacramento and all other offenders against the Espionage Law. All except those tried at Sacramento are at liberty, most of them through Executive order. "As to the remaining twenty prisoners convicted at Sacramento," the President explains, "the facts offered in evidence during the trial showed that they were vicious in the extreme.

They were not convicted for mere expressions of opinion. They assisted in the destruction of property necessary to be conserved for the welfare of the people and the protection of the Government."

Senator Pepper, one of the few officials who have examined the records of the Sacramento trial, does not agree with this statement. "The presence of the Sacramento defendants in jail," he asserts, "is a challenge to an American lawyer's loyalty to his profession. * * * The action of the two Appellate Courts, in the Chicago and Wichita cases, in throwing out the sabotage counts in the indictments against the I. W. W., set up a controlling precedent for the Sacramento case. In other words, the Sacramento prisoners should be regarded as serving time only under the Espionage Act count of the indictment, for the expression of opinions against the war. 'Overt acts' alleged against the prisoners under a count of the indictment which has been outlawed should not be held against them."

FREEING THE WAR PRISONERS—WHEN?

From NEW YORK CITY POST

It is shocking to liberal citizens to think that after five years men imprisoned under the espionage act are still in jail. Some are literally rotting there, for two have just been medically certified to be in an advanced stage of tuberculosis. A third, accused of malingering by the authorities, recently suggested that they were mistaken by dying. Charles W. Morse and F. H. Nobbe had no difficulty in getting out of Federal prison on the plea of ill health. Yet we have the best of evidence that many of these war prisoners should never have been put there in the first place.

Very few people really believe that the freeing of these men would endanger American institutions in the slightest degree, while many people, including the Federal Council of Churches, the World War Veterans, and the Federation of Labor, think it would strengthen them by removing a serious stigma upon our national justice.

DAUGHERTY'S DELAY

From SPRINGFIELD, MASS., REPUBLICAN

The political prisoners are dangerous only so long as they remain in prison and enable critics of our form of government to point out contrasts like these. Mr. Daugherty is beyond question the least respected attorney-general the country has had in many years. The President's statement rounds out the testimony that men who are ill and are held to be wrongly convicted have been kept in prison because the attorney-general has been ill. The best of health is to be wished to Mr. Daugherty. But if he cannot get around to these cases, another reason is added to those which have long required his resignation in the public interest.

FREE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

From NEW YORK GLOBE

There are still men serving sentences of from five to twenty years at Leavenworth prison. Many of them have been in jail for five years. All of them are serving sentences for the expression of opinion. The twenty "overt acts" on which they were convicted all consist of printed or written statements.

It is within the power of the President of the United States to free these men. It is not probable that freedom could be secured on the basis of unjust sentences, although there is a grave question as to the sufficiency of the evidence on which convictons were obtained. But there is every reason for freeing these prisoners on grounds of humanity and policy.

Humanity raises the question of punishment for conscience and of the health of the prisoners. No one doubts the necessity of the general policy under which government officials sent these men to prison. A nation at war cannot tolerate interference with its war and in defining interference it must draw the line to leave no question of its own safety. But the war is over, and the nation must consider the nature of the offense. Men willing to suffer for their beliefs may be misled, but if their beliefs do not lead them to violence they are not in the same class as ordinary criminals. The men in question committed no violence. They merely expressed their opinions. The charge was that the war made these opinions dangerous. The war has passed, and it may be assumed that the danger has passed with it. Further imprisonment is unnecessary cruelty. This has been the conclusion of European nations with regard to their political prisoners, who were released within fourteen months of the end of the war.

If the danger of letting such men go free has almost or entirely disappeared with the circumstances which produced it, the danger of keeping them in prison has steadily increased.

THE SHAME OF AMERICA

From ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

History will recite that the United States, which suffered least of all the great countries engaged in the war, showed the least charity toward her political prisoners. Attention has again been directed to the fact that persons convicted of violating wartime laws are still in prison. This is the only country that has not released its political prisoners. It is the darkest blot on our war record.

The worst side of the business is that many of these persons were convicted on evidence which, in peace time, would not warrant a Judge in allowing a case to go to a jury. A large number, in fact, were convicted on the bare ground that they belonged to the I. W. W., when, as Samuel Untermeyer points

out, most of them lived in the Northwest, where they had to belong in order to make a living. That the proof, in a majority of cases, was monstrously flimsy, is the calm judgment of such eminent lawyers as Senators Borah and Pepper and Prof. Felix Frankfurter of Harvard.



THE QUALITY OF JUSTICE
—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Indications that innocent persons have suffered are tragically numerous. That the sentences, ranging from 5 to 20 years, were out of all proportion to such offenses as were committed, is plain. In no case should they be permitted to run any longer. It is unjust and inhuman that men should remain in prison merely for expressing pacifist opinions after confessed German spies, guilty of actual sabotage, have been freed. So long as this condition is unchanged, liberty is a phrase signifying nothing.

OPINION, NOT VIOLENCE

From ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Today in America there may be no Voltaire to "utter a cry of horror," but there are millions of less articulate men and women who see and abhor this manifest injustice. The President alone can supply the remedy. If he fails he will not be held guiltless.

AMERICA'S POLITICAL PRISONERS

From CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Primarily, then, it would seem that there is no longer any justification for keeping men in prison now whose only "crime" was opposition to the war. Such a stand does not in the least involve the issue as to whether or not their incarceration was necessary when the war was in progress. Now that the war has been over almost four years, however, it would appear to be little short of unreasonable to hold to the policy any longer.

The world is in great need of a more charitable sense of things, and America is no exception to this general statement. That the war was a frightful catastrophe none will deny, no matter how great the issues are felt to have been. It is not necessary, however, to condone or ignore certain incidents which occurred when the country was keyed up to an intense state of excitement in every direction. Holding men prisoner four years after the cause of their incarceration has ceased to operate does not militate for that overlooking of wartime anim-

osities and antagonisms which is so vitally necessary today. If, then, for no other reason than that of helping to heal the acerbities of wartime agonies, it must surely be the consensus of many liberal American thinkers that these "political" prisoners should be released.

WHY NOT A GENERAL AMNESTY?

From NEW YORK WORLD

All the war profiteers are out of jail, the Espionage Law is repealed, the war is over, the peace itself, if not over, is at least a good deal worn in places. Those whose treason consisted in selling plans to the enemy or trying to blow up munition ships are free, along with Hardboiled Smith and his assistants in a notorious doughboy prison. Anything in the nature of an outright overt crime the United States can see its way clear to forgive, but when it comes to people with opinions, people who will not say they are sorry, Mr. Daugherty's conscience, which is very delicate, bothers him. He can excuse anything except adherence to principle.

Yet there are certain points which even Mr. Daugherty should be able to see in favor of an amnesty. These men were convicted hastily, in an emergency. Now that the emergency is over it is apparent that there was too much haste for justice; it is apparent also that ideas which were considered dangerous during the war are no longer dangerous. Nothing but government inertia, callousness and lack of understanding keeps these men in Leavenworth.

WAR FRAUDS AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

From CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Such prisoners are still within the walls of the federal penitentiaries of the United States, and not one of them committed an overt act against his government. Every other country which took part in the World War has released its wartime prisoners, literally, years ago. All the enemy spies and agents who tried to wreck the industries and shipping of the country have long since been freed. But America's political prisoners are still incarcerated.

This plea is not made in any critical sense whatever. It is one which the World War Veterans, the Federal Council of Churches, the American Federation of Labor, the Women's International League, and many other organizations have made in months gone by. It is a plea based upon the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees freedom of speech. And it is a plea which, even if for no other reason, should be granted on the ground that justice, which is worthy of the name, must be tempered with mercy.

TWO LUCKY GENTLEMEN

From SAN FRANCISCO CALL AND EXAMINER

Paul and Fred Wolf of Quincy, Illinois, were in the leather goods business during the war. They sold to the government materials that had been condemned as worthless. This was against the law, and a piece of treachery to the soldiers who would wear or use the materials made from this worthless leather. So the government arrested these two gentlemen, tried them in due time, fined Paul Wolf $5000 and sent him to prison for two years, and fined Fred Wolf $10,000 and gave him a sentence of one year.

They are in prison now, and it has just been announced from the White House that their sentences have been commuted to half their original length. The government decided that they had been punished enough. The government wouldn't be injured by their release at this time—because no war is on and they won't be able to sell anything to the army. And the White House assumes that they have learned their lesson.

When they read that many people will be unable to understand why the government should still wish to keep in prison citizens who were conscientiously opposed to war and said so. Among those who "cannot understand" are five governors of states who have just signed a petition asking President Harding to release those who are in prison because they opposed the war. They can't see that these are any more dangerous than men who cheered for the soldiers and then sold them rotten leather for their equipment.

DISGRACE TO THE NATION

From THE DETROIT TIMES

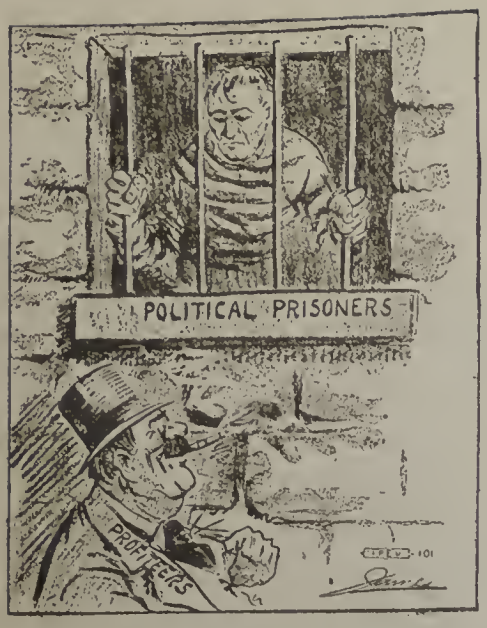
Retention in our prisons of political prisoners whose only misconduct was the exercise of that freedom of speech which is guaranteed under the Constitution and which our forefathers considered the cornerstone of our liberties is a disgrace to the nation.

It makes a mockery of our boasted liberty because in every other country which engaged in the great war the political prisoners have been released long ago.

Our courts did themselves little credit by the hysteria with which they undertook to punish men who dared to express their opinions against the recent war as Lincoln and Webster and others of our great forefathers had expressed their opinions in other wars.

In Italy political prisoners were released one week after the armistice; in France and Belgium in less than a year, and in Canada in less than thirteen months.

In England the longest sentence for public expressions denouncing the war was six months while many of our hysterical judges imposed sentences of twenty years.



"A SUCCESSFUL ADMINISTRATION"—DAUGHERTY

—James, St. Louis Star.

England, on the threshhold of the war, within sight and sound of it, and fighting for her very life, kept her poise, remembered the right of minorities, remembered the virtue of freedom of speech, and kept her sentences down to six months.

We, three thousand miles away from the war, always safe and never with such a vital stake in its results, lost our heads and gave forty times more savage sentences.

Now, four years after the war and long after the other countries have released their prisoners, we are still holding ours.

One of the things that gave this administration its tremendous majority was the revolt of the country against the tyrannical, oppressive and lawless methods of the Wilson administration in its willful attempts to have its own way despite its constitutional restraints.

We ought to end this shame upon our institutions and upon our sense of justice by releasing immediately all political prisoners who were guilty of no act of violence or attempt to obstruct our military preparations or conduct of the war.

PARDON FOR FRAUD; JAILS FOR IDEAS

From READING, PA., LABOR ADVOCATE

Is it strange that Daugherty is well enough to recommend full pardon for war fraud convicts and too ill to do justice to the victims of Woodrow Wilson's "new freedom?" Not at all. The former belong to the same gang of profiteers in whose interest Daugherty and his party believes the government should be run. The only real crime which they committed was to get caught with the goods.

The political prisoners, on the other hand, believed that the American constitution gave them the right to express their convictions and they proceeded to do so. Their opinions were not calculated to embarass a government of, for and by the people, but they were opinions which were distasteful and menacing to the capitalist class of America. Therefore the workers who voiced them were cast into jail.

What has happened to the I. W. W. may also happen to the American Federation of Labor or any other working-class group whose activities become obnoxious to the exploiters of labor.

If the powers that be had a sense of shame they would not dare keep the political prisoners in jail another day.



THIS WAS NO CHILDREN'S CRUSADE
—Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

FOR AMNESTY

From OKLAHOMA LEADER

It is up to the rest of us to to furnish the further developments. This can be done by organizations and by individuals. Organizations can adopt resolutions on the subject and send them to the President and Attorney General Daugherty. Or they can simply instruct their secretaries to write to these men. Individuals can also write to them.

It is a dastardly thing that they should remain in prison when the actual spies have been released long ago—and it is a black disgrace that our country should have lagged behind other countries in this respect. In addition to wanting these men freed, for their own sake, we should therefore insist upon their release for the further reason that we love our country and want to relieve it of this foul ignominy as soon as possible.

AMNESTY

From NEW YORK CALL

We may deserve it or not. We may have reason for what is done or not. The fact remains, that America is looked upon by the humane and intelligent people of England and Italy and Russia as being cruel and despotic. Our treatment of men and women convicted during war—in civil and military courts—of misdemeanors that were war-crimes is unparalleled in any civilized nation, because of our refusal to grant amnesty.

The world marvels at the exhibition in America of official callousness, of what appears to be almost a spirit of revenge in the treatment of political offenders.

PUNISHED LONG ENOUGH

From THE WORKER, Reading, Pa.

The President left the Sacramento prisoners in jail on the ground that they were guilty of overt acts. Testimony to that effect rests on the evidence of two infamous spies unrefuted because the men elected to make only a silent defense. The President's discrimination against these prisoners has been condemned by Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania. At the very least, these men have been punished long enough. We talk

of American progress in humanity; yet our political prisoners have had terms four or five, even ten times as long as those imposed in Europe, during the Great War, or by England during the Napoleonic Wars, or in our own country under the unpopular Alien and Sedition law of 1793 which killed the Federalist Party.

FOREIGN OPINION OF OUR POLITICAL PRISONERS

From NEW YORK CALL

For generations the United States has been known by an alias abroad. In the early days of the republic the assumed name had some measure of justification, at least in the Northern states. We were the "world's greatest democracy." Wilson succeeded in selling this version abroad, although Europeans returning home from this country had for a number of years been disillusioning Europe about us.

Foreign opinion of us has been confirmed by treatment of political prisoners in the United States. Today American "democracy" is the subject of mass meetings of protest in other countries, just as the Czarism of the old Russia was once the subject of similar meetings in many countries. Within the past few months mass meetings have been held in many large cities in England and Scotland with American political prisoners the subject of protest. Similar demonstrations have been held in Holland, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Mexico and other countries.

AN ACT OF JUSTICE

From NEW YORK TRIBUNE

The unconditional release of twenty-two I. W. W. members convicted at the Chicago trials and of three of the Wichita violators of the espionage act will be generally applauded. Some of these men had received twenty-year sentences. All had served a normal five-year term, allowing for the usual commutation for good behavior.

What the President has plainly done is to consider afresh the sentences imposed. There is no question of the justice of the original conviction or of the gravity of the offense. But a five-year term is an extremely heavy sentence. The law has been vindicated. The lesson to the community has been taught. Only for the most serious cases is a longer term to be considered. It is good to know that Mr. Harding is keeping in touch with these cases and is alive to the injustice of permitting a sentence of a vindictive character.

It has been suggested that release in these cases should be made conditional upon an admission of guilt and an expression of regret. The President has properly rejected this view. When an adequate term has been served, having regard to the majesty of the law and the gravity of the offense, release is a simple act of justice and should be granted with no strings attached.

Senator Pepper has greatly aided the cause of these men

by his thorough investigation of the record in their cases and his impartial report upon their status. The Sacramento cases that remain present certain differences owing to the fact that the prisoners refused to plead or make any defense. The degree of their guilt and the sentences properly to be served by them are thus more difficult to determine from the record. The President will doubtless consider their cases as next in order of gravity, and their release will hardly be long delayed.

FREEING POLITICAL PRISONERS

From NEW YORK CALL

Every organization of the workers should get behind the movement for the release of these men, no matter whether they agree with their views or not. The question of free utterance of opinions is always tested by the smaller minorities. He who is not willing that all should be heard is not worthy of himself being heard. As Phillips once said, the society that is not willing to hear its humblest member without molestation is only fit for chains and slavery.

AMNESTY

From LAWRENCE LABOR, Lawrence, Mass.

In the great and powerful republic of the United States, however, we witnessed the disgraceful spectacle of those entrusted with political power so terrified by the protests of the small minority that opposed their war program that wholesale imprisonment for the slightest opposition was the order of the day.

And today after five years seventy-five of these victims of the hysteria of the war remain in prison because the government is afraid to allow them to be at large in the country where they might go on expressing their opposition to the war that was over nearly four years ago.

The fact is that these prisoners are not being held for their opposition to the war at all but are the victims of a conspiracy between industrial overlords and their political tools. A conspiracy to crush a militant section of the labor movement under the cover of war necessity. It is because of their activity in organizing Labor that they are held.

PROPAGANDA

From THE ARBITRATOR

Agitation for release of political prisoners has aroused the President to take action. He says that many of the prisoners would have been released if Daugherty had not been too sick to attend to it. The President's anxiety to do justice is due partly to an appeal from English Radicals for the six British subjects in our prisons and to a resolution by the National Civic Federation requesting the release. The joke of it is that the Civic Federation members did not want the prisoners released but refrained from voting on the resolution and it was passed by a minority on a snap vote.



WILL IT COME TO THIS?

Is America to use the methods of the Middle Ages in punishing the crime of THOUGHT?

If Mr. Parker or any of us were imprisoned five years for expressing our principles, without any act of violence, we might become hostile to the Government.

RELEASE THE WAR PRISONERS

From ZION'S HERALD

It is past time that America should be convalescing from the war fever. Perhaps distorted views and the spirit of vindictiveness are excusable to some extent during a great struggle, when the animal nature of man is stirred and he feels as if all the things he holds dear were in danger. But now that the war is over, is it not incumbent upon us to look facts squarely in the face and act in accordance with reason and conscience?

German prisoners have been released, but these particular offenders incarcerated on the one ground of opposition to the war are still behind the bars. Apparently, they are now being held solely because of radical social and industrial views. Has not the war emergency passed? Are we justified now in continuing the imprisonment of these men because of their espousal of pacifism?

Release the war prisoners!

STILL IN JAIL

From THE CHURCHMAN

Political prisoners are still confined in the jails of the United States. The shame of it is heard around the world. In our news columns this week one of our clergy recites the amazement he encountered in England this summer when those with whom he spoke learned of this fact. No one of the political prisoners still confined here was convicted of acts against life or property; they expressed opinions against the course of the government in the war. Yet every German spy and agent imprisoned during the war has been released. Nearly three years ago the last political prisoners were freed by the Allies. How long must America bear the stigma of her unique cruelty? Has the Church, which for nearly two thousand years has echoed the words of her Master, "I was in prison, and ye visited Me not," nothing effective to say?

POLITICAL PRISONERS

From ST. LOUIS CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE

We wish that our government would free the men who were imprisoned for opposing the war. This country stands for freedom of opinion. In time of war restraint must be put on everybody. We surrender much of our liberty in the interest of victory. Freedom of speech in such moments must be curtailed. But once the war is over the crisis is past. There can be no valid reason then for continuing the restraints. As a matter of fact the crime for which these men were imprisoned no longer exists. For that reason it seems an anomaly to keep them in prison.

LET US BEAR IN MIND

From THE AMERICAN FRIEND

The Espionage Act, under which these men were convicted, was so obnoxious to the principles of free government that it was not thought fit to remain upon the statute books in time of peace. It was repealed. But men convicted under it are still imprisoned, more than four years after the war closed. Other governments engaged in the war released their political prisoners promptly after the cessation of hostilities. We who denounce Russia have held ours. "Let us bear in mind," said Senator Borah in a recent address, "that these men are not in prison at the present time by reason of any acts of violence to either person or property. Whatever might have inhered in the case with reference to these matters in the beginning has long since passed out of the case and these men are in prison today, separated from their families, deprived of an opportunity of earning a livelihood, their health being undermined for the sole and only reason that they expressed their opinions concerning the war and the activities of the government in the prosecution of the war. They are distinctly and unquestionably political prisoners in the true sense of that term. They are not there for the violation of ordinary criminal statutes or for deeds of violence of any kind." More telling still, Major Lanier, the officer of the regular army who was assigned to examine the evidence upon which some of these prisoners were convicted, says: "I do not think if I had been on the jury I would have convicted a single one of these men." And army officers would hardly be accused of feeling softly toward those accused of opposition to the Government engaged in war. Do we wish to remain in company with autocratic and brutal Russia?

WHY THE DELAY

From ZION'S HERALD

It is important in the consideration of these cases to review some of the pertinent facts that bear upon the injustice now being meted out to the political offenders sentenced during the war.

The amnesty proclamations of our allies were issued on the following dates: Italy, Nov. 19, 1918; France, Oct. 24, 1919; Belgium, Oct. 31, 1919; Canada, Dec. 30, 1919. Sentences for political offenders in Great Britain were short and terminated soon after the armistice. Is it any wonder, in the face of the foregoing facts, that the Joint-Amnesty Committee more than a year ago had this to say of our attitude: "For nearly three years the United States has had the unenviable distinction of being the only country to keep prisoners of this (political) character in jail"?

German prisoners and spies convicted of actual crimes of a destructive nature against the Government have been released, and so far as we are aware, not a single one of the war profiteers, who stole millions from the Government during the struggle, is in jail; but these particular offenders incarcerated on the one ground of opposition to the war are still behind the bars. Apparently, they are now being held because of radical social and industrial views.. Has not the war emergency passed? Are we justified now in continuing the imprisonment of these men because of their espousal of pacifism?

It is said that the Administration is only waiting for a sufficient development of public opinion, when the war prisoners will be released. But if a wrong is now being done, why wait so long for a growth of sentiment? Will not the country respond to a courageous leadership that dares to do the right thing notwithstanding the lingering war phobia and the prejudice of ignorance and misinformation?

POLITICAL PRISONERS

From THE SABBATH RECORDER

None of our prisoners is being punished for an act of violence. Their offense was an expression of opinion in violation of an emergency law which now has been obsolete for the length of a full Presidential term. Some of these men, in the words of an army officer, were "convicted in a wave of hysteria." They were opposed to the war. Their opposition was limited to an expression of opinion. The war is over. Let them go.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

From THE MICHIGAN CHRISTIAN

Nobody seems to know why they are not released. Somebody must be dreadfully scared over a handful of enthusiastic Pacifists. In peace times they are ten times as dangerous in prison as out of it. Give them the air, and speedily.

WHY IS AMNESTY WITHHELD?

From THE CHRISTIAN WORK

Why is amnesty withheld from the political prisoners? They are almost universally recognized to be innocent of any crime deserving of severe and prolonged punishment. Can it be that pardon is withheld from them because of political reasons? Is it possible that the President, whom we all had taken to be a man of high Christian principles, is being influenced by the opposition of some members of the American Legion who are bitterly opposed to the release of the prisoners? Can it be because of fear of their opposition in the next presidential campaign? Has he forgotten that splendid declaration of Mr. Clay's that he "would rather be right than be President"? For their standards of statesmanship the men who are at the head of governments need to go to the teachings of Jesus. There is a word in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew that our President and our Department of Justice ought to turn to, a word concerning those least of the brethren who were in prison.

THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

From THE BAPTIST

The sentences of the men remaining in prison range from five to twenty years each. All of the European countries long since released their prisoners guilty of the same offenses. Are there facts concerning these men of which the public is uninformed? Are they guilty of more heinous crimes than the expression of opinions detrimental to the progress of the war? If so the publication of all the facts will save us from cringing under the charge that in their treatment we have an illustration of "autocratic democracy."

POLITICAL PRISONERS

From WESTERN CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE

The political prisoner languishes in the federal penitentiaries of our country. During the war he was gathered in by the hundreds. He was picked up at moments when he least suspected. He was convicted of some form of espionage and was indicted under the accusation of low patriotic visibility. There have been few men to plead his cause. He would be forgotten but for those in public and private life who resolve to advocate his cause and to bring to the attention of the Government the necessity of dealing with him fairly in the hour when the great war situation has passed.

We urge, with other public men and lovers of humanity, that a commission be appointed to look into the situation of political prisoners now held at different locations in our country, and that they be given their liberty upon just and amicable terms consistent with the public good.

WHY

From THE UNIVERSALIST LEADER

There are in Federal prisons to-day, more than four years after the end of the war, men who to all intents and purposes are political prisoners, while every other civilized country has released offenders of the same class.

Fifty-four bishops of the Episcopal Church, the Federal Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Council, and many other religious bodies, have urged their release. Representative church papers like CHRISTIAN WORK, ZION'S HERALD, the CHURCHMAN and the CHRISTIAN CENTURY have editorially urged the same action. Yet the President and the Attorney General remain obdurate. Why?

LET "REASONABLE CLEMENCY" MEAN AMNESTY

From THE PITTSBURGH PRESS

Word comes from the White House that political prisoners still held in federal penitentiaries are to receive "reasonable clemency" at the hands of President Coolidge. The President feels that the prisoners already have received severe punishment.

Whether this may be taken to mean that he plans to wipe the slate clean and grant amnesty to all, or will continue the policy of President Harding in yielding bit by bit, remains to be seen.

Webster defines clemency as a "disposition to forgive and spare." Reasonable clemency may mean anything, but it is to be hoped that President Coolidge, in line with what has been done by European countries, will grant complete liberty to those individuals who showed opposition to war and, colliding with the intense feeling their attitude produced, were severely dealt with.

Let "reasonable amnesty" mean complete amnesty and let Uncle Sam withdraw from his position as a bully. It requires the spirit of a bully to hold in prison 34 propertyless, friendless men, not one of whom, in the opinion of Senator Pepper and other conservative investigators, ever committed overt acts against the United States.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union No. 450

What Can I Do to Help?

Anyone wishing to help in the campaign for amnesty may do so by the following means:

1—Write or wire a respectfully-worded protest to the President and Attorney General without delay. Keep it up, and advise your friends to do likewise. We will furnish cards for this purpose upon application.

2—Send your local editor a copy of this pamphlet. Or, better yet, see your editor in person, tell him the story of political prisoners and urge him to get in line with the many editors who have already declared themselves in favor of unconditional release. Write letters to as many papers as possible, stating facts in favor of amnesty.

3—Get this pamphlet into the hands of any local preacher, urging him to make use of it in a sermon.

4—Give a copy of this pamphlet to any local man prominent in public life or party politics, who is likely to be interested enough to write or see those he knows in the Administration at Washington.

5—If you are a member of a trades union, get this pamphlet into the hands of its officers and members. Have your union pass a resolution in favor of amnesty for political prisoners. When the resolution is passed, send it to other union bodies, urging them to take similar action. Then send a copy to your local press and the General Defense Committee in Chicago for publicity. We shall be glad to send you a model resolution drawn up for this purpose.

6—Send the General Defense Committee names of any other persons you know who ought to get this pamphlet.

7—Organize an amnesty drive meeting in your city. Get first hand information about political prisoners. Write to General Defense Committee for particulars.

8—Contribute as generously as you can to the defense fund of the General Defense Commitee. Get your friends to do the same. Make all checks payable to the **General Defense Committee,** 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., Edward E. Andersen, Sec'y.

Some Facts About Political Prisoners

There are at present (September, 1923) thirty-two political prisoners in the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth.

Each of these is serving time ONLY for written or spoken expression of opinion.

The sentences range from five to twenty years.

All but one are members of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Most of these political prisoners have already served five years of their sentences and each one, in addition, has served from one to two years in jail while awaiting trial.

Twenty-one are members of the Sacramento group, eight are members of the Chicago group and two members of the Wichita group. Nineteen members of the Sacramento group and one man from the Wichita group were refused commutation by President Harding.

Nine of the members of the Chicago and one from the Wichita group refused to leave prison on commutation on the grounds that the conditions were too humiliating for innocent men to accept.

Of the thirty-two men in Leavenworth only one (James Rowan, Secretary, Lumber Workers Industrial Union) was a paid official of the I. W. W. The others are mainly rank and file members who were arrested in the Government's drag-net of 1917.

The General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W., members of the General Executive Board, Secretaries of the Industrial Unions, editors of the official I. W. W. newspapers, etc. (all of whom were considered the "principals" in the I. W. W. case and who were given the maximum sentence of twenty years) have been at liberty for some time.

The General Defense Committee of Chicago has on hand for free distribution copies of Senator Borah's New York speech in favor of amnesty, Hon. George Huddleston's address on political prisoners in the House of Representatives and a considerable quantity of pamphlets, leaflets, etc., giving facts about the I. W. W. persecution. These will be sent free upon application.

Librado Rivera, Mexican idealist, is the only political prisoner in Leavenworth who is not an I. W. W. member.

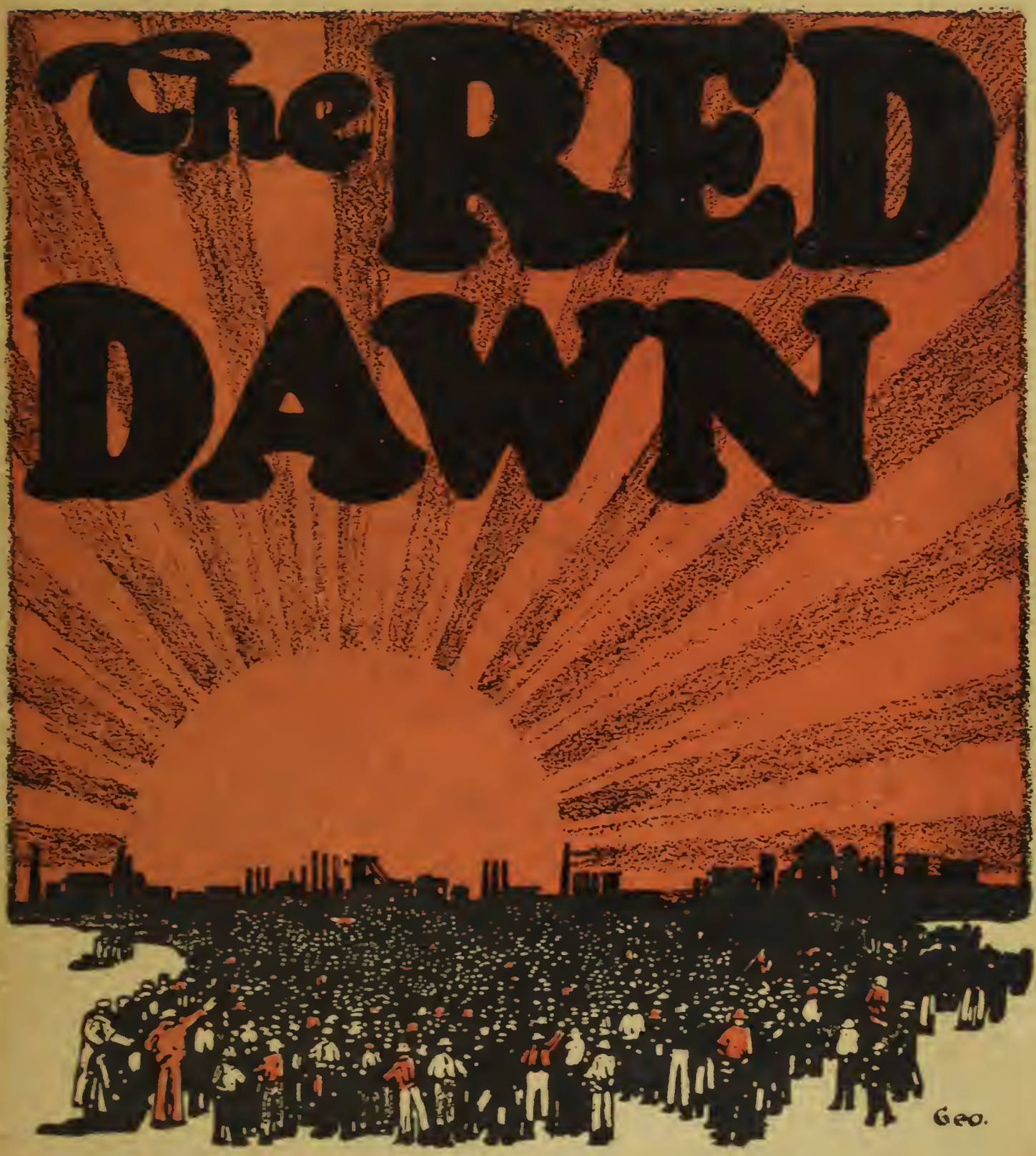
There is one political prisoner, Nicholas Zogg, at Atlanta penitentiary. This man also is not a member of the I. W. W.



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THE RED DAWN

THE BOLSHEVIKI
AND THE
I. W. W.

BY
HARRISON GEORGE

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU
1001 W. MADISON ST. -:- CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

RED DAWN

Today, locked behind several sets of steel bars in one of those dungeons Capitalism has prepared for workers who challenge its rule, the writer watches the play of social forces in the greatest of crises ever yet facing this stage of civilization. Someone has said that the people of any given period do not grasp the significance of events transpiring under their eyes; that events are only historically understood as they move into the past and afford perspective. It may be that my interested isolation, my severance from active participation in the great drama, affords such perspective. But, be that as it may, the writer feels constrained to point out what, in his opinion, is the lesson to the workers contained in recent and current history—what means that inspiring light that penetrates even the prison windows and floods my cell with the glory of the Red Dawn?

For, out of the bloody mist that rises off the quagmires of mangled men that have fought each other like wild beasts and have ended by mixing their blood and bones in Death's Democracy, there marches, upright and unafraid, rebellious Labor, and the hope of the ages, the Industrial State, approaches realization as at this hour the fighting proletariat of Russia, the herald of a new world, presses its victory to completion and binds and consolidates its 175,000,000 people into a cohesive unit of Industrial Democracy.

And if it can be, as it is possible, that, by outer intrigue and inner treachery, the brave workers of Russia now under the Bolsheviki, valiantly fighting

these dark forces, are betrayed, beaten and go down heroically in seas of blood as did Ennus, Spartacus and the Communards, yet the world of Labor will have profited and—success or failure—their brave attempt, their magnificent spirit and bold deeds shall live forever and their story shall be told "in lands remote and accents yet unknown."

This is not an attempt to prove to the wage worker that he is the victim of the employing class. Any actual wage worker of today who is worth convincing already knows he is robbed. All that remains is to prove to him that emancipation is possible and how it can be accomplished and he becomes a tireless worker, and ready for any sacrifice.

Then what has held the proletariat in submission thus far? Answer, they have thought it was impossible and they have been tricked and side-tracked in method to keep them from ever proving it was possible by doing it.

Here the writer challenges all philosophers, both bourgeois and psuedo-socialist, by claiming that—now and hereafter—**Wherever it is possible for the bourgeosie to rule the proletariat, it is possible for that proletariat to accomplish its industrial freedom by revolution.** The bourgeois logic is, of course, not worth consideration. But it is our "friends" who must be guarded against. It is our "comrade," the dearly-beloved "socialist" politician who comes to the proletariat with his poison parliamentarianism and his prating of "science" and his sneers at the "impossibilists,"—the I. W. W. For him, indeed, we are 'impossible,' as the Industrial State we will establish has no place for politicians.

Of course, if a man lives in the pig-pen of politics, he must become be-fouled. But the politician who falsely claims a proletarian interest as a "socialist" not only blasphemes the worthy socialist ideal, but by

pussy-footing about with his "emancipation by the ballot" and his "step-by-step" sophistry, thwarts the aspiration of millions and blows out the light in the brain of the worker. And it will be those workers, today fooled and misled, who will rend these sycophants limb from limb when their treachery becomes apparent in the coming crisis.

In the swift changes the Great War has brought about, nothing stands out in greater prominence than the centralization of industrial control in the hands of the state. The capitalist state has, in adopting "Government Ownership," adopted about all the reformist socialist-politician ever contended for. In fact, the politician dare not contend for more. And in those well-known seats of parliamentary socialism—Germany and America—there are today "intellectuals" and "leaders" of the socialist ranks, who fear the self-reliance of the proletariat and who hope and work with the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of the industrial state as now established by the Russian Bolsheviki.

To clarify the Russian situation in the minds of the workers of other lands is a duty. To explain to those who read the lies of the capitalist press and who believe that the Bolsheviki rule is a mushroom growth to be lightly swept aside by shooting Lenine and Trotsky, who are pictured as the long-haired stage anarchist and "East Side vendor of collar buttons,"—is a service to the working-class. The writer, therefore, gives in outline the history of the Bolsheviki movement of Russia and its rise to power over conflicting "socialist" theorists and bourgeois opposition. For the many detailed facts in regard to Russia, the writer is indebted to his fellow worker and fellow prisoner, Leo Laukki, whose active participation in the Russian revolutionary movement in the past entitles him to a considerate hearing.

Since the general strike and revolution of 1905, every student of Russia, now furnishing the greatest drama of the world's history, understood that there was a complete political upheaval going on in the vast country of the Moscovites. And, as the revolution of 1905 had not made a clean sweep of the old system of Tsarism, Cossackdom, grafting bureaucrats and pogrom-organizing police, it was generally anticipated that, soon or late, a new revolution would come and topple over the old political system.

A parliamentary governed, democratic republic was the most sanguine prediction for Russia. More cautious ones, having greater bourgeois sympathies for such a government, predicted a constitutional monarchy—a la England—for Russia, and no one dared to dream of something entirely new, something outside the beaten paths of theory, logical conclusions of history, laws of economic development, etc., as set forth by the high moguls of knowledge, socialist savants and prognosticians of social movements.

But, if the truth is often stranger than fiction, the outcome of a social situation, a social crisis, more often over-reaches every anticipation, no matter how scientifically based or accurately calculated they may claim to be.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 did this in a world-startling manner and degree. It has put the psuedo scientific prophets to shame and sent them back to the kindergarten class! To grasp this overwhelming fact the programs of the main Russian political parties prior to 1917, must be considered.

Of the bourgeois parties, the Monarchists stood for the order of 1905 ante: the Octobrists for the fulfillment of the Tsar's manifesto of October 30th, 1905—nothing added and nothing taken away; the Cadets for a constitutional government after the English pattern, which meant that the Duma's powers

should be enlarged to the same degree as the existing parliaments of western Europe, with the cabinet under its control, etc. None of the bourgeois group were for a democratic republic before the momentous days of March, 1917. The Cadets had no common interest with the labor groups, that follow, except that they also demanded a Constitutional Assembly to draft a new constitution, the October manifesto, in their opinion, being, in a legal sense, unsatisfactory for such constitution.

As, in the making of history, only the socialistic labor groups have had any meaning in Russia, there is to be considered what differences there were in their programs and what they had in common. The last comes first. All the Russian socialist and labor parties and their many factions were for: (1), a republic, (2), a constitutional convention based upon universal, equal and direct suffrage, (3), democratic parliament based upon same and controlling the cabinet with corresponding reforms in all administrative and judicial affairs, (4), land reforms in favor of turning over the un-cultivated and excess land to the peasantry—the ownership to be regulated in different ways as given in the various programs, (5), extensive factory and social legislative reforms —a la Germany—and, (6), reforms in the system of education, etc.

And now in regard to the differences. The most moderate and looscly organized of the three great labor parties of Russia,—in its age the youngest of them—the Trudoviki (Labor Group), clung in a general way to the aforementioned points of the general socialist program, having no strongly marked characteristics of its own, except that it was, in the main, representative of the peasantry and the "socialistically inclined" layers of the people.

The chief characteristic of one of the remaining

two, the party of Social Revolutionists (S. R.) came from its program upon the land question, which, by the way, has long been the crux of the Russian social problem. Like the Mexican revolutionists and the Chinese Socialists (with Sun Yat Sen), who think that some kind of a socialistic order of things can be instituted in these countries on the basis of their now existing economic development, going around and escaping the stage of Capitalism, so also, the Russian revolutionists in the second half of the 19th century, believed that Russia could jump to socialism directly from the **semi-feudal peasant stage** of society, passing Capitalism and its social nightmares with a "You didn't catch us!"

On such a basis, this revolutionary movement logically had a very strong nationalistic character. The peasant communism(mir) of Russia, was glorified as the great economic savior of Russia from the clutches of devastating capitalism—"Socialism in Russia will grow on the communistic instincts of its great peasant masses."

This party of S. R. (Social Revolutionists) has not only inherited the traditions, memorial history, etc., of these people's revolutionary movements, but also, more or less of their ideas; thus everyone may clearly see that the party of S. R. was in fact more of a peasant's party than an instrument of the industrial proletariat. It left the social revolution more upon the vast agricultural masses in the villages and armies of Russia—without whose general revolt Russia would remain a country of Cossackdom. In its program the demand of the nationalization of all lands and their common ownership and communal use by the peasants was the crucial point,—the ultimate goal.

Within this party of S. R., those who have contended for a program of various immediate demands,

opportunists favoring reforms beneficial to both peasantry and City Workers—such as tax reductions. and confiscations of uncultivated land—were called "Minimalists," having stood for a program of "immediately obtainable," **minimum** demands. The counterpart in the American Socialist Party is that group of agrarian reformers led by A. M. Simons. In fact, in their desire to catch farmer votes, the American Socialist Party avoids the communal land idea and only hauls out its revolutionary argument to refute an attack upon their theories. They have programs for the individual farm owner and renter—land loans and what not—but nothing, **absolutely nothing**, for the millions of farm laborers,—the migratory proletariat.

The other wing of the Russian party of S. R.,—the "Maximalists,"—did not favor the wasting of revolutionary energy of the masses on any minimum demands; their argument, "The whole social revolution is the goal, it is attainable, and moreover, fighting for it NOW and all the time, brings more reforms in the wake of the fight to the masses than the compromising "Minimalists" ever can do."

In regard to "terrorism" as a tactic, both factions have been for its use, the Minimalists later, after 1906, modifying their stand in this respect.

In America, because of the individualistic mind of the farmer, who, while mortgaged and robber-ridden by large financial and indusrial interests, still foolishly imagines he owns the farm, the Socialist Party contains no counterpart of the Russian Maximalist faction of the S. R.

The Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia, the last in our study, was a so-called "Marxian," both in its theories anl party tactics, in its program, traditions and membership the party of the Russian industrial proletariat per se. Accordingly, its main

base was the dogma (really so considered)* that a socialistic commonwealth is possible **only after and in consequence of, over-mature Capitalism**; that the wage slaves (industrial and agricultural wage workers) are the main and leading forces of the forthcoming revolution; that the socialization of the industries, including agriculture, will be the ultimate outcome of the economic **evolution** in society and the revolution to be actuated by the modern proletariat —the wage workers of highly developed industry. Accordingly, the S. D. Party (Social Democrats) was more concerned about the city wage workers than the peasantry, working for the organization, education and betterment of the industrial proletariat primarily. The peasantry was regarded as a disappearing mass from which capitalistic economic development forced new recruits into the ranks of the factory slaves; the peasantry a mass, "revolutionary" only in the old sense of protest against abject conditions of poverty, etc., but lacking the ideal to bring a new social order to life, and apt to be in a crisis at one moment of revolutionary assistance and at the next turn of wind, the tool of reaction to crush the revolution. By skillful leadership and manipulation, the city proletariat may draw assistance from the peasant masses, even get them as

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*The "dogma" referred to is that theory tenaciously held by most of the Socialist Parties that made up the lately deceased International. Certainly, Marx taught that Capitalism must ripen; but Marx looked at the world, while the parliamentary socialist's eyes were turned inward. upon his national soil where offices were to be obtained and retained—and "foolish extremists" whose ultra-radical acts endangered the party machine—were to be frowned upon.

an ally, yet in truth, an unreliable and dangerous ally.

Consequently. in their program in regard to the land question, the Russian Social Democrats were representing in their own views, as formulated by them according to Marxian economics—the **theoretical future** interests of the Russian agricultural producers; their present demands being represented by the "Trudoviki," while their past economic traditions, the national communistic features still existent in Russian agricultural society,—were, as above seen, represented by the Socialist Revolutionary Party,—the "S. R."

As in the party of "S. R.," also in the Russian "S. D." Party, there have been two main factions or groups with their separate organs, representations in party committees, etc. Among the Social Democrats they are named "Bolsheviki" and "Mensheviki" from the fact that in the Party Conference in 1904, the first named faction, headed even at that date by Nicolai Lenine. was in the "majority" (bolshinstvo). while the other faction, led by George Plechanoff from the inception of the party, was in the "minority" (menshistvo).

Starting from the same orthodox Marxian principles these factions came to different conclusions in regard to contents of party programs and tactics. Accusing the Mensheviki of being revolutionary only in the use of Marxian phrases, the Bolsheviki demanded as an element prerequisite to an ultimate industrial revolution (by them called "The Social Revolution"), that the party should be revolutionary in action, etc,; it should, (1) declare itself openly, unhesitatingly and uncompromisingly,—in the face of certain persecutions by the Tsar—for complete overthrow of bureaucratic government by general strike of the workers, armed revolt of all the people

and military insurrection; (2) organization and education of all forces for the actual fight; (3) the party to lead the people at all times in revolutionary actions but without compromise with petty bourgeois and peasant elements whose interests make them the natural but unreliable ally of the proletariat in the fight upon Tsarism.

At this point it is necessary to bring to light the industrial origin of the Bolsheviki program, past and present. The short history of actual, open unionism in Russia begins about 1904. Prior to that time, labor organizations were taboo to such an extent that they "camouflaged" themselves as insurance societies, benefit associations etc. and, to the extent that they used pretension, they lost industrial force by becoming what they pretended to be. In 1904, the government, to its own notion planning wisely, sent out government secret service men, and organized unions that were semi-official at Moscow, Odessa and elsewhere. Much to the disgust of the government, organization was followed by strikes and the government seeing its mistake broke up both strikes and unions with the convenient Cossacks. Then came Father Gapon who builded on the sentiment remaining and, after organizing Moscow, went to Petrograd, where he was highly successful in starting economic organizations. These unions, however, were scrupulously loyal to the Tsar and fought, as does the A. F. of L., any revolutionary worker who dared raise voice against the government. But the "Bloody Sunday" of Jan. 22nd, 1905, when Gapon's loyal slaves were slaughtered by thousands under the windows of the Tsar's winter palace, cured this loyalty completely throughout Russia and the workers were thereafter not so prone to turn over to the "third section" (secret police) any revolutionary

worker making an appeal to them for radical action and allegiance.

The impulse for the general strike of 1905 was the result of "Bloody Sunday" and the Social Democratic Party absorbed most of the industrial workers who organized. and these workers, true to proletarian ideals, became members and supporters of the Bolsheviki faction of the S. D.

Unable to engage in political scrambles to elect mayors and control dog-catchers, as the American Socialist Party does, the Russian Bolsheviki Socialists concentrated upon organizing workers as workers, —not as "citizen voters"—and measured the advancing strength of the movement by **strikes** and **not by votes.** This all plainly shows that no political saviors are to be lauded for their acts as great men. Lenine and Trotsky, far from imposing conditions upon the proletariat as the dictation of "great men" to the weak-brained workers, are themselves only the spokesmen and articulate tools of Russia's fighting proletariat.

To resume the discussion with the other faction of the S. D.—the Mensheviki. This faction was more or less opposed to the "revolutionary romanticism of the Bolsheviki," as they called it, claiming that a revolution in Russia at the present will still be one characteristically bourgeois and, therefore, a revolution of the proletariat and under its leadership "must yet remain a dream." From this premise the Mensheviki concluded that the bourgeois elements will be the leading factor in the expected revolution, the proletariat being delegated to be only the motive power in it, as had been the case in the revolutions of Western Europe. Thus, the proletariat in assisting the bourgeoisie to power and shedding its blood for the "free trade democracy," of the bourgeois system would have to compromise its revolutionary aims with

those of the bourgeoisie after the manner of the German proletariat in the revolution of 1848. The proletariat should then, in the parliament, be the party of opposition and, not taking ministerial posts or other share in the government,—should. by its opposition, force reforms beneficial to the wage workers.

The Mensheviki are the "pure parliamentary actionists" of Russia, nursing bourgeois interests by psuedo Marxianism; the Bolsheviki the "mass actionists,"* the economic organization with strikes, the general strike and armed revolt having fundamental place in their program, based on the belief that the industrial proletariat of Russia is strong enough to seize power itself and be the leader of the revolution.

The Bolsheviki's "Lenine Program" having been originally adopted by the general Party Conference in 1904 was, with some modifications, re-adopted by the Great Conference at London in 1909, where about 450 delegates were present. As now the Bolsheviki are alleged to be of Jewish origin and blood, lording it over native Russins, the writer calls attention to the fact that the 28 Jewish "Bund" delegates to the London Conference were entirely Mensheviki, while the majority of native Russians were Bolsheviki. Intellectuals and professionals were worthy Mensheviki—industrial wage workers, Bolsheviki.

If any revolution, at any time, has been put through in accord with arranged and premeditated plans and programs, then about the Russian Revolution of 1917, it can be genuinely claimed that in

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*It should be noted that "mass action" and "mass unionism" are two different things. Mass unionism is a failure and only by "industrial unionism" can mass action in the field of industry, be obtained.

general lines and even in details it followed the Bolsheviki program as set forth by them in the "Lenine Program" at the Social Democratic Party Conference of 1904 and poste. This program was the running order for a veritable "20th Century Limited" that has apparently sped to its destination without a halt, so closely, under control of these industrial socialists, has definite action followed definite preparation as per schedule. This may sound hyperbolic, but such is the opinion one receives from the facts.

Parting with this short historical sketch of the various movements, we must remember that all of them, even the Bolsheviki, in the first place contended for change in the **political** power, for a modern parliament. a constitution, **general** suffrage, civil rights and liberties, etc., **and if they would have remained so to this date, there would have been no special reason to point out the Russian Revolution to the working-class as an epochal moment in the centuries old upward striving of the toilers.** There would have been no inspiration in explaining how the workers of Russia had changed masters but remained in slavery. The story would have been mainly the same as those of previous revolutions in modern times—a sad story not worth repeating. But now it is different! "Ex Oriente lux!"—Out of the East—The Light!

THE ENEMY IN THE RANKS

The Bolsheviki had always contended that the Russian proletariat was strong enough to rule in its own interests and that it should strive to capture all power in order to get as much as possible. Thus, true to their faith, as soon as the old regime was overthrown in March 1917; the Bolsheviki cast the calculating eye upon the reigns that the bourgeoisie then figured upon taking in its hands.

The Menshiviki said:—"Now the Revolution is

accomplished, let us settle down, allow the bourgeoisie to organize the machinery of government, putting their men in the Cabinet, etc., and begin to rule the state; because, on the existing economic base, the power to rule belongs to them; we socialists can now send our representatives to parliament—let us begin a system of political campaigning as the "Opposition Party."

Both factions said: "We will not share responsibility with the bourgeoisie as Cabinet Ministers or Managerial Officers of the State." But—the Mensheviki not wishing to seize full power to the exclusion of the Bourgeois elements—were compelled to share power with the bourgeoisie and compromise with it against the proletariat and its spokesmen the Bolsheviki and Maximalists. Not going forward, they went backward. Especially is this illustrated by makeup and activity of the Kerensky Ministerium. The Bolsheviki, on the contrary, intended from the start to exclude the Bourgeoisie and seize full power, and, if appearances do not deceive "they got the goods."

But the fact that, thru the Bolsheviki, Russia's proletariat has come to undivided control of power is not so singularly gigantic as **how** they rose to power and to what end it has been wielded— in what direction used.

The Revolution and General Strike of 1905 was controlled by an extra parliamentary body, the Federation of Federations (Soyous Soyousof), which furnished the idea to the proletariat of 1917.

Even before the March Revolution broke upon a startled world, the workers in the great cities and vast armies had developed a General Organization—ONE BIG UNION—with a common representative body of their own, The Council of Workers' and Sol-

diers' Delegates. And, from the very beginning, the Revolution of 1917 was under the direction of this proletarian body—The Soviet; it was under able control of **thousands** of such local Councils all over Russia. In fact, in 1916 the Proletariat was in readiness for the organized revolt they "pulled" in 1917; then putting it thru over the opposition of the Liberal Bourgeoisie who advised its postponement until after the war. The Duma and Bourgeois Parties generally played no important part in the Revolution of 1917. Only, when the Revolution was an accomplished fact, did they jump on the scene, receiving much of the glory for the overthrow of Tsarism, and began laying claim to the spoils of victory. Attacking the proletariat and its institutions, they demanded that the Soviet disperse and the Workers and Soldiers return obediently to factory and trench and allow them—the Bourgeoisie—to remain in control of Dumas, Ministeriums, Semstvos, Upravas, and other "legal" bodies where, as members flitting about it swallow—tail coats—they could come to their inheritance.

But right here is where the New Epoch had its birth. The Mensheviki were ready and willing to yield this demand and advised the wage-workers to be satisfied with the political Revolution. The Bolsheviki were not! They decided, the Bourgeoisie and its Institutions, instead of the workers, must remain out of power; and, immediately, began a bitter fight against the preposterous demands of Bourgeois politicians. This fight naturally centered around the Workers' and Soldiers' Council—versus—Duma, Ministerium, et al. An astonishing attribute of the Russian Revolutionary Proletariat is, that in a new situation, it lays out, immediately, a plan of action; drawing a concise and clear program. In this respect, Russia's fighting workers, especially the Bolsheviki,

are entitled to first place among the tacticians of the Modern Working Class.

Soon after the Revolution of March, the Bolsheviki held their group conference in which they adopted an entire new program to be offered for the Party. The main and all important feature of this program is, that in it the Bolsheviki cut themselves apart from orthodox traditions of parliamentary political Socialism, as can readily be seen from its contents. This program is the cry of the Omnipotent Proletariat in the face of the whole Capitalistic World! To perdition with your parliaments! Dumas! Cabinets! Your whole political power and political institutions! The cardinal points in this epochal act are;

1. In the immediate present socialists shall concentrate all energies keeping the control in the hands of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, primarily that of Petrograd, making it, the Soviet, the ruling body of the Nation. The Duma to be abolished. The Councils, local and general, were to be supported and buttressed regardless of which faction held majority.

2. The Bolsheviki, then a minority in the Councils, should, by educational propaganda, assimilate the mass of workers and soldiers, and obtain their support for a Bolsheviki majority in the Councils.

3. The permanent National Government to be vested in a Council of Workers and Peasants (presuming soldiers unnecessary in the new society) and local governmental bodies similiarly constituted. Workers delegates to be elected by actual productive workers in their respective industrial divisions; peasant delegates to be elected by farm hands and those peasants employing no wage labor—non-exploiters.

4. Factories, and other industrial establishments, to be under direct control and management of their respective labor organizations; industries of national scope under control of corresponding na-

tional labor organizations. Same applying to agriculture, it coming under direct control of proletarian peasantry.

Parliament and all it means was thus cast overboard. In place of a political government by divers bodies and institutions, with parliamentary representatives elected thru geographical divisions by heterogeneous political groups with their conflicting economic interests, there should be direct management of things by organizations of productive labor! A mere voter, a mere citizen, a non-producer, an idler, in short a capitalist, living by parasitic robbery of the working-class, would have no say in this management, being a practical outcast, an alien to the Industrial State—until he joined the army of production as a worker with hand and brain.

Imagine the Industrial Workers of the World—the I. W. W.—as having organized American wage workers in its folds, and these workers controlling as well as operating all industries, and you have the same thing, the Bolsheviki have practically accomplished in Russia! Horrible! What? That depends. Impossible? If so, read what the learned professors of Economic Science said at their Association Convention of Minneapolis in December 1913. There, the advice, already given capitalists by a famous economist to prepare themselves for this very thing, i. e.; the rule of the I. W. W.; in the near future, over the whole of American production; the advice given the rich to put their pampered sons and daughters to the acquiring of useful labor habits in factories, was read and very seriously discussed!—Overalls!?

That Russia's contending classes should immediately be locked in combat over such a vital and important matter, pertaining to the very foundation of the entire social structure, is thus made clear as day! All favoring the political system clamored that

the power of the Soldiers and Workers be curbed, their councils divested of authority or entirely dispersed, and the Duma be given the unhindered opportunity to direct the physical engines of Governmental power. To these reactionists, the Bolsheviki, uncompromising and courageous, issued a challenge of mortal combat in a moment when every worker's heart beat fast for Freedom.

Workers and Soldiers, under Bolsheviki and Maximalists, exerted all energy on the extinction of the Duma, firstly, and, after a short fight, getting the cabinet under their thumb, they succeeded in abolishing the Duma, by abolishing its members' salaries. The next step was the overthrowal of this Cabinet of Ministers—demanding the expulsion of this and that Minister, the Bolsheviki ultimately demanded the expulsion of every Bourgeois, refusing their support even to those Socialist compromisers who joined Kerensky's cabinet.

It was at this moment that the Bourgeois elements, under the leadership of General Korniloff, tried for their hastily planned and desperate "coup d'etat," Kerensky is accused of conspiracy in this attempt at military counter-revolution of the old style. Owing to the solidarity of the workers, chiefly the railway men who refused transportation to re-actionary forces, the scheme failed and the fate of the ministerial form of government was sealed. The Bolsheviki began now the preparation for lodgment of complete authority in the Soviet. Kerensky tried to placate, faining to yield himself fully to the demands of the Workers and Soldiers Council, rescinding his rule of death sentences in the armies, talking of the need for immediate peace, etc., but he could not parry the blow 'de grace.' The Bolsheviki-Maximalist force struck the fatal blow and started their planned revolt with the aid of the garrisons of

Petrograd, Moscow and other cities, the entire army quartered in Finland, parts of the armies at the front, the Nation's Baltic Fleet, armed factory workers—"The Red Guard" and the railroad workers who blocked all means of transport to other than known friends of proletarian strike and insurrection. Outside some of the Cossack regiments, the workers and soldiers faced armed opposition only from cadets of the military schools and similar groups of young men of the well-to-do class.

To what extent the Soldiers and Workers have, led by Bolsheviki and Maximalists, spread and consolidated their control over Russia, is shown by press dispatches of recent date (Winter of 1917-1918). The main fact is that they have reached their set goal and are in power without sharing it with any former ruling class. It is a pure and simple working-class rule,temporarily a rule over the non-productive, propertied class with a view to abolish it. The tables are turned and the bourgeoisie who ruled the working class or masses are now ruled by them. There is now no division of power and soon will be no class divisions in the Russian State!

So far, we have seen the Duma and the Cabinet, those bulwarks of political government, swept into the dust-heap of the ages. Remains, then, to see in what way the future is provided for by the new wielders of power. Two things, both occuring in November 1917, shed light upon this subject. Firstly; as soon as the Workers' and Soldiers' Council attained full control of all National matters and elected a body of Commissioners to function as executives under its control, thru this Commissariat a proclamation was issued calling for a meeting of the already elected delegates to a Constitutional Assembly. Added to this proclamation was the decleration that, in the to-be-drafted-constitution, the Workers'

and Peasants' Council shall be made the permanent managers and the visible forms of government. Secondly: of still greater importance, is the fact that the peasants, in their all-Russian Congress, have declared themselves in support of (1) the accomplished **Industrial Revolution** and "coup de etat" of the Bolsheviki-Maximalists. (2) The Bolsheviki plan of National and Local Management by workers, (3) the Constitutional Assembly to draft the new Constitution in conformity with these fundamentals.

Peasants now have their representatives together with delegates of Workers and Soldiers in a joint Executive Committee, consisting of 108 members from the Executive Committee of the Soviet, 108 delegates from the Peasants Council, 100 delegates from the active army, 10 railway workers, 5 Postal and Telegraph workers and 35 various Labor Union Representatives. Thus, the combined workers, soldiers and peasants having declared themselves in favor of the Bolsheviki plan of Russia's social structure, the future, to all appearances, is well taken care of; and therefore, what this new form of the management of human life means, and what consequences it will have for other peoples, should be given the most serious consideration all over the world.

When, in a country mainly agricultural and containing a population of 175 Millions of people, such great and important majorities of workers, soldiers and peasants, declare themselves in favor of a Government of, by and for the Productive toilers, functioning thru Industrial Unity and are actually striving to sit, establish, and fortify such a social structure; then are the days of human exploitation of man's oppression of men, with all concurrent forms of political government, marked, set and numbered. Well may ye tremble, Masters of Industry! The bourgeoisie of the world is menaced by the Proletariat of those

countries far more industrially developed than Russia was toward the New Order of things, and:

Out of the east the dawn is rising,
Out of the Night the Day appears!

CLINCHING THE TRIUMPH

The foregoing pages were written early in December 1917. It is imperative that additional matter be given, as every hour the Bolsheviki add to their power as an administrative party in control of an industrial government.

The Bourgeoisie have manifested their counter-revolution thru their most plausible and willing tools, the "yellow socialists," generally; the Minimalists of the Social Revolutionary Party, in particular. It should be especially noted that these bourgeois socialists of the S. R. composed the majority of the Constitutional Assembly elected **before** the Bolsheviki revolution, yet called together by the Bolsheviki Soviet thru their Executive Commissaries.

Before the Constitutional Assembly met, the Soviet had issued decrees (1) that all factories and industrial enterprises were from then on, the property of the people and subject to direct control of the workers engaged. (2) authorizing the immediate seizure and control of all lands by the peasantry, (3) that the coming Constitutional Convention must legalize these acts by constitutional provisions.

Note now, the play for power. The Bolsheviki had placed factories and lands in the hands of workers and peasants, and then dared the opposition to take them away again. The bourgeois S. R.'s were forced to show a face of assent to the situation but, hoping to gain a reversal to bourgeois control by pure opposition, they arose an objection to the Assembly "being dictated to by the Soviet" and appealed to the masses saying "We too, will give you

industrial freedom, but not when **forced** to do so by that **illegal** body the Soviet.''

The assembly met at Petrograd on January 19, 1918. It met under the guns of the Baltic Fleet and while Petrograd was filled with Red guards of the Bolsheviki. And then the Bolsheviki ''called the bluff'' of the ''yellow'' S. R.; the executive commissaries with Lenine at their head, walked into the Assembly and laid before the Bourgeois socialists there, **not** the **mandate** they expected, but merely the **suggestion** that the Assembly should legalize the Industrial State by constitutional provision, demanding and enforcing an immediate vote upon the suggestion. Forced to show their falsity, **the Assembly voted it down** and their traitorous conduct apparent to all, the Bolsheviki dissolved the Assembly with armed sailors.

Bourgeois opposition thru parliamentary channels unmasked and ended, the Soviets all over Russia elected delegates to an All-Russian Assembly of Soviets, which on February 1, 1918, adopted the long delayed constitution, legalizing the de facto Industrial State.

Finland, early in December 1917, had under bourgeois-socialist rule, declared independence from Russia and adopted a constitution even more conservative than the United States Constitution. A provision, ''Free speech, shall prevail, but nothing shall be said against the government.'' Free speech, providing you say nothing! The freedom of a socialist (?) republic!

But Finland's conduct received approbation from both capitalist governments and socialist parliamentarians the world over, while the latter cast an eye of tentative disapproval on the Bolsheviki control of Russia.

The rank and file of the American Socialist Party,

largely revolution ary and in enthusiastic accord with the Bolsheviki, were fed a "nor fish, nor flesh" diet by the Sosialist Party machine. Said the "Chicago Socialist" official party organ, in its issue of December 8, 1917; "Editorially the 'Eye Opener' (the national party organ) has witheld expressing its opinions (?) concerning the stand taken by the Bolsheviki. We feel that their rule is but a transitory stage in the progress of the Russian nation toward a stable (?) and permanent government. The problem, we hope(!), will finally be solved by a coalition Socialist government representing all factions of the Socialist movement in Russia." Such were the waning hopes of Socialist politicians the world over.

As Scheideman would wait for the Kaiser's sanction, so did the "yellow" socialists of America delay "expressing their opinions" until Wilson's attitude of un-official approval made such action safe.

INTERNATIONALISM?

The thought of the world is fluid and streams across national boundary lines. The wave of bourgeois ideology that poured into Russia now is overturned and, with terrific force, its proletarian crest sweeps outward over Europe. The war between national groups of the bourgeoisie is changing, under pressure of Russian workers, into a war between classes.

Soon there will emerge an International Capitalist State or League of Nations, with an international military power to crush such sectional revolts as happened in Russia. The bourgeoisie, excepting the extreme reactionists, already are endorsing "Internationalism" again, as in "Government Ownership," feeding on the sentiment engendered by parliamentary socialists. The bourgeoisie always are forced to mask their robbery of the workers behind the "camouflage" screen of popular (?) and representative (?)

governments. The "internationalism" of the parliamentary socialists will remain only a word, because with office-seeking eyes, they strive primarily to control national parliaments and remain nationalists.

COSMO-INDUSTRIALISM

The world proletariat is forced into economic organizations by the pressure of world capitalism. In various nations, Industrial Unionism, in itself a revolutionary labor structure, is in a state of forced formation. It is inevitable that industrial unity,—solidarity—between the Industrial Unions of all countries shall be established and girdle the globe.

World Labor shall establish a world industrial administration with a directive body of workers for efficient service to all mankind. The world proletariat shall crush its enemy, without and within: break its rusty chains and establish real freedom—Industrial Freedom.

The lesson of the Bolsheviki and the road to power of the I. W. W. are before you. The former, an example of the possibility of "impossibilism." Under different conditions than the I. W. W., the Bolsheviki took on tremendous odds by attempting to establish an industrial administration practically born out of military mutiny.

But America's strongest element is the wage-working class. Scientifically organized labor is the efficient and bloodless weapon of the proletariat in its accomplishment of industrial revolution: and, at the same time, it is "the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

No lives **need** be lost, not one drop of blood **need** be shed, if the working class will rally to the I. W. W. with its program of peaceful evolvement from wage-slavery to Industrial Freedom. Will YOU respond and do YOUR share for YOUR OWN freedom?

The preamble of the I. W. W. was adopted by the Bolsheviki.

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Of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

"Why are you IWW's always trying to turn the world upside down?" asked the judge of the defendant.

"Well, it's this way, your honor. The world is upside down and we want to set it right side up."

The man was right.

All wealth is produced by labor, even the slums. We build not only the palaces, but also the prisons. We make overalls and Tuxedos, gingham aprons and evening gowns. We make tear gas and policeman's clubs, also, and, consequently we wear the overalls and gingham.

The buildings we have erected, the clothes we have sewn, the shoes we have made, and the coal we have dug—all these belong to those who have hired us. A little of it we can buy with our wages. It would be better if we got all of it. But that would take a revolution.

Because we get just part of what we turn out, the markets fail and half of us lose our jobs. And so in a country that boasts of its splendid resources, its railroads and factories and the splendid abilities of its workers, we pinch and scrape and beg just as though there were no fertile fields, no resplendent forests, no wonderful machines and no knowledge in our heads of how to run them.

All or Nothing.

Under these circumstances we can no longer content ourselves with the half loaf program of "A fair day's wage". We will have to choose between a whole loaf or none. To our children we must bequeath everything or nothing. The middle road is closed.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." The struggle is on. It is a struggle for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. It will become a struggle between our class set on a new social

order and the employing class set on the perpetuation of a rotting system of robbery. In all things the employing class is our enemy.

The things we make are made by order of the employing class. When they are made, they are sent where that class wants them to go. So we live in trouble and worry, because our class has been doing day in and day out what our enemy wants us to do. We will get rid of our troubles and worries only when we quit doing what they tell us to do and start doing what will be good for us to do. That is the revolution. Nothing short of it is one. Nothing short of it will turn this topsy-turvy world right side up.

Everything needed for the new social order is here—resources, equipment and men. The problem of revolution is the practical one of how to put these together right. Today the resources are wasting, the equipment is rotting and so are the working abilities of the men. The planning and efficiency of the individual plant is not paralleled by any efficiency or planning in the economic system—and thus all of this plant efficiency is lost so far as making our lives happier or more worth while.

The Flowsheet of Profits.

When Ford starts to produce fifty thousand trucks, his engineers construct a flowsheet laying out what supplies of lumber, sheet metal, wire, motor parts, nuts and bolts should be delivered and at what times, so that there can be a steady flow of production without clogging up warehouses with materials that could not be used at once. The plants supplying Ford must plan their production accordingly. But in general, the balance of production and markets is one never reached and is approached only by blind and chance operation of the profit motive—the restriction of production when it is not profitable, the often insane expansion of plant and equipment when some unusual profit is temporarily made. The planning and production is the job of workers of various degrees of training, some with overalls and some with white collars, some with shovels and some with microscopes, but it is never the job of politicians, evangelical orators, currency cranks or other parasites. These are superfluous—the excrescenses of the body social. Like-

wise the job of social reconstruction, of setting this world to rights, is the job of functioning workers and not of politicians and others who enter in no way into the world of industry.

The Flowsheet of Use.

The only organization of workers of brain and brawn by which we can plan for our own good and carry these plans out, is one that unites all workers on the same job in the same union; that unites all workers of the same industry whether they have jobs or haven't, in one industrial union, and that unites all workers in One Big Union of the working class and with the necessary organizational contact with workers in other lands. The only such organization is the Industrial Workers of the World.

Organized sufficiently in the IWW we can construct our own social flowsheet, not merely as the Ford engineers do for turning out a few trucks, but to replace the no longer workable profit motive by a planned economy of plenty. The social flowsheet of the One Big Union will lay out what timber should be cut, what sizes of lumber should be sawed, what coal and metal should be dug and where and when all this should be shipped to make possible the replacement of our slums by decent homes, our social eye-sores by pleasant parks, while feeding, clothing and providing proper medical, dental, educational and recreational service for all of us. To carry out this social flowsheet, we will go to work, not to do the bidding of our masters, but to turn out what our One Big Union has decided we need. And transportation workers, organized in their industrial union, will take these products not where parasites have previously dictated, but where Labor has decided it is necessary for them to go. That is the revolution.

Seize Power or Keep It?

Will anyone stand in our way? It will not be well for him to do so. We may be reasonably sure that Mr. Rockfeller or Baron Mond, will not come around to stop sturdy miners or determined factory slaves from taking possession of the earth and making a good place out of it. The most they can do is to divide our class and try to get part of it to fight the rest of us. To do this, they

must convince some of us that we will fail, and that our efforts lead only to chaos, bloodshed and worse misery. So long as the healthy idea of revolution is misrepresented to our class by boot-licking journalists and brainless fire-eaters as the creation of disorder, it is possible to have guns against us. But once the plain commonsense of the program of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism has replaced the lies and nonsense of journalists and mouthy politicians, and we have organized our One Big Union, we will have not only acquired the power and competence needed for the revolution, **but we will have deprived our enemy of all the power they ever had.**

This is a world where power counts. The revolutionary struggle is a struggle for the control of industry. It is the logical continuation of the daily struggle of union men for better conditions, higher wages, and shorter hours. It is for this reason that employers will often spend more to defeat a strike than it would cost to grant the increase asked for. The employer cannot concede that workers should regulate their hours, or their working practices, for to do so is to concede that the logical control of industry is by those whose labor runs it. Every concession is a transfer of some measure of this control—a step forward in the revolutionary process. The IWW is bitterly fought by the employing class, not only because it is the most effective means for raising wages, improving conditions and cutting hours, but because it is the only possible means for the complete transfer of industrial control.

Building a New World Is a Union Job.

The new world of plenty will not be built or fought for by a horde of incompetents, cringing for crumbs. It will be built and defended by the might of the One Big Union. It will be established as the final and complete victory of our struggle with the employer to wrest every possible concession from this decaying capitalism. We face the revolution and prepare for it, not by whining, but by an incessant struggle against the coal barons and sawdust kings, against lords of mine and mill and factory, and against that vestige of the feudal age—John Farmer. With Farmer John we see just one difference —that

it is part of our job to elevate him, after the revolution, to the status we ourselves will then enjoy, by organizing agricultural production to fit in with the rest of Labor's social flowsheet.

The revolutionary program of industrial unionism asks of no worker to do any thing except what his common sense has long been telling him to do—to get together with all his fellow workers to get everything he can out of his job and industry. Of the worker whose common sense has already shown him that we need a revolution, and that this revolution is a question of power and power alone, we ask of him likewise, to do what his common sense has long since told him to do, step in and build the only power adequate to that end—the irresistible and invincible might of the One Big Union—the I.W.W.

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These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

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CHICAGO, ILL.

LOCAL ADDRESS:

I.U. 450

The Revolutionary I. W. W.

PRICE 5 CENTS

Published by

Industrial Workers of the World

1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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TO WORKINGMEN AND WOMEN!

This pamphlet is addressed to the men and women who work for a living. If you are a banker, a manufacturer, a contractor, a financier, or a gambler, confidence man, burglar, preacher, bootlegger or "society leader," leave it alone—you won't learn anything to your benefit by reading it. But if you are not a shirker but a worker, if you are a member of that great army of producers which keeps the industries of this country humming and supplies all its inhabitants with food, clothing and shelter—no matter what your trade, color, religion, or nationality—then read it carefully and ponder over its every word. If you are a laborer, carpenter, bricklayer, electrician, machinist, miner, logger, longshoreman, sailor, fireman, railwayman, baker, engineer, teacher, clerk or factory hand—read it slowly, let the ideas that it contains soak in, and then pass it along to your fellow worker. This pamphlet deals with **your job**—or lack of it—with the wages that **you** get, the conditions that you work under, the misfortunes that beset you, and it shows you a way out. Fellow workers, men and women, this pamphlet brings to you a message of tremendous importance.

What Is Wrong with the Country?

Everybody is asking himself the above question. What is the matter, anyway? Our soldier boys went to war, defeated the enemy and "made the world safe for democracy." Those who stayed at home

worked hard to see the thing through to a successful finish. Everything went as per schedule, the "world was saved" and the working class should have received its reward. And it did receive it—in the neck. That is the place where the workers always get their reward for services faithfully rendered, unless they are organized strongly enough to offer effective resistance. On August 16, 1921, Secretary Davis of the U. S. Department of Labor reported that according to the best estimates available 5,735,000 persons were out of employment in the United States at that time. While wages are being cut in all industries the cost of living is not dropping in nowhere like the same ratio. The wages of the many thousands of workers employed by the U. S. Steel Corporation were cut in the month of August, 1921, to $3.00 for a basic ten-hour day. Workers in some other industries are receiving even less. About the same time some 200,000 miners were reported out of work, with thousands of others working only part time. It is needless to say that in the wake of low wages and unemployment follow starvation, misery, despair and disease for many millions of the working class.

What Will It Lead to?

Often you have asked yourself the question, How will all this end? You know that most of the workers are unorganized, and the greatest part of those who are organized in the American Federation of Labor and in other craft unions are giving in to the exorbitant demands of the employers without even putting up a fight. Will the American workers humbly suffer themselves to become so degraded that they will be willing to live on a loaf of dry bread, with a pinch of salt for an appetizer, or on a handful of rice? Will they bow and cringe and lick the dust off the bosses' shoes in order to show their willingness to work for starvation wages, or simply for

"coffee and—" and a crummy bed? Or will they show their manhood and band themselves together to defend their rights to life and happiness as human beings and as the only useful citizens of society? It would indeed be a shame crying to high heaven should the producers of all wealth—those who are the salt of the earth—permit themselves to be brutalized, starved and killed by the non-producing parasites, the human vermin.

In Union There Is Strength

Take all the matches out of a box and try to break them all at once. You won't be able to do it. Now take them out one by one and notice how easy it is to break them separately. This is an old illustration, but it teaches as useful a lesson now as it ever did. While the workers stand divided they are as reeds in the wind. Let them get together and they become a tower of strength. **United they stand, divided they fall.**

But perhaps you will point to the craft unions, political parties, benefit societies and other bodies to which a portion of the working class belong, and say: These workers are united, why is it that they cannot stop the tide of reaction? To this we will answer: Are they really united? Have you not noticed that when, for instance, the carpenters' union calls a strike the laborers, bricklayers, plumbers and electricians stick on the job? And, of course, the carpenters lose. Even if in rare instances the rest of the building trades workers should go out with them, the teamsters, street-car men, railway men, factory workers, stay on their jobs, and again the men out on strike lose. The way to beat the boss in this game of strength is not by half-measures. Nothing short of whole-hearted solidarity among the workers will bring home the bacon. As for the political parties—your congressman is not the fellow

who decides what wages you shall receive and how many hours you shall slave each day making profits for your boss. And the societies for the most part don't do a thing for you except award you death benefits after you have passed away to the land of green pastures where you can listen to beautiful music instead of to the whirr of machinery and the swearing of foremen, and where the hole has been taken out of doughnuts and the pork put back into pork and beans. Poor consolation!

The only way for the workers to become stronger than the employers is for them to organize at the point of production, in the industries in which they work. In industrial unionism, not craft unionism, in economic direct action, not politics, lies their means of escape from unbearable living conditions and from the whole system of wage slavery.

What Is Industrial Unionism?

There are in this country about twenty-five million men and women who work for wages. Upon them depends the smooth operation of our many industries. It is the industrial workers who create and make possible everything which goes to feed, clothe and shelter the people, and who are responsible for whatever measure of prosperity and happiness the country as a whole possesses. In every industry are employed many unskilled workers as well as a number of crafts. Now, it stands to reason that if the workers in any one industry want to wield the necessary power to compel the employers to grant their demands in the matter of wages, hours and conditions, that they should all of them belong in the same union. For instance, everybody who works in the building trades should belong in the Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union. This would insure a united front. Instead of that the construction workers are now divided into a score or more of craft

unions which are in no way bound to work in harmony with each other. The same condition prevails in every other industry in the country. The workers are either not organized at all or they are lined up, or rather split up, into craft unions which, owing to their form of organization and their reactionary leaders, are utterly incapable of fighting the bossess successfully.

But there is one organization which for the last sixteen years has persistently advocated revolutionary industrial unionism, which has always preached solidarity and class consciousness for the workers and has never compromised with the employers. That organization is the Industrial Workers of the World, popularly known as the I. W. W.

What Is the I. W. W.?

Everybody h s heard of the I. W. W. For years the kept press—the mouthpiece of the capitalist class—has been telling its readers that the members of the Industrial Workers of the World are a bunch of anarchists, cutthroats and bombthrowers. All of that is a lot of "bunk." The bosses stand in deadly fear of the spirit of solidarity that the I. W. W. is sowing among the workers, and therefore they do not hesitate to go to any length in their frantic efforts to discredit the organization which has for its motto: **An Injury to One Is an Injury to All.** The Industrial Workers of the World has had scores of its members lynched, hundreds have been brutally beaten, tarred and feathered, while thousands have been thrown into prison. In the summer of 1921 about two hundred were confined in various penitentiaries serving sentences ranging from five to forty years. Has that shaken the faith of its members in th correctness of their program? Not in the least. The organization is forging ahead by leaps and bounds. The very fact that it is being persecuted

ought to prove to any worker possessing a sound mind that the capitalists are afraid of it, and that it is therefore the right organization for him to join.

Owing to the lies that have been spread for years by the yellow capitalist sheets, gross misconceptions prevail among large masses of people as to what the I. W. W. really is. It is not a secret society, a political sect, a bombthrowers' association, or a hoboes' fraternal order. **It is a labor union.** Its task is to organize all men and women who work for wages into their respective industrial unions. These latter are then banded together into the **One Big Union.** When a good proportion of the workers will be solidly organized in the One Big Union they will then have the necessary power to take the industries away from their present unlawful owners and to operate them for use instead of for profit, as is the case today. We thus see that the ultimate aim of the I. W. W. is to abolish the present iniquitous profit system, which has reduced countless millions to the status of industrial slavery, and to substitute in its place **Industrial Communism.**

History of the I. W. W.

The Industrial Workers of the World was organized in 1905 by men who had come to see the ineffectiveness of craft unionism as a weapon for fighting the capitalists. Originally it was the intention of the organization to be active on the political field as well as on the industrial, but in a few years political action was abandoned, the preamble changed accordingly, and all energies concentrated on fighting the master class at the point of production.

The I. W. W. has been in the thick of the fight ever since its inception. Wherever conditions have been the worst, wages the lowest, opposition the bitterest, there one would always find the members

of this militant organization. The I. W. W. is not a pacifist, a "golden rule" love-your-neighbor-as-yourself organization. On the contrary, it believes that the battle goes to the strong and the race to the swift. It believes that the capitalist class will not give in one inch to the working class, or relinquish one iota of its power, until compelled to do so by the industrially organized might of the workers.

In 1906 the I. W. W. helped the hotel and restaurant workers of Goldfield, Nevada, to obtain the eight-hour day. During the next couple of years it was active in organizing the Nevada miners. In 1909 it conducted the historic McKees Rocks' strike, where the 8000 men involved had to contend against the lawlessness and brutality of the Pennsylvania Cossacks—the state constabulary. In the same year the organization conducted the Spokane and Fresno free speech fights, in the course of which over 600 members went to jail. In Spokane two hundred went on a hunger strike of from eleven to thirteen days and then were kept from thirty to forty-five days on two ounces of bread a day and water. In March, 1910, the Spokane authorities yielded and an ordinance was passed allowing street speaking.

In 1912 the I. W. W. conducted, against great odds, the strike of the Lawrence textile workers. The strike was won. The employers accepted the workers' terms and granted wage increases. In 1913 I. W. W. organizers led the strike of the hop-pickers in Wheatland, California, against almost unbelievably vile conditions and small wages. As a result of a reign of terror instigated by the hop barons, Ford and Suhr are now serving life sentences in Folsom penitentiary.

Although the I. W. W. had lined up many agricultural workers prior to 1916, it was in that year that the great membership drive of the Agricultural Workers' Organization took place, to be surpassed only by the great drive of 1921, during which many

thousands of new members were taken in and large sections of the grain producing states of Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska and North and South Dakota practically came under I. W. W. job control. The A. W. O. was later called the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110.

During the spring and summer of 1916 was conducted the miners' strike on the Mesaba iron range. In the same year the Everett massacre took place, in which five fellow workers were shot to death by the henchmen of the lumber interests on the steamer Verona at Everett, Washington. The massacre resulted from the strenuous campaign that the organization had been waging to organize the lumber workers on the Pacific coast. The persistent efforts at organizing and educating the loggers bore fruit during the following year, when the great lumber workers' strike took place throughout the Pacific Northwest. The I. W. W. scored a complete victory. The eight-hour day was obtained as well as sanitary bunk-houses, shower baths and good grub. The strike was won principally by the use of "striking on the job" tactics. The prestige of the organization in the West was greatly raised. The I. W. W. more than anything else has been responsible for developing class consciousness and a sense of solidarity among the western workers.

In 1917 was started a most vicious persecution of the organization. Union halls were raided by the wholesale and hundreds were thrown into jail. After many months of waiting for trial the defendants in the Wichita, Sacramento and Chicago cases—almost two hundred men all told—were sent to the penitentiary, the sentences ranging from one to twenty years. The only crime that these men were guilty of was that of being loyal to the working class.

On Armistice day, November 11, 1919, American Legion men, instigated by the business interests, raided the I. W. W. hall in Centralia, Wash. As a

result four of the legionaires were killed. Wesley Everest, an I. W. W. and an ex-service man, was brutally lynched by a mob. Seven of the defendants were found guilty of second degree murder, although they were exonerated from all guilt by an impartial labor jury, and were sentenced to Walla-Walla penitentiary to from twenty-five to forty years.

The history of the Industrial Workers of the World has been a continuous, relentless struggle against the master class.

Form of Organization

Nobody but actual wage workers can become members of the I. W. W. But that does not mean that only manual workers are eligible to membership. Anybody can join the organization who performs socially useful labor, whether he be carpenter, laborer, accountant, clerk, engineer or mechanic, provided he receives wages or salary as compensation and has nobody working for him. This is highly important, since it makes of the I. W. W. a **strictly working class organization.** The trouble with a great many revolutionary and labor bodies in the past has been that, having left the gates of membership open to anybody, they become flooded by a lot of politicians, lawyers, sky-pilots, adventurers and liberal milk-and-water revolutionists, and thus lose their proletarian character. This has been especially true in regards to various "revolutionary" political parties. The I. W. W. believes with the Russian Soviet government that the producers are the only people worth considering, and that "he who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The I. W. W. consists of twenty-nine industrial unions, which embrace the whole field of useful activity. No matter what you may do there is a place for you in the organization where you will fit in. Some of the more important of the unions are as

follows: Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, Lumber Workers' I. U. No. 120, Metal Mine Workers' I. U. 210, General Construction Workers' I. U. No. 310, Metal and Machinery Workers' I. U. No. 440, Railroad Workers' I. U. No. 520, Marine Transport Workers I. U. No. 510. There are also unions for the fishermen, coal miners, oil workers, ship-builders, textile- and clothing workers, printers, foodstuff, leather and glass workers, etc.

The industrial unions are made up of branches, one branch for each union in a given locality. The members pay their dues either to branch secretaries or to stationary or job delegates. The money is remitted to the secretary-treasurers of the respective unions, who then remit a small per capita to the General Office.

The general officers of the organization consist of a General Secretary-Treasurer and a General Executive Board (G. E. B.) The latter contains seven members, one from each of the larger industrial unions. Each of the unions has a secretary-treasurer and a General Organization Committee. These officers are elected to office for one year only, and their salaries are not any higher than the average wage of an industrial worker. In 1921 it was $5.00 per day. What a contrast with the American Federation of Labor, which pays some of its officials as high as $15,000 per year! How is it possible for a man possessing a capitalist's bank-book to wage the fights of the working class? Is it any wonder that so many strikes have been sold out by these high-salaried bourgeois-minded labor officials?

Dues and Initiations

The I. W. W. does not believe that it is possible for the working class to fight capital with capital. It therefore does not believe in prohibitive initiation fees and dues and in big union treasuries. Every

working man, no matter how poor he may be, ought to be given the opportunity to join his union. With that end in view, the initiation fee in the I. W. W. is only $2.00 and the dues are only $1.00 per month. Some of the craft unions, on the other side, charge an entrance fee of as high as $500.00, in the deluded belief that by doing so they will be able to throw up a fence around their members. To hell with the rest of the working class, they say, just so that we get "ours"! It is needless to say that this spirit of selfishness, instead of creating solidarity, creates dissention and ill-feeling, and eventually is bound to result in disaster.

The I. W. W. does not countenance long drawn-out strikes. Where money is the deciding factor, the bosses are bound to come out the winners. It has found out by bitter experience that the short, intermittent strike, or "striking on the job" tactics, are always much more effective. Instead of accumulating money in the banks, where it is at the disposal of the financiers in still further exploiting the workers, the I. W. W. uses all its spare funds in getting out educational propaganda, showing to the laboring masses the absolute necessity of class solidarity if they are ever to rid themselves of wage slavery.

Universal Transfer System

In the A. F. of L. and other craft organizations, if you are, let us say, a bricklayer, and are compelled by circumstances to obtain employment as a machinist, you have to take out a new union card and pay another initiation fee. Not so in the Industrial Workers of the World. Once a member, you are at liberty to transfer from your industry into any other industry free of charge.

The I. W. W. takes in workers of all races and nationalities. It considers all workers as brothers, whether they be white, red, black or yellow. The only

enemy that the producers have is the parasites—the capitalists. This again is in sharp contrast to the policy of craft unionism in the United States, which for years has discriminated against women, the negroes and the Orientals.

Direct Action

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." Such being the case, no working class organization has any business signing contracts or time agreements with the bosses. A union should always have a free hand to act when the most favorable moment presents itself. By signing contracts the workers pledge themselves to work a definite length of time for a certain wage with no regard to lack of employment or a rise in the cost of living, while the bosses consider themselves at liberty to break the agreement any time they wish, which they have done time without end. But the worst part of signing agreements is, since they all expire at different times, it prevents the working class from ever taking concerted action against the employers. It stands to reason that the general strike is out of the question while the unions persist in that suicidal practice. When the open shop campaign started in 1920 the bosses made it plain beyond shadow of a doubt that they consider agreements with unions nothing but scraps of worthless paper. No contracts, no bickering with the enemy—this should be the watchword of all intelligent workers.

Since the industries are the life of the country, since it is by virtue of their ownership of the industries that the capitalists are at present all-powerful, it is there that the workers should concentrate on gradually getting the power away from the capitalists into their own hands. Organization at the point of production, shop committees, local strikes, gen-

eral strikes, the use of any and all means to harass the bosses and to make the workers' organizations the workers will effect the transition of the industries from the hands of their present private owners into the hands of the producers.

The Industries to the Workers!

Capitalism is breaking down, not only in Europe, but in America as well. Our present masters have proven themselves wasteful, selfish and utterly incapable to efficiently administer industry. Millions of men, women and children are starving while warehouses are groaning under the weight of foodstuffs. Millions are idle while work aggragating billions of dollars is waiting to be done. Verily, the capitalists, our masters, have been given the sacred trust to look after the greatness of the country and the prosperity of its people, and they have failed miserably. Let therefore the workers themselves, the disinherited ones throughout the ages, assume the direction of things. **The Industries to the Workers!**—let this cry resound not only on the American continent but throughout the entire world. Working men and women, get together and organize! Organize not only for your immediate benefit but also to save the country from slipping into a morass of chaos and misery, and the industries from eventual destruction, whither they are now headed owing to the criminal inefficiency of the master class!

For further information write to the General Secretary-Treasurer of The Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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WORK PEOPLES COLLEGE

The Revolutionary I. W. W.

What kind of an organization is the Industrial Workers of the World? Why is it organized? Where is it organized? How is it organized?

These are questions that are being asked all over the country today by workers, students and men and women from all walks of life.

Thousands of columns of newspaper publicity have been given to the Industrial Workers of the World as a result of its activity. Countless magazine articles have been devoted to it and its alleged principles. Still the reading public has at best but a hazy conception of what the organization really is or what it stands for.

These questions the writer will try to deal with in his own way. First of all, however, it is necessary to show a few of the things "which we are not."

The I. W. W. is not a political organization in the sense that political organizations are today understood. It is not an anti-political sect. It is not a reform body. Its membership is not made up of anarchists, as some writers have stated. Its ranks are not exclusively composed of socialists, as others have asserted. True some of its members may have accepted the anarchist philosophy. Others may have accepted the socialist faith. However, to the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World they are known only as workers, as members of the working class.

What "One Big Union" Means

The Industrial Workers of the World is a la-

bor union that aspires to be the future society. It is a labor organization that holds that craft, district, or other forms of division are harmful to the workers. It teaches that an industrial system of organization must replace the antiquated forms.

Every man, woman or child who works in a given industry must be organized into the one big industrial union of his or her industry. The "ONE BIG UNION" slogan of the I.W.W. does not mean mass unionism. It does not mean that the railroad worker, the plumber, the teamster and the baker will be all in the same local union. That form of organization has been proven a failure. It has been shown to be unsound. Mass organization, irrespective of industrial needs, is too unwieldy to produce results.

The "one big union" slogan of the I. W. W. means CLASS organization according to industry. It has been proven practical by the capitalists themselves. All the great trusts and monopolies are organized according to industry. The steel trust, for example, not only own the mills wherein steel rails and other products are made. but also the mines from which the iron ore is taken. It owns the railroads leading from the mines to the lakes. It owns the steamship lines that haul the ore. It owns the blast furnaces that smelt the ore. In short, the steel trust is an industrial organization, covering every branch of the industry. The I. W. W. proposes to follow the boss' plan and scope of organization for the benefit of the worker.

The Railroad Industry

Let us show an example—the railroad industry. This will show the form of the organization

of the I. W. W. It will also tend to show the futility of the craft form of organization.

Every worker on a railroad, whether he be a section hand or a locomotive engineer, works for the same employer. All are necessary to the maintenance and operation of the railroad. If they were not they would not be employed. Railway corporations do not hire men from philanthropic motives; they hire men because they need them. All these workers are but units in the great railway organization. All perform certain functions, without which the railroad could not be operated. The section hand must keep the track in repair, else the engineer cannot run his locomotive at the required speed.

All have the same interests in common—more wages, shorter hours and better conditions. Logically all should be organized together. However, we find that the craft union organizes the engineer into an isolated union having its own international officers and its own agreement with the railway company. The brakeman is in another union, having another agreement or contract; the conductor in another, and so on all along the line. We find that there are seven different international craft unions in the railway industry, not to mention the shopmen. In the railroad shops and roundhouses there are at least ten other craft organizations. All of these different organizations have separate contracts with the railroad company; all these contracts expire at different dates. The result is disastrous to the workers. When the fireman goes on strike the engineer remains at work; his union contract must be lived up to; he is liable to a heavy fine if he violates it. The engineer stays on the job and teaches the scab fireman how to attend to

the water gauge. He teaches him how to attend to the boiler. In short, he teaches the amateur scab how to become an efficient scab. When the switchman goes on strike the brakeman remains at work, and vice versa.

A few years ago, during the switchman's strike on all railroads west of Chicago, union brakemen switched the trains before starting on their runs. After doing switchmen's work while the latter were on strike, the brakemen then voted a strike assessment to help the switchmen. It was like cutting a man's head off and then offering him a piece of court plaster to heal it with.

During the strike on the Illinois Central railroad among the Union conductors, engineers and firemen are hauling scabs to and from their work. Union switchmen switch disabled engines into the roundhouses for the scabs to repair. All this time the shopmen are struggling for better conditions.

We, of the Industrial Workers of the World, hold that organization as outlined above is nothing more or less than organized scabbing. Whenever a group of workers remain at work while others in the same industry are striking for better conditions, they are helping to defeat those who are on strike. In so doing they are acting the part of scabs. The mere fact that they carry a craft union card in their pocket does not change the status of the case. If their union sanctions such action, then their union card is nothing more than a scabbing permit.

The I. W. W. claims that inasmuch as every worker on the railroad is necessary to the maintenance and operation of the railroad, therefore every worker should belong to the "one big union" of railroad workers. The section hand, the

trackman, the engineer, the switchman, and others—all in their industrial union. Then when a strike is to be called, call them all out, from the man who handles a shovel on the grade to the man who handles the throttle of a locomotive; from the man who pushes a truck in the freight house to the man who pushes a telegrapher's key in the dispatcher's office.

Then you would have a real railroad strike. Not a train would move. The industry would be paralyzed. Think what power the workers would have. The railroad company would be forced to accede to the demands of the workers. That is the way the I. W. W. proposes to organize.

I. W. W. Aims to Include All Wage Workers

As we would organize the railroads, so we would organize all workers in all industries. Carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers, cement mixers, masons, laborers, and all building workers into one industrial union of building workers. Weavers, spinners, doffers and loom-fixers, together with all other textile workers into one big industrial union of textile workers. Barbers, elevator boys, janitors, etc., into one union of public service workers.

All industrial unions of a kindred nature are to be combined into the industrial department to which they belong. For example: Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union, Railway Transportation Workers Union, Railway Construction Workers' Industrial Union, Street Car, Subway, Elevated R. R. Workers Industrial Union, etc.—all organized in the Transportation Department of the Industrial Workers of the World.

All industrial unions, industrial departments and local unions, to compose one great central or-

ganization—the Industrial Workers of the World. This organization will embrace all workers, in all industries, in all countries throughout the world.

We aim to have a union broad enough to take in every worker and narrow enough to exlude all who are not workers. We aim to build up a nation of workers that will have no boundary lines or limits except those of the world's industries themselves. We intend to wipe out class lines by doing away with classes. We propose to inaugurate a system of society where the workers will get the value of what they produce for themselves.

No Nationality or Color Lines

This statement necessarily brings us to another phase of the I. W. W. movement, which will show that we are international in scope and recognize but one nation, the nation of those who work.

The Industrial Workers of the World is an INTERNATIONAL movement; not merely an American movement. We are "patriotic" for our class, the working class. We realize that as workers we have no country. The flags and symbols that once meant great things to us have been seized by our employers. Today they mean naught to us but oppression and tyranny. As long as we quarrel among ourselves over differences of nationality we weaken our cause, we defeat our own purpose. The practice of some craft unions is to bar men because of nationality or race. Not so with the I. W. W. Our union is open to all workers. Differences of color and language are not obstacles to us. In our organization, the Caucasian, the Malay, the Mongolian, and the Negro, are all on the same footing. All

are workers and as such their interests are the same. An injury to them is an injury to us.

An example of the way nationality bars are thrown down in the I. W. W. was shown in the great Lawrence strike. Here 27 different nationalities speaking over 47 different tongues, brought up under different customs and conditions, united in one great cause. All differences were forgotten. They had one common enemy, the woolen trust. They centered all their forces on that enemy. Turks and Italians fought side by side against their common enemy, although their respective countries were at war at the time. For nine long weeks in the dead of winter the workers, under the banner of the I. W. W. showed what solidarity could accomplish. Fifteen million dollars a year was the increase in wages that the textile workers received as a result of their fight. More than that, however, was the knowledge they had gained of their own power.

No longer will the slaves in Lawrence be docile as in the past. No longer will they submit to unspeakable brutalities such as were their portion before the strike. They have gained a knowledge of organization together with the cardinal principle of solidarity, that is priceless.

Such a strike as the Lawrence strike could only be made possible by long and continued agitation. Such agitation was carried on for years by the I. W. W. in Lawrence. Such agitation is being carried on by the I. W. W. throughout the world. One day this agitation is going to bear fruit.

Low Fees and Dues—Universal Transfer

Not only do we differ from the craft unions

on the admission to membership of so-called aliens, but we also differ in the matter or initiation fees and dues. The tendency in the craft union is to keep all workers out of the organization after a certain stage is reached. Initiation fees as high as $300 are charged for admission to some craft unions; $75 and $50 initiation fees are common among craft unions in the building trades. High dues are also common. The I. W. W. low dues are always the rule, low initiation fees likewise. We want an open union, and then we will have a closed shop. The initiation fee is the I. W. W. can never be over $5.00, and in most cases it is two dollars. Dues are almost uniformly 50 cents per month and never can be over $1.00 per month. Every inducement to join that can be offered to the workers, is offered by the I. W. W.

Another feature of the I. W. W. is the universal transfer of cards. We recognize the card of any labor organization in the world in lieu of an initiation fee. A member of the Industrial Workers of the World can transfer from one industrial union to another of the same or of a different industry, without cost. One union, one card. Once a union man, always a union man.

Power of the I. W. W.

Now a few words as to where we are organized. A few years ago the I. W. W. was unknown. It consisted of a few small groups of propagandists who were working day and night to spread the message of industrial unionism. Today our agitation is bearing fruit. Today we are not only a propaganda power, but we are the important factor in the labor movement in the United States.

Today a strike of 1,000 industrial unionists will attract more attention than a strike of 20,000 craft unionists. Why? Because the powers that be recognize in the I. W. W. a power that is one day going to overcome their power. Today the I. W. W. has almost complete sway over the textile industry. The lumber barons are also beginning to feel its power. On the high seas (and on the shores) we have organized the Industrial Union of Marine Transportation Workers, with strong organizations on the Atlantic seaboard. In nearly every state we have Unions that are recruiting more and more workers to our banner. We have had more successful strikes in the past year than the American Federation of Labor with its 27,000 different local unions.

In South Africa the great street car strike at Johannesburg, two years ago, was conducted by the I. W. W. In New Zealand and Australia we have national administrations paying a nominal per capita into the General Organization. In Alaska and Hawaii local unions are springing up. In Europe the syndicalist movement looks to the I. W. W. for new tactics and methods of organization.

Organizing a New Social System

The I. W. W. is fast approaching the stage where it can accomplish its mission. This mission is revolutionary in character.

The Preamble of the I. W. W. Constitution says in part: "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." That is the crux of the I. W. W. position. We are not satisfied with a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.

Such a thing is impossible. Labor produces all wealth. Labor is therefore entitled to all wealth. We are going to do away with capitalism by taking possession of the land and the machinery of production. We don't intend to buy them, either. The capitalist class took them because it had the power to control the muscle and brain of the working class in industry. Organized, we, the working class, will have the power. With that power we will take back that which has been stolen from us. We will demand more and more wages from our employers. We will demand and enforce shorter and shorter hours. As we gain these demands we are diminishing the profits of the bosses. We are taking away his power. We are gaining that power for ourselves. All the time we become more disciplined. We become self confident. We realize that without our labor power no wealth can be produced. We fold our arms. The mills close. Industry is at a standstill. We then make our proposition to our former masters. It is this: We, the workers, have labored long enough to support idlers. From now on, he who does not toil, neither shall he eat. We tear down to build up.

In the place of the present system of society where crime, prostitution and poverty are rampant, a new society will arise. No more prostitutes. Girls will no longer sell their bodies when they can get for themselves the full product of their labor. Crime will disappear as the incentive for it is taken away. Poverty cannot exist where all are workers and none are shirkers. Children instead of working in the mills will be in the schools. Mothers will no longer dread the ordeal of motherhood, from economic reasons. We will grow, physically, intellectually,

and morally. A new race will result, a race that will live for the joy of living, a race that will look with horror upon the pages of history that tell of our present day society.

The Industrial Workers of the World are laying the foundation of a new government. This government will have for its legislative halls the mills, the workshops and factories. Its legislators will be the men in the mills, the workshops and factories. Its legislative enactments will be those pertaining to the welfare of the workers.

These thing are to be. No force can stop them. Armies will be of no avail. Capitalist governments may issue their mandates in vain. The power of the workers—industrially organized—is the only power on earth worth considering—once they realize that power. Classes will disappear, and in their place will be only useful members of society—the workers.

The Constructive Program of the I. W. W.

BY B. H. WILLIAMS

Editorial in "Solidarity," June 7, 1913

The charge is now being made and repeated constantly by the enemies of the Industrial Workers of the World, that our organization is committed "exclusively to a program of violent de-

struction"; that "the I. W. W. would destroy society and industry, leaving nothing but chaos in their place." With much eagerness and flourish a large part of the labor press is repeating this nonsense, until no doubt many sincere workers are misled by it, which is, of course, the intention of the enemy. In order to offset this, and supply our own active members with material with which to educate outside workers, "Solidarity" hopes from time to time, to deal in detail with the structural forms of the "One Big Union." Our readers should understand that it is not the alleged "noisy talk" of the I. W. W. agitator that is so much feared by the capitalist master, as it is the attempt by the I. W. W. to BUILD CONCRETELY THE WONDERFUL STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY, that shall replace the rule of the masters by the organized control of industry and society by the working class.

A brief outline of the structure of the I. W. W. is here given, for the benefit of those who can be induced to enter more into detail with regard to their own particular industry, and to apply that knowledge in their propaganda among their fellow workers:

Industrial Union

(1) The fundamental unit of I. W. W. organization, as provided for in our constitution, is the INDUSTRIAL UNION, "branched according to the requirements of the particular industry." The I. W. W. takes account of the evolution of modern industry, from the era of small shops with distinct tools or implements of labor around which were grouped equally distinct craftsmen.

For example, the word "blacksmith" or "weaver" at once suggests the mental picture of the man at the forge with hammer and anvil at hand; or the picture of the man or woman at the loom. The idea of the particular TOOL USED by the workers stands out in bold relief when the trade is thus named. The craft form of union followed logically from that method of production. But when we say "metal and machinery worker" or "textile worker" the concept is different. The tool is lost sight of, and in its place the PRODUCT comes to mind—a printing press; or cotton, woolen or silk cloth. There are many subdivisions or specialized groups of "metal and machinery workers" as there are of "textile workers" co-operating together in turning out the given product. As a consequence, a metal and machinery shop, or a textile mill, can no longer be properly organized on a craft basis, according to the tools used by the workers.

Recognizing the fundamental changes due to industrial evolution, the I. W. W. provides for the organization of all workers in a given metal and machinery shop or a textile mill, into ONE SHOP BRANCH—with regular branch officers, shop committees and general shop meetings or referendums, to deal with questions pertaining to their shop interests alone. In this way, we get directly at the boss or shop owner, at the closest possible range.

But there may be many shops of the same kind in the same locality. Most matters do not concern a single shop only; for example, an eight-hour day, or an increase in wages is a matter that cannot well be settled by a single shop organization. Hence the shop branches must be

grouped in such a way that all the workers in a given locality, or in all localities can act as a unit against their employers and for all the workers at once. So for the purpose of local unity of a given industry, all the shop branches are bound together in an INDUSTRIAL BRANCH UNION, for instance, of "metal and machinery workers" or of "textile workers." This industrial union branch functions through a central committee or council composed of delegates from each of the shop branches, having all necessary officers to transact affairs of general concern, to maintain communication between the branches and larger subdivisions of the same industrial union, and so on. All detail work except important matters that require attention of the entire local membership, is attended to by the central committee or council. Such important matters are referred to a general meeting or a general referendum of the local membership. In this way, by the I. W. W. plan of organization, every possible detail is provided for.

But local unity is not sufficient, the local industrial union and the district council are not complete in themselves. An eight hour day or demand for a general advance in wages may originate as a local movement, but in order to be successful against a MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION or in face of the advantage that one competing capitalist will naturally take of another, such a movement must involve the entire industry. For instance, the Paterson textile workers (1913) demanded an eight hour day and succeeded in completely tying up the silk shops of that city. Immediately the bosses shouted that they could not "compete with the mill owners of Pennsylvania, New York and other sec-

tions of New Jersey." Thereupon the I. W. W. took them at their word, and proceeded to call out about 20,000 more strikers in the sections named, practically paralyzing the entire silk goods industry. The strikers of Hudson county, New Jersey, were offered their demands and requested to return to work. They refused, "until such time as the Paterson strikers should be granted the eight hour day and other concessions."

Thus the I. W. W. plan of organization has provided the INDUSTRIAL UNION for the purpose of bringing together all branches of a given industry into one body. All the textile workers of the nation are to be united in one industrial union. To transact its affairs, maintain unity of action and intercommunication between branches, etc., the industrial union elects officers and an executive board, holds conventions and deals with matters pertaining to the industry through the referendum.

Through this form of organization, the textile workers, for example, will tend more and more to assume control of that industry, and to regard it as their particular RESPONSIBILITY, in relation to the industrial society as a whole. Hence the basis of that claim by capitalist writers (and given a foundation in the assertions of some "half-baked" "syndicalists") that the I. W. W. proposes to "have the miners own and control the mining industry; the textile workers own and control the textile industry," etc. This is not true, as will appear later. Suffice it to say here, that the industrial union is provided for by the I. W. W. constitution to enable the workers in a given industry to maintain, in detail, the

unity and solidarity of that industry. This form of organization is seen to be essential both for purposes of defense and aggression against the capitalist enemy, and for shaping an essential part of the structure of the new society which it is seeking to form within the shell of capitalism.

Department of Industries

(4) Following the same "industrial lead" through the "vein" of modern capitalist industry, we find that a still larger grouping—of closely allied industries—is necessary. That is provided for under the name DEPARTMENT. In dealing with "departments," we cannot speak with the same assurance as with regard to the other subdivisions of the organization. Owing to the close inter-relation of "allied industries," the departmental lines are not clearly defined. Nevertheless, the I. W. W. constitution provides tentatively, for the following departmental structure:

1. The Department of Agriculture, Land, Fisheries and Water Products.
2. Department of Mining.
3. Department of Transportation and Communication.
4. Department of Manufacture and General Production.
5. Department of Construction.
6. Department of Public Service.

Each of these six departments will embrace all the industrial unions of closely allied industries in the respective development to which they may properly belong. Under this classification, as at present conceived, the industrial union of textile workers would be included

in the Department of Manufacture and General production. An industrial union of "Municipal Workers," having charge of the lighting, heating, paving, watering and otherwise administering cities, would belong to the Department of Public Service. But, as suggested above, the question of departmental grouping will have to be gone into more thoroughly, as the constructive work of organization proceeds. The concept of "departments" only brings out more clearly the inter-relation of one industry to another, and provides for the closer unity of allied industries.

General Organization—Union of the Working Class

(5) On this question of "closer unity" the I. W. W. constitution goes even farther. It proceeds on the understanding that wealth production is today a SOCIAL PROCESS, in which the entire working class co-operates to feed, clothe, shelter and provide the entire population of the world with the accessories of civilization. No single group of workers stands alone; no single industry is sufficient to itself; no group of industries can operate independently of other groups. For instance, the textile workers would be unable to "clothe the nation" if other groups of workers did not supply them with food, build machinery for the mills, raise cotton, wool and flax as "raw material"; transport products to and from the textile factories, etc. At bottom, all the working class co-operates with or aids directly or indirectly any group of workers in performing its function.

Consequently, just as the industrial union binds together the branches; and the departments the industrial unions — so the departments,

whether more or less than six in number when this form of grouping is worked out, will be brought together in ONE GENERAL UNION OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS, whose functioning will bind together all workers of all industries into one co-operative commonwealth.

This form of organization precludes the idea of the workers in one industry "owing and operating that industry for themselves." That proposal is found to be impossible of realization in view of the social character of production. The GENERAL ORGANIZATION of the I. W.W. is for the purpose of securing and maintaining the co-operation of all industrial groups for the work of social production for the use and benefit of all the people. The general organization has also another purpose at the present time—that of binding all the workers of the organization together for common defense and aggression against the master class. Its present success along this line brings forth the cry that the "I. W. W. is trying to destroy society."

Through this form of organization thus briefly sketched, the I. W. W. is seen to have a constructive program, supplementing its destructive tactics against the capitalist enemy, that is invincible. And it is this CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM that alarms the masters and their retainers more than all the "loud talk" which they attribute to I. W. W. agitators. This program should be debated, studied and understood by all I. W. W. members first of all. Moreover, it should form a part at least of every soap-boxer's speech. Without it, the "tactics" of the I. W. W. are of as little value as geometrical figures without material substances through which to express

their meaning. Tactics are inseparable from organization. Therefore let us study and work to build the organization that, while striking capitalism its death blow, is at the same time preparing to put in the place of capitalism a new and better society.

How Scabs Are Bred

BY GROVER H. PERRY

Craft unionism is the chief factor in creating scabs and the greatest stumbling block in the path of the laborer who wishes to improve his or her condition. The apprentice system is responsible for more strike breakers than any other known cause.

A man goes to work, we will say, in a shop where general building is carried on. He works in the roofing and sheet metal department, which is thoroughly organized(?) in the A. S. M. W. I. A., which is the tinners and roofers craft union. It's perhaps the first time that he has ever had the oportunity to work in a union shop and he is enthused with the idea that at last he can become a union man, and, as such, be able not only to better his own conditions, but to help better the conditions of his fellow workers.

His first rebuff comes when he inquires of

his fellow workers as to the steps necessary to become a member of the union. He is told that he is not wanted, and that before he can become a member he must have credentials showing that he has worked three years as an apprentice. Somewhat subdued, he inquires then as to how to become an apprentice. He is told that the number of apprentices is limited (one to every three journeymen), and that the shop has the full quota of apprentices at the present time.

All this time the journeymen are working eight hours per day and receiving $3.25 for that work, while he is working nine or ten hours a day and taking whatever the boss sees fit to hand him. He sees that the union does not concern itself as to whether he gets paid for overtime or not. He sees that to all intents and purposes the union does not recognize his existence. All this time the idea is growing within him that the union is not organized for the benefit of the workers as a class, but for the benefit of those fortunate persons who are already members.

During the day's work he chances to pick up one of the tools that the journeymen use while at work and is instantly commanded by a surly journeyman, who occupies the position of shop steward, to lay down that tool, and in the future to remember to obey the rules of the union (of which he is denied membership) in regard to laborers and helpers handling tools. These rules

are printed on cards and hung in prominent places in the shop.

He is given to understand that he is a social inferior and that he should not expect the same privileges that journeymen enjoy. He must not touch the hammer (except on stated occasions, such as nailing drip), the snips or shears, soldering irons or any of the various tools that a man must become accustomed to before he can hope to acquire the faintest rudiments of the trade.

He is graciously permitted to carry slate, build scaffolds and paint tinwork and all other dirty work that may be required. He is supposed to be at the beck and call of the journeymen at all times and to be, in general, a good, faithful animal. If he dares to question the wisdom of the union in granting him these many benefits, the good union journeymen (who are afraid that he might learn to do the work that they are now doing) can and do make life miserable for him. He is told to hold a joint of pipe in place, so that the journeymen may fit it, and with his arms stretched at full length above his head (which, by the way, is the most tiresome work in the world) he waits the journeyman's pleasure, while the journeyman talks over the latest prize fight news with one of his comrades.

The boss has had his eyes open all this time and if, in his judgment, the man will make a good workman he approaches him with a propo-

sition to buy a share of stock in the company, which will give him the right to work at the work that the journeyman works at and to use the same tools, and thereby learn the trade.

For be it remembered that this same craft unionism which has so low an opinion of its helpers, and such utter disregard of their welfare, has at the same time such a high opinion of the boss and such deep concern for the interests of stockholders that if any one buys a share of stock in the concern that exploits them, he is permitted to work at anything all hours and for any wages. The man, by this time, thoroughly disgusted with the union, consents, and he begins to think that the employer has given him a squarer deal than the union. In a short period of time he begins to degenerate into one of those atavistic workingmen who think that their interest is wrapped up with that of their employer.

It may happen that the employer does not make this proposal and that the union, in the course of time, declares a strike. Then, and with some justice, the man reasons thus: "This union did not recognize me and did everything in its power to keep me from bettering my conditions. Now is my opportunity. I will take the place of one of these men and learn what I can of this trade and be in a better condition to wage the struggle of existence in the future." The reasoning lacks logic, but is perfectly natural under the circumstances.

Thus scabs are bred.

These are the actual conditions that laborers work under.

Here are some of the rules of Local 266, A. S. M. W. I. A., New Castle, Pa.

Rule 7. Each shop shall be allowed one apprentice, but no two apprentices shall be allowed unless four or more journeymen are employed therein.

Rule 8. Apprentices going to work in a shop shall work two years for said boss, or cannot take another job until their two years are up.

Rule 10. Apprentices shall serve three years before they can become journeymen.

Rule 12. Helpers are allowed to paint, nail drip, put up circles and do other work not conflicting with the rules of this local.

These rules are typical, not only of this organization but of all craft unions. Get wise and join a union that will protect every workingman whether he be a laborer or mechanic. In other words, join the I. W. W.



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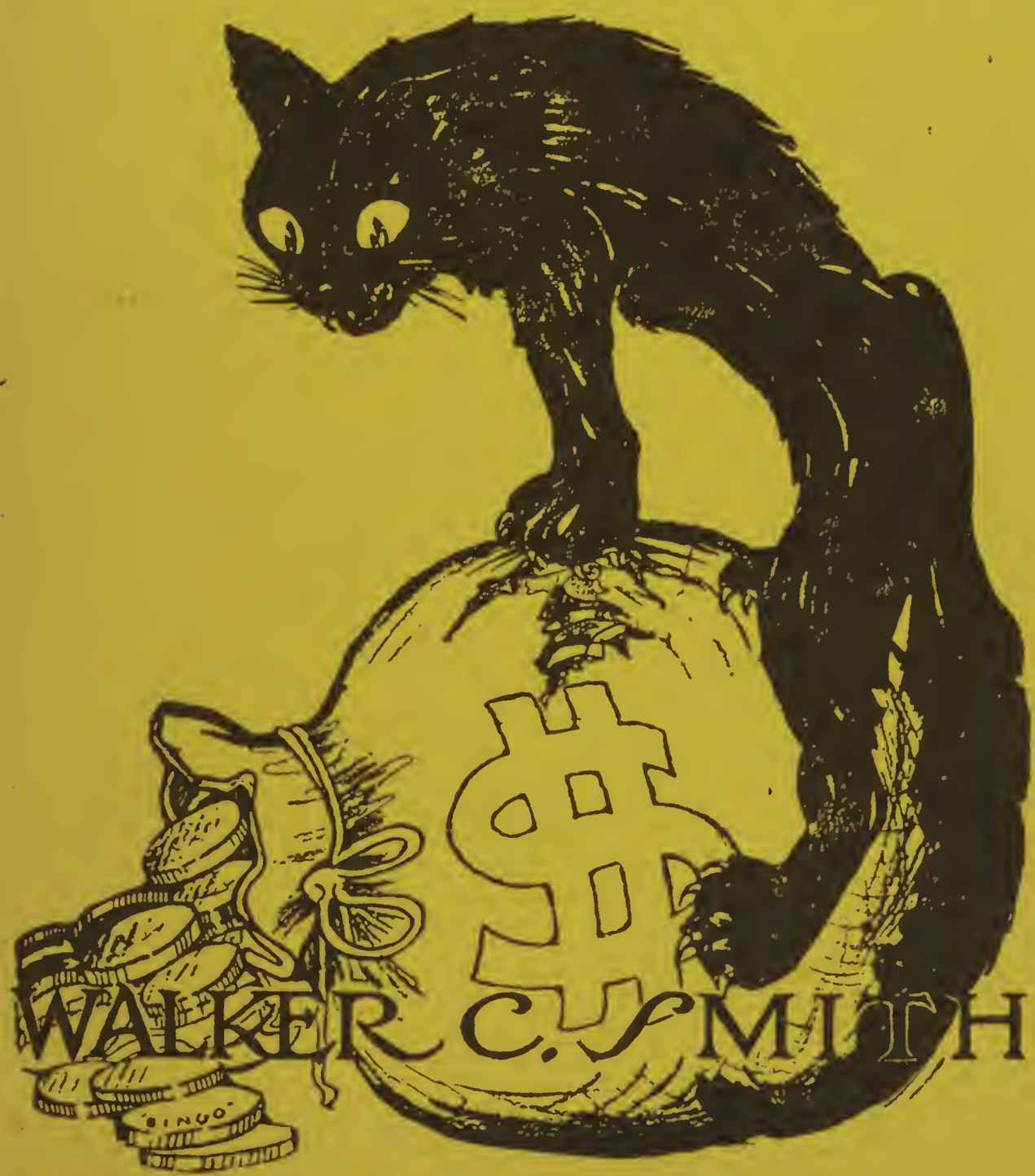
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SABOTAGE

ITS HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY & FUNCTION



WALKER C. SMITH

SABOTAGE.

FOREWORD

This little work is the essence of all available material collected on the subject of Sabotage for a period of more than two years. Thanks are due to the many rebels who gave assistance, and especially to Albin Braida, who made for me what I think to be the first English translation of Pouget's work on Sabotage. From this last pamphlet extracts have been taken and adaptations made to suit American conditions.

The object of this work is to awaken the producers to a consciousness of their industrial power. It is dedicated, not to those who advocate but to those who use sabotage. WALKER C. SMITH.

No theory, no philosophy, no line of action is so good as claimed by its advocates nor so bad as painted by its critics. Sabotage is no exception to this rule. Sabotage, according to the capitalists and the political socialists, is synonymous with murder, rapine, arson, theft; is illogical, vile, unethical, reactionary, destructive of society itself. To many anarchist theorists it is the main weapon of industrial warfare, overshadowing mass solidarity, industrial formation and disciplined action. Some even go so far as to claim that sabotage can usher in the new social order. Somewhere between these two extreme views can be found the truth about sabotage.

Three versions are given of the source of the word. The one best known is that a striking French weaver cast his woden shoe—called a sabot—into the delicate mechanism of the loom upon leaving the mill. The confusion that resulted, acting to the workers' benefit, brought to the front a line of tactics that took the name of SABOTAGE. Slow work is also said to be at the basis of the word, the

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It is needless to add that our financial resources are very limited. Voluntary contributions, long-term no-interest loans and advance bulk orders would be much appreciated.



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operative action are necessary if we are to build a new social order as well as destroy the old. Sabotage is merely a means to an end; a means that under certain conditions might be dispensed with and the end still be gained.

Sabotage will sometimes be misused, flagrantly so; the same is true of every one of the weapons of labor. The main concern to revolutionists is whether the use of sabotage will destroy the power of the masters in such a manner as to give the workers a greater measure of industrial control. On that point depends its usefulness to the working class.

II.

Sabotage is not a form of action brought forth from French conditions. It dates back to the earliest days of human exploitation. It is born of class struggles—of man's inhumanity to man. From serfdom to wage slavery the enslaved class has instinctively tried to render less to the master than was expected of it. This unconscious sabotage shows the irreconcilable antagonism between capitalist and laborer—master and slave.

Sabotage was not formally baptized as a word to describe a formula of social struggle until the Confederal Congress of Tolosa in 1897. Open advocacy of the idea and conscious sabotage in place of instinctive action began in France about this time. It had been preached in England and Scotland for many years before that under the name of "Ca' Canny." This phrase of Scotch origin meant "Go slow," or to be more literal, "Don't hurry up." From a publication "The Social Museum" an instance is gained of the use of sabotage by the Scotch.

"In 1889 the organized dockers of Glasgow demanded a ten per cent increase of wages but met with the refusal of the employers. Strike breakers were brought in from among the agricultural laborers and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and return to work on the old wage

idea being that wooden shoes are clumsy and so prevent quick action on the part of the workers. The third idea is that Sabotage is coined from the slang term that means "putting the boots" to the employers by striking directly at their profits without leaving the job. The derivation, however, is unimportant. It is the thing itself that causes commotion among employers and politicians alike. What then is Sabotage?

Sabotage is the destruction of profits to gain a definite, revolutionary, economic end. It has many forms. It may mean the damaging of raw materials destined for a scab factory or shop. It may mean the spoiling of a finished product. It may mean the displacement of parts of machinery or the disarrangement of a whole machine where that machine is the one upon which the other machines are dependent for material. It may mean working slow. It may mean poor work. It may mean missending packages. giving overweight to customers, pointing out defects in goods, using the best of materials where the employer desires adulteration and also the telling of trade secrets. In fact, it has as many variations as there are different lines of work.

Note this important point, however. **Sabotage does not seek nor desire to take human life.** Neither is it directed against the consumer except where wide publicity has been given to the fact that the sabotaged product is under the ban. **A boycotted product is at all times a fit subject for sabotage.** The aim is to hit the employer in his vital spot, his heart and soul, in other words, his pocketbook. The consumer is struck only when he interposes himself between the two combatants.

On the other hand, sabotage is simply one of the many weapons in labor's arsenal. It is by no means the greatest one. Solidaric action is mightier than the courageous acts of a few. Industrial class formation gives a strength not to be obtained by mere tactics. Self discipline and co-

"Bread or Death!'—a standard which the government should have considered.

"The republicans had felt out the revolt and they organized the spinners who fought in double shifts. Lyons had its three days. Then everything became normal again and the poor went back to their dog kennels.

"The spinners who had, until then, transformed into useful goods the silk which was weighed to them in cocoons, laid aside probity. They began to grease their fingers with oil. With scrupulous ability they rendered the correct weight, but the silks were all specked with oil The commerce of the silk manufacturies was infested with greasy goods which caused a loss to Lyons and to a portion of the French commerce."

This action, as Balsac points out, was nothing more than the workers taking revenge for having been the victims of bayonets when they had asked for bread. But sabotage is something more than simply the equivalent of an oppression received; it has an economic foundation.

III.

There exists today a labor market in which the wage workers sell their power to perform various task asked of them by the purchasers—the employing class. The labor power of the workers is a commodity. In selling their merchandise the workers must sell themselves along with it. Therefore they are slaves—wage slaves. In purchasing goods from a merchant one receives an inferior quality for a low price. For a low price—poor products. If this applies to hats and shoes, why not equally to the commodity sold by the laborer? It is from this reasoning that there arises the idea: **For poor wages—bad work.** This thought is a natural one even to those who agree with society as it is now constituted. To those who do not look upon the wage system as a finality and who have come to regard the employers in their true light—as thieves

scale. But before the men resumed their work, their secretary of the union delivered to them the following address:

"You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and time again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural laborers who had taken our places for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work; we have seen that they could not even walk a vessel, that they dropped half of the merchandise they carried, in short, that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted by the work of these fellows; well, then, there is nothing left for us but do the same and to practice Ca' Canny. Work as the agricultural laborers worked. Only they often fell into the water; it is useless for you to do the same."

"This order was obeyed to the letter. After a few days the contractors sent for the general secretary of the dockers and begged him to tell the dockers to work as before and that they were ready to grant the ten per cent increase."

Balzac, writing three-quarters of a century ago, gave a good illustration of sabotage in describing the bloody uprising of Lyons in 1831.

"There have been many things said about the uprising of Lyons, of the republic cannonaded in the streets, but no one has told the truth. The republic seized the movement as an insurgent seizes a rifle.

"The commerce of Lyons is a commerce without courage; as soon as an ounce of silk is manufactured it is asked for and payment made at once. When the demand stops, the workers are dying of starvation; when they are working they earn barely enough to live upon. The prisoners are more happy than they.

"After the July revolution misery reached the point where the workers were compelled to raise a standard:

more dexterous slave, the rest are forced to keep pace. Those who fall by the way are unceremoniously cast aside to beg, steal or starve. One method used by the saboteur to stop this form of scabbery is illustrated by the following occurrence:

Building laborers were wheeling barrows of material to an electric hoist, following the rate of speed set by their higher paid taskmaster. The pace became so swift that those who were weaker could no longer keep up. During the noon hour one of the men stepped to the wheel barrow of the speeder and tightened the burrs on the wheel. Upon resuming work the task master started at his usual pace but soon was obliged to slow down through sheer weariness. No class conscious worker will join the moralists and vote catchers in condemning this action.

In the steel mills the speeding up process has become so distressing to the average worker that still greater steps are taken for self protection. In fact, in speaking of these class traitors, it is often remarked that "Something dropped on their foot often affects their head." There are many points of similarity between the speeder and the favored steer in the stock yards who is trained to lead the other steers into the killing pens.

England offers an example of a practical method of limiting the output. Due to effective, widespread, systematic sabotage the brick masons there lay as a day's work, less than one-third the number of brick required from their brother craftsmen in America. Any reduction in pay is met with a counter reduction in the work. Sabotage means, therefore, that the workers directly fight the conditions imposed by the masters in accordance with the formula "Poor wages—bad work."

IV

Actions which might be classed as "capitalist sabotage" are used by the different exploiting and professional classes.

of the laborers' product—the idea of sabotage commends itself still more strongly. It is a logical weapon for the revolutionist.

Economists have shown that the wages of the workers are not determined by their product. Wages are simply the market price of the commodity called **labor power.** Wages are not raised or lowered as the productivity of the worker ebbs and flows. They are conditioned upon the supply and demand, the standard of living where the wages are paid, and the relative strength of the organizations of workers and employers. Not many wage workers have studied the deeper economists, but the ditch digger knows that when he has finished the ditch upon which he is at work he must hunt another master. He instinctively slows up. Self-preservation is one of the first laws of nature. His action has value from a class standpoint, for either more ditch diggers must be employed to complete the work within a given time, or else there is less competition in the labor market for those extra days he labors.

Many who condemn sabotage will be found to be unconscious advocates of it. Think of the absurd position of the "craft union socialists" who decry sabotage and, in almost the same breath, condemn the various efficiency systems of the employers! By opposing "scientific management" they are doing to potential profits what the saboteurs are doing to actual profits. The one prevents efficiency, the other withdraws it. Incidentally it might be said that sabotage is the only effective method of warding off the deterioration of the worker that is sure to follow the performance of the same monotonous task minute after minute, day in and day out. Sabotage also offers the best method to combat the evil known as "speeding up." None but the workers know how great this evil is. It is one of the methods by which employers coin wealth from death, consuming the very lives of the toilers. By payment of slightly higher wage to the stronger and

Capitalist sabotage aims to benefit a small group of non-producers, while working class sabotage seeks to help the whole body of producers at the expense of the parasites. The frank position of the class conscious worker is that capitalist sabotage is **wrong** because it harms the workers; working class sabotage is right because it aids the workers This view comes from the position the proletarians occupy in the class war. A word about that class war.

To the rebellious toiler the class war is no mere theory. It is a grim realty. To him it is not a polite sparring match according to Marquis of Queensbury rules with four years between each round. It is love of liberty, and war against the exploiters. "All's fair in love and war."

Because the revolutionist has discarded the moral code of the master class and has spit in the face of bourgeois ethics, it does not necessarily follow that there is no rule regulating his conduct. He is, in fact, so strongly actuated by an ideal that he has left the arena of words to enter the realm of action. **Sabotage is a direct application of the idea that property has no rights that its creators are bound to respect.** Especially is this true when the creators of the wealth of the world are in hunger and want amid the abundance they have produced, while the idle few have all the good things of life.

However secret must be sabotage, when used by an individual instead of the whole body, it is taking its place in the rising moral code of the propertyless toilers just in proportion as it is being openly advocated. The outspoken propaganda of sabotage and its widespread use are true reflections of economic conditions. The current ethical code with all existing laws and institutions, is based upon private property in production. **Why expect those who have no stake in society, as it is now constituted, to continue to contribute to its support?**

The truck farmer packs his largest fruits and vegetables on top. The merchant sells inferior articles as "something just as good." The doctor gives "bread-pills" or other harmless concoctions in cases where the symtoms are puzzling. The builder uses poorer material than demanded in the specifications. The manufacturer adulterates foodstuffs and clothing. All these are for the purpose of gaining more profits. Carloads of potatoes were destroyed in Illinois recently; cotton was burned in the Southern states; coffee was destroyed by the Brazilian planters; barge loads of onions were dumped overboard in California; apples are left to rot on the trees of whole orchards in Washington; and hundreds of tons of foodstuffs are held in cold storage until rendered unfit for consumption. All to raise prices. Yet it is exploiters of this character who are loudest in condemnation of sabotage when it is used to benefit the workers.

Some forms of capitalist sabotage are legalized, others are not. But whether or not the various practices are sanctioned by law, it is evident that they are more harmful to society as a whole than is the sabotage of the workers. Capitalists cause imperfect dams to be contructed, and devastating floods sweep whole sections of the country. They have faulty bridges erected, and wrecks cause great loss of life. They sell steamer tickets, promising absolute security, and sabotage the life-saving equipment to the point where hundreds are murdered, as witness the Titanic. The General Slocum disaster in an example of capitalist sabotage on the life preservers. The Iroquois Theater fire is an example of sabotage by exploiters who assured the public that the fire curtain was made of asbestos. There are also the Primero, the Drakesboro, the Cherry mine disasters and the terrible Triangle Shirtwaist tragedy. The cases could be multiplied indefinitely. These capitalist murderers constitute themselves the mentors of the morals of those slaves who "have nothing to lose but their chains." Only fools will take their ethics from such knaves. **Capitalist opposition to sabotage is one of its highest recomendations.**

What is more civilized than to spike the guns when they are trained on our working class brothers in other countries?

What is more civilized than to waste the adulterations given the workers to place in food, thus making it unprofitable to sell impure products?

Sabotage will civilize the soldier, the militiaman, the police, the speeder, the slave driver, the food poisoner, the shoddy manufacturer, the profit grabber of high and low degree, and even the politician.

Those who oppose sabotage on ethical grounds are supporters of capitalist theft and are faithful watchdogs of the strong boxes wherein the masters store stolen wealth. Revolutionists have no time to waste in taking lessons in correct manners from those who do no useful labor in society. In advocating sabotage we hope to show that the workers should rid their minds of the last remnant of bourgeois cant and hypocrisy and by its use develop courage and individual initiative.

From sabotage to gain better conditions it is a logical step to direct sabotage against the repressive and perverting forces of capitalism.

VI

The press is one of the greatest agencies used by the employers to keep the workers in subjection. It is dominated by the industrial masters. Sometimes the press is owned directly sometimes through a mortgage or a secured loan. More often the subsidization of the press is accomplished through advertising patronage. But at all times the power of the capitalist press depends upon the servility of the slaves who do all the work of setting up, printing and distributing the lies of the masters. Sabotage is the most effective weapon for the stopping of newspaper attacks upon the workers and their organizations.

As a whole the reporters are favorable to the workers. They have to follow the policy of the papers to hold their

V

The charge that sabotage is "immoral," "unethical," "uncivilized," and the like, does not worry the rebellious workers so long as it is effective in inflicting injury to the employers' profits. As it aids the workers in their fight it will find increasing favor in their eyes. In war the strategic move is to cut off the opposing force from its base of supplies. Sabotage seeks to curtail profits and in conjunction with other weapons to abolish finally the surplus value, or unpaid labor, that is the source of the employers' power.

"You are immoral" cry employers and politicians alike. Our answer is that all morals today are based upon private property. Even so-called sexual immorality is condemned while universally practiced, because it violates the principle of inheritance in property and is in defiance of customs generally accepted but seldom inquired into. When the workers accept their morals from the capitalist class they are in a sorry way indeed. **The question is not, Is sabotage immoral?—but, Does sabotage get the goods?**

"You are destroying civilization" is likewise hurled against us, to which we reply in the language of the street: "We should worry!" **Civilization is a lie. A civilization that is builded upon the bended backs of toiling babes; a civilization that is reared upon the sweating, starving, struggling mass of mankind; a civilization whose very existence depends upon a constant army of hungry, servile and law-abiding unemployed, is scarcely worthy of consideration at the hands of those whom it has so brutally outraged. The saboteur carries on his work in order to hasten the day of working class victory, when for the first time in human history we shall have a civilization that is worthy of the name.**

What is more civilized than for the workers to create powder that refuses to explode?

What is more civilized than to work slow and thus force employers to give a living to more of the unemployed?

chased the engineers by a high wage and the establishment of an aristocracy of labor. But a few rebels are bound to creep into their ranks. Even if every one of them remained a traitor to the workers by being loyal to the employers still they could not escape sabotage. A bar of soap in the boiler would keep the soldiers at home or else force them to march to the strike. If this were not possible, there are water tanks where the tender must be filled and the saboteur can "Let the Gold Dust Twins do the work"

In case of wars, which every intelligent worker knows are wholesale murders of workers to enrich the master class, there is no weapon so forceful to defeat the employers as sabotage by the rebellious workers in the two waring countries. **Sabotage will put a stop to war when resolutions, parliamentary appeals and even a call for general refusal to serve are impotent.** But, as stated before sabotage is but one phase of the question. Anti-military and anti-patriotic agitation must also carried on.

Sabotage is a mighty force as a revolutionary tactic against the repressive forces of capitalism, whether those repressions be direct or through the State.

VII

"It is guerilla warfare," is another cry against sabotage. Well, what of it? Has not guerilla warfare proven itself to be a useful thing to repel invaders and to make gains for one or the other of the opposing forces?Do not the capitalists use guerilla warfare? Guerilla warfare brings out the courage of individuals, it develops initiative, daring,. resoluteness and audacity. Sabotage does the same for its users. It is to the social war what guerillas are to national wars. If it does no more than awaken a portion of the workers from their lethargy it will have been justified. But it will do more than that; it will keep the workers awake and will incite them to do battle with masters. It will give added hope to the militant minority, the few who always bear the brunt of the struggle.

jobs, however. They can use sabotage on the masters by their handling of the news. The editors of the various departments will color the matter anyhow, in accordance with wishes of advertisers or stockholders of the paper. But when an article is written that is harmful to the workingclass there are many ways in which it can be saboted. The linotype operator can misplace a portion of the copy. The proofreader can insert or remove the word "not" and thus change a knock to boost. The make-up man can place another article where it was intended the lie should go or he can insert a part of another article under the offending heading so that it will apparently read correctly and yet will not contain the harmful material, The stereotyper can damage the face of the offending article so that it will not print. These are but a few of the many methods that might be used. All of these "accidents" are happening every day in publishing plants and it but remains to direct them to a revolutionary end. With more class consciousness along these lines the employers will find it does not pay to lie about the workers.

One of the repressive forces of capitalism, the militia, can be made useless by the extension of the use of sabotage One saboteur can make harmless toys of the entire equipment of a company. When a trainload of soldiers are dispatched to a strike scene, where they always act in the interest of the employers, the train can be saboted. In Parma, Italy, for example, the farm laborers struck. Soldiers were ordered to the scene. The engineers refused to pull the train from the depot. Volunteers to man the engines were secured from the ranks of the soldiers. When these scabs entereu the cab they found that some vital part of each engine had been misplaced. They were forced to walk to Parma. Bridges disappeared in advance of the line of march. When the weary and disgusted troops arrived at the scene of the agricultural strike they found that the strikers had won and were back at work.

Realizing that the railroads are the arteries of commerce the capitlists of this country have practically pur-

scornful of Elbert Hubbard's veiled preachments against sabotage.

Those who denounce sabotage as "unfair" are also seen to be supporters of the kind of unions that notify the employers six months in advance of a strike, thus allowing them to procure scabs or to stock-pile so as to have material with which to supply the demand for goods while the workers are starving. The same moralists also hold that it is wrong for the miners to call out the pumpman on strike because the mines would flood, ignoring the fact that such action would quickly bring the employer to terms.

VIII

In warfare a flank movement is always feared by each of the opposing forces. In the social war sabotage is the best kind of a flank movement upon our enemy—the employing class. An actual instance will serve to illustrate the point.

On an orchard farm in the state of Washington a dis agreement arose over conditions on the job. A strike took place. The I. W. W. members among the strikes immediately telephoned to the union in the nearest city. When the employer arrived in town looking for a new crew he was rather surprised at his speedy success. Full fare was paid for the men and the railway train was boarded. At the first stop, about two miles from the city, the whole crew deserted the train. They were all members of the union. Returning to the city the farmer picked up a second crew. He arranged to have them pay their own fare, same to be refunded upon their arrival on the farm. This crew went through all right and worked for a while under the farmer's direction. Thinking the strike was successfully broken the employer finally busied himself with other matters for the rest of the day. Next morning upon visiting the work the farmer was surprised to find that 1000 young trees had been planted upside down, their roots waving to the breeze as a mute evidence of solidarity and sabotage. No further

The saboteur is the sharpshooter of the revolution. He has the courage and the daring to invade the enemy's country in the uniform of a "loyal," that is to say—subservient, worker. **But he knows that loyality to the employer means treason to his class.** Sabotage is the smokeless powder of the social war. It scores a hit, while its source is seldom detected. It is so universally feared by the employers that they do not even desire that it be condemned for fear slave class may learn still more its great value.

Indeed, it can be seen that the masters are powerless in the face of this weapon. In the realm of production the masters do not enter except by indirection. The creation of wealth is the work of the wage slave class, and every tendency of this class is toward sabotage.

The time clock has come as sign that the boss recognizes the instinctive sabotage that is universal. In many establishments there is even a time clock in front of each toilet, with a time limit for the toilers to remain inside. But where is there a factory that has not its saboteurs who show their class solidarity by ringing in time for some of their fellow workers? In many establishments the time clock has an unaccountable habit of getting out of order and so costing the firm more than the amount of labor time saved otherwise. As a check against the spread of sabotage the employers have their paid writers to tell tales of how success in life is sure to attend the worker who does not watch the clock and who endeavors at every opportunity to save money for the employer. But there are more of the workers who are coming to see that any saving that is made is not reflected in their pay envelope, but simply means larger profits to those who are already getting the bulk of the good things of life. They also know that where one might possibly forge ahead by being a "boss-lover," the same line of action on the part of the whole force would reduce the number of employees needed and probably result in their dismissal. Knowing this they are

houses of unfair patrons. They simply dropped some vile smelling chemicals upon the floor during the performance and then made a quiet and speedy exit. The audience generally followed the example within a short time. This method was used only after an extensive boycott of the theatre in question had been advertised.

It is quite natural that the employing class try to have it generally understood that sabotage means poisoning soup, putting ground glass in bread, dynamiting buildings and the like, so the revolutionists must at all times emphasize the point that **sabotage is not aimed at the consumer but at the heart and soul of the employing class—the pocketbook.**

IX.

"It will be met by the lockout," is another argument advanced against the use of sabotage. That is to say, the employer, finding sabotage in use in his factory, will cut off all of his profits in order to try to save a portion of them! But let a lockout be used and will not wage workers have to be employed as soon as operations are resumed? Will not the employer have to hire the same saboteurs, who have remained unknown to him? If workers are imported, cannot saboteurs get on the job in the guise of scabs?

A little thought on the subject shows that a lockout is impracticable in the face of sabotage. No employer locks out his force with the intention of keeping them out permanently. The workers must be re-employed. Their lockout experiences will drive home the class struggle more than would a thousand lectures on the subject, and many of them will return to work, as was predicted in the Lawrence strike, "with bitterness in their hearts and emery dust in their pockets." The employers, however, resort to the lockout only when all else has failed. Even when using this weapon they seek to have it appear as a strike, and they launch it at a time favorable to themselves in every particular, and therefore unfavorable to the workers. They

argument was needed to convince the farmer of the "justice" of the demands of the original crew.

This instance also shows that sabotage is not always an individual tactic. It ofttimes develops into mass action. Slowing up on the job is the most frequent form of mass sabotage, but a commonly related incident shows one of its other forms.

A gang of section men working on a railroad in Indiana were notified of a cut in their wages. The workers immediately took their shovels to the blacksmith shop and cut two inches from the scoops. Returning to the work they told the boss: "Short pay, short shovels."

Every cut in wages is met by a decrease in efficiency on the part of the workers. It remains for the militants to show that mass sabotage can be used to counteract the decreased wages that do not appear in terms of money but arise from the higher cost of living. When this is plain to the workers it will be only a step for them to use sabotage as lever by which to raise wages and, in the hands of the most rebellious, as a means to destroy profits utterly. For the piece workers other methods of sabotage must be used. They, naturally enough, are not interested in diminishing their product. Sabotage can be used in the quality or upon the materials and tools. It is useless to try to give all the different methods that are capable of being used Each line of work dictates its own methods.

The one point must ever be borne in mind, however, that sabotage is not directed toward the consumer. The reason for sabotage is to strike a blow at the employing class profits and that is the thing that must always be uppermost in the mind of the saboteur. But take a theatre strike, where the patrons are fully aware that a boycott is on and the consumer—the playgoer—is then considered an ally of the employer and therefore to be treated as an enemy. The motion picture operators, especially in Chicago, have used sabotage to good advantage to clear the

form the slight task of nominal superintendence in the industries to which they hold legal title, they are entitled to absolutely no consideration at the hands of the actual producers of wealth. Their withdrawal also means that the slight remaining check to sabotage is being removed.

Eliminating all the obviously master class objections there remain but two pertinent questions from the point of view of the class conscious wage worker. Does sabotage destroy working class solidarity? Will sabotage continue to disarrange industry when the workers have taken possession?

Taking up the two questions in turn it can be shown that sabotage is not a boomerang that will return to slay those who use it.

X

Working class solidarity is simply the result of a consciousness of power. Sabotage, by arming the workers with a weapon which the masters cannot wrest from them adds greatly to the feeling of strength.

Mass sabotage is in itself a sign of solidarity. **The concerted withdrawal of efficiency, by slowing down or other means, is sure to bind the workers closer together.** This is true whether they are organized or not. In case they are organized it gives to the workers a greater sense of security as well as additional industrial control.

Individual acts of sabotage, performed to the end that class benefit be derived, can in no way militate against solidarity. Rather they promote unity. The saboteur involves no one but himself and is impelled to take the risk by reason of his strong class desires.

hope, by such a lockout, to cause the workers to lose faith in the strike as a weapon; failing to note the fact that workers strike because they must, and not through mere desire. **They do not know that no agitator can cause a strike, no writer can call sabotage into use, no social revolution can be created and consummated, unless all the socially necessary elements of discontent are present.**

The direct lockout, even when it serves the immediate end of the employers, is harmful to their class interests as a whole. Even Gompers would scarcely dare preach "mutual interests" to locked out workers. Instead of blaming themselves for having struck, or placing the blame upon inefficient strike leadership, all the hatred of the workers is directed against the employers. **Armed with a knowledge of sabotage the workers return to their task, more terrible in defeat than in victory.**

Nor can the military forces be successfully employed against sabotage. The employers could not long afford to have a soldier to guard each worker. The workers, in fact, would immediately rebel when placed under such espionage. Neither is there any surety that sabotage will not have permeated the army. It is there already and it is growing in favor. Even were the workers to allow the military rule it might mean that sabotage would cease for the time being, to break out all the more fiercely the moment the soldiers were withdrawn, but more likely the natural resentment against such espionage would lead to an increased amount of sabotage. Wealth cannot be created with bayonets. The employers well know that their rule rests upon the peaceful acquiescence of the workers. They will scarcely undermine their own foundation by employing soldiers to massacre an entire force when a militant minority use sabotage.

Now that the capitalist class are ceasing even to per-

nitti and Caruso, William Wood is reported to have said "They are beating us at our own game." Surely no one can seriously claim that sabotage in the textile industry did not help to cement the various workers all the more closely together.

Even were it true that sabotage worked against solidarity to some extent, still it would have to receive consideration as an economic factor. It is sure to remain in use. It is co-existent with human slavery. **No analysis of the labor movement is complete where sabotage is not accepted as a weapon.**

Just as sabotage must differ in each industry so also must it change with industrial development. Should capitalism create an oligarchy to crush out all labor organization the attempt would be met by destructive sabotage. The degree of destruction would depend upon the measure of repression.

But should matters follow their present course, with the possibilility of the workers gaining an ever increasing amount of industrial control, then labor's tactics will develop accordingly, with constructive sabotage as the result.

XI

To every positive there must be a negative and in all cases destruction must precede construction. Therefore, there is no absurdity in the term "constructive sabotage."

Sabotage may mean the direct destruction of property. Again it may mean indirect destruction through organized inefficiency. Or as an alterative it may proceed from a greater degree of efficiency than is desired by the employ-

Solidarity between the capitalists does not seem to be affected by their use of sabotage. That they fight each other with that potent weapon is quite evident. That they use it upon the workers is also easily seen. But nowhere can it be shown that there has been a division in the ranks of their fighting organizations when the workers were doing battle against them, as a result of their use of sabotage.

Various cases of this capitalist sabotage might be quoted. Competitors of the Standard Oil Company often found that legal documents had been improperly executed for them. Rivals of the Sugar Trust had foreign materials introduced into their shipments, and in the fight of Havemeyer against Spreckels the latter's machinery had an unaccountable habit of getting out of order. A Denver brewing company almost ruined a competitor by hiring men to spread the story that a decomposed body had been found at the bottom of its rival's brew-vat. But when it comes to robbing the wage workers these capitalist saboteurs are "banded together like thieves at a fair."

Several of the so-called "muck-raking" magazines have been forced to suspend through the use of sabotage. Hampton's was killed in that manner by those capitalists who saw their interests menaced. The Appeal to Reason has been a sufferer at the hands of capitalist saboteurs who pied their mailing lists and played havoc with the mailing room generally. Just imagine the effects upon capitalism were the Appeal to have its millions of readers apply the same tactics!

Upon learning that "accidents" had happened to fifty thousand yards of cloth, during the trial of Ettor, Giovan-

result by putting the best of materials in the bread and pastry as they can by inserting coal oil. The secret refusal of packing house workers to handle rotten meats certainly is constructive from a class or a social viewpoint. Yet such actions are as fatal to the employers' profits as is the direct destruction of products. In fact it does mean the destruction of alum in bakeries, of "slunk" calves in packing houses, of "shoddy" in the woolen mills, and the destruction of capitalist property in profits.

The mass of workers are already propertyless. No tie binds them to our so-called civilization. Sabotage, for protection as well as for revenge, appeals to them. They have nothing to lose and much to gain by its use. Their economic condition calls for sabotage as a weapon against oppression. This mass must be impregnated with the ideal of working class control of industry so their sabotage may take on a constructive character. That ideal is already firing the brains and nerving the hands of thousands of migratory workers.

Without apologizing for sabotage in any form, it can be said that constructive sabotage is destined to be a vital power in the class struggle from now until Capitalism falls and the industries are operated by the producers of all wealth.

XII

With the workers in full control of industry it is evident that all able bodied adults will be required to take part in the productive process. This means an end to classes and class rule; the disappearance of the political state; and the carrying on of production for use instead of

ing class. This last is the point toward which sabotage tends when coupled with class solidarity.

The direct destruction of property for immediate individual benefit or to make a gain for a small group is but the following out of the theory of economic determinism. As such no revolutionist can condemn it. The indirect destruction of property for group benefit may also be a class weapon. It may be abused, but so may any other means of warfare. Like the strike, the fear of its use has as great a power as its direct application. The constructive qualities, in such a case, comes from its power to solidify labor. **A consciousness of economic might springs from the knowledge thus gained, that the employers have no force save that given by the labor of the slave class.**

As solidarity is produced there comes an added feeling of responsibility upon the organized workers. Gaining more and more the control of industry they realize that ere long the management of the whole of society will rest in their hands. Sabotage, which is sure to be used to long as a slave class exists, will then take on a definitely constructive character.

It is already the trend for sabotage to be directed more against the product than the machine. As the idea of an injury to one being an injury to all sinks in more thoroughly we shall see products sabotaged in a different manner—constructively.

The workers are coming to see that their class is the one to whom adulterated food, shoddy clothing and rotten materials are sold, and by refusing to adulterate products they not only destroy the employers' profits but safeguard their own lives as well. The bakers can gain the same

proper postage was affixed. Formerly they had passed, without weighing. all those letters and parcels which were clearly under weight, thus living up to the spirit of the regulation but not to its exact wording. By taking each separate piece of mail matter to the scales, carefully weighing same and then returning it to its proper place, the postal workers had the office congested with unweighed mail on the second day. This method is more effective than striking, especially when used on a large scale.

In 1905 the railway workers of Italy gave a good example of the value of legal sabotage. They simply remained at their accustomed places and obeyed all the rules and regulations. When a person purchased a ticket they had to present the exact change. When they failed to comply, the rule in question was read to them. The wicket closed exactly on the set time, leaving long lines of waiting passengers. Inside the yards the same thing was going on. Every car was examined to make sure that it was in good condition. Every nut and bolt was tested before a car was allowed to leave the yard. Switching engines moved at the rate of speed called for in the regulations. When the indignant passengers tried to leave the cars they were held by the station guards and were shown the rule that forbade them to leave. Trains were thus held for hours, and finally when released from the station they were not allowed to run beyond the legal rate of speed and all signals were scrupulously observed. The service was completely demoralized within a short time.

So sabotage may be expected not only to form an increasingly popular weapon against capitalism, but also to be a means of bringing about the speedy downfall of any

for profit. Industrial brotherhood will have ended the terrible civil war in industry and sabotage will naturally cease when the reason for its existence is removed. In an Industrial Democracy, where the productivity of the whole body would be reflected in the life of the individual and the acts of the individual in turn would be a contribution to all of society, it is inconceivable that sabotage would still be carried on. Any continuation of its use over an extended period would show the necessity for another industrial adjustment to secure the real objects of the revolution.

Should the victory of the workers be forestalled by State Socialism, or governmental ownership of industry, it would be a signal for an increased use of sabotage on the part of the industrialists. The governmental tendency to regard a strike of state employees as treason to be curbed by court martial, would be met by a strike on the job through the medium of sabotage. Many of the present congressmen have already stated that they regard the formation of a labor union among postal employees as illegal and that a strike would mean nothing less than treason to the government. The postal employees need run no risk of being court martialed or even dismissed from the service. In mass sabotage they have a weapon which may be used in an entirely legal but none the less effective manner. They can obey all rules. The example was given by some Austrian postal workers some two years ago, as reported in the Saturday Evening Post.

In order to gain certain demands, without losing their jobs, the Austrian postal workers stirctly observed the rule that all mail matter must be weighed to see if the

applied to cases where active union men, committee members, etc. are discharged. The employer generally starts his blacklist work at a season when a strike is undesirable from a working class viewpoint, and the discharges may even be for the purpose of provoking a premature strike. Sabotage should be the answer to the disruptive attempts of the employers. Then again, there are minor grievances in the shops which the employer refuses to adjust and which are scarcely serious enough to warrant the tying up of industry. After due notification sabotage can be employed to gain the demands. This is especially true where the whole body are not class conscious enough to engage in an intermittent or irritation strike

Sabotage has been called a confession of weakness because of its use when a strike has failed, where a strike is not advisable, and where the organization is without mass power because of being in the process of formation. Admitting the charge, is it not true that the workers are still largely without consciousness of power? It would be suicidal to act on the theory that we are today clothed with the might for which we are struggling. Being weak we must guard our embryonic organization, using every means within our grasp save that of compromise with our enemy, the employing class.

Another childish charge is that sabotage cannot gain any benefit for the workers that could not as well be gained by thorough industrial organization. Can the battles of the present be fought with the weapons of the future? We are not armed today with thorough organization, but **every toiler in the industries has sabotage at his command.** With thorough industrial organization there would be no wage

governmental ownership schemes that may be hatched for the purpose of blocking the road to industrial freedom. **Only with the gaining of industrial freedom will sabotage stop.**

XIII.

When a strike breaks out the employers are quick to seize some prominent figures in the fight to place under arrest on serious charges. This in itself is not a bad thing for it has the immediate effect of solidifying the strikers. But when these arrests are multiplied to such an extent that special publicity cannot be had in each case, and conviction results, the workers are weakened. The inceasing contempt for legal procedure will automatically shut off funds to support such cases unless it can be shown that the propaganda value of the trials is equal to the amount of cash expended. Yet it is certain that no organization proclaiming that "An injury to one is an injury to all" can abandon any of the victimized workers. New tactics must be employed in such cases. **Sabotage is the most logical weapon to force a discontinuance of the practice of arresting strike leaders.**

Let the capitalist be reasonably certain that any attempt to judicially strangle the spokesmen of the workers will be met by a prolonged series of mishaps in the industries, and their hands will be stayed. Let the depriving of the workers of their liberty be a signal to deprive the employer of all profits, and arrests will cease to multiply. Law is a thing in which the wage slaves play no part, but industry is the place where the employers are impotent when the workers decide to act. The same thing may be

applied to cases where active union men, committee members, etc. are discharged. The employer generally starts his blacklist work at a season when a strike is undesirable from a working class viewpoint, and the discharges may even be for the purpose of provoking a premature strike. Sabotage should be the answer to the disruptive attempts of the employers. Then again, there are minor grievances in the shops which the employer refuses to adjust and which are scarcely serious enough to warrant the tying up of industry. After due notification sabotage can be employed to gain the demands. This is especially true where the whole body are not class conscious enough to engage in an intermittent or irritation strike

Sabotage has been called a confession of weakness because of its use when a strike has failed, where a strike is not advisable, and where the organization is without mass power because of being in the process of formation. Admitting the charge, is it not true that the workers are still largely without consciousness of power? It would be suicidal to act on the theory that we are today clothed with the might for which we are struggling. Being weak we must guard our embryonic organization, using every means within our grasp save that of compromise with our enemy, the employing class.

Another childish charge is that sabotage cannot gain any benefit for the workers that could not as well be gained by thorough industrial organization. Can the battles of the present be fought with the weapons of the future? We are not armed today with thorough organization, but **every toiler in the industries has sabotage at his command.** With thorough industrial organization there would be no wage

governmental ownership schemes that may be hatched for the purpose of blocking the road to industrial freedom. **Only with the gaining of industrial freedom will sabotage stop.**

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a myth and an honest clerk could not sell the shoddy goods of the merchants. There is not a single portion of the commerce of the entire world where exact truthfulness would not spell finacial ruin under present conditions.

In the foodstuffs industry open mouth sabotage is peculiarly potent. Its use will at once enlist the support of a large portion of the public. It becomes one of the highest social acts. Let the workers, instead of striking, or even when on strike, expose the methods of manufacture and the boss will soon come to terms.

Let the workers in the candy factories tell of the glucose, terra alba and other poisonous substances in the candies and the consumer becomes hostile to the manufacturer.

Let the cooks tell how food is prepared for the table: of how foul meats are treated with chemicals so they may be served; let the dishwashers, waiters and other hotel and restaurant workers tell of conditions under which dishes are "washed" and the orders "prepared," and the employers will be forced into submission.

Let the building workers make known the substitution that invariably takes place in erecting structures by contract.

Let the firemen spread the news of boilers in which steam is generated to a dangerous point in order to save expenses.

The factory workers can tell of goods piled up beyond the fire limit. The workers engaged in the building of bridges, dams, reservoirs and structures of a similar nature, can tell of inferior materials used therein and of methods of construction not according to specifications, ofttimes

system and it is idle to suppose that the capitalists will allow the workers to build a union to displace them without making strenuous attempts to wreck the structure. Sabotage can be used as a means of fighting capitalism in its attempts to stop the creating of a new society. The above mentioned argument sounds strangely like that of the socialist politician. We are told to elect a mayor to prevent violence against striking workers. Suggesting that the militia would be sent if the mayor refused to protect private property according to his oath of office we are told that the governor also must be elected before we strike. When the regular army is employed we are gravely informed that a socialist president is the necessary article to win strikes with. Then to crown it we are told by some that strikes will cease when a socialist is president, while others maintain that the president will abolish his office and turn the industries over o the workers.

But strike leaders are being jailed and active rebels victimized now and we must meet conditions as they exist and not as they will be when the present system is overthrown. Sabotage is a weapon of the existing daily combat between the masters and the slaves.

XIV

"Open Mouth" sabotage shows the weapon in its best form, a form which allows the spy but little place to act; which does not allow use of police; which strikes at the fraudulent practices on which Capitalism is based.

Commerce today is founded on fraud. Capitalism's standard of honesty demands that the wage slave lie to everyone except his employer. An honest business man is

CONCLUSION

Labor produces all wealth—all wealth belongs to labor.

We, the workers, mental and manual, with our muscle, mind and skill, wrest raw materials from the breast of Nature and with infinite pain fashion them into the things of social value. We are the creators—to us belong the products. So far as actual productive processes are concerned we are in possession of industry, yet we have neither ownership nor control because of an absurd belief in property rights.

We stand aghast at the things of our own making We create property and let it master us. We build thing great and small and we who are greater than all stand in abject fear of our own creations; foolishly thinking them to have some supernatural power—some force outside ourselves.

Property and precedent rule us all today and the precedents rest, one and all, upon a property basis. Things of flesh and blood and bone and sinew and tissue are held cheap as compared to the things of iron and steel and stone and brick and wood. "Property is robbery," said Proudhon. If this means that reverence for "property rights" is the basis of all exploitation, then Proudhon was right. The idea that wealth is greater than its creators has enslaved the world's toilers.

We have damned ourselves because we have thought that the right of the bakeshop and the bread was greater than the right of the working man's empty stomach. That same foolish belief has crowded countless thousands into death-dealing tenements, while on the healthy outskirts of the city there are numerous vacant dwellings. Garment workers are out at the elbows while the warehouse shelves groan beneath their load of clothing. "Property" is indeed a hideous Frankenstein which will destroy us unless

being the direct cause of many deaths. Workers on the railroads can tell of faulty engines, unsafe trestles. Marine transport workers would do well to tell of the insufficient number of lifeboats, of inferior belts, and so forth. The textile worker can tell of the shoddy which is sold as "wool."

The persistent use of open mouth sabotage, besides gaining the demands of the workers, will be more effective in bringing about the stoppage of adulteration of foods than "pure foods laws" or other remedial legislation.

Nor does open mouth sabotage end there. The workers carry with them the secrets of the masters. Let them divulge these secrets, whether they be secret methods of manufacture that competitors are striving to learn, or acts of repression directed against the workers. **Let the masters know that henceforth they must deal with industrial mutiny.**

Both France and this country can record cases where it has been found expedient to have loyal workers pose as detectives so as to ferret out the secrets of the masters' guardians. The famous case in Boise, Idaho, is one example; and in nearly every great battle the working class forces are forewarned of some of the intended attacks.

With this effectual form of sabotage we do not think that even the reformer can quarrel. In fact, he is a party to it at all times and he justifies it on humanitarian grounds.

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we are first able to destroy the sanctity with which it is surrounded.

Sabotage is discredited by those who believe in property rights. It is the weapon of those who no longer revere the thing that fetters them. Its advocacy and use help to destroy the "property illusion." The parasites, who have property, oppose sabotage, while the producers, who have poverty, are commencing to wield that potent weapon.

Is the machine more than its makers? Sabotage says "No!"

Is the product greater than producers? Sabotage says "No!"

Sabotage places human life—and especially the life of the only useful class—higher than all else in the universe.

Will you keep private property and public poverty, master class morals and working class misery, capitalism and crime—or will you arise in your outraged manhood and take a stand for sabotage, solidarity and a new social order in which there will be neither master nor slave? **For sabotage or for slavery? Which?**

—FINIS—

Glen Ellen, Sonoma Co., Cal.,
Dec. 5, 1913.

Dear Comrade Smith:—

Just a line to tell you that I have finished reading your pamphlet SABOTAGE. I do not find a point in it on which I disagree with you. It strikes me as a straight-from-the-shoulder, clear, convincing, revolutionary statement of the meaning and significance of sabotage.

Yours for the Revolution,

JACK LONDON.



SABOTAGE by Walker C. Smith originally appeared as a series of thirteen editorials (from January to April 1913) in an official IWW paper, the Industrial Worker, of which Smith was editor. Later the same year it was issued as a pamphlet by the IWW Publishing Bureau in Chicago.

In its greatest, most active and most militant period, the Industrial Workers of the World gave much publicity to the theory and practice of sabotage as an excellent weapon for workers engaged in the class struggle. Its 1914 convention unanimously instructed all IWW speakers "to recommend to the workers the necessity of curtailing production by means of slowing down and sabotage." The IWW, in fact, is the only labor organization in U. S. history to have ever advocated sabotage. Later, unfortunately, more conservative elements in the IWW abandoned the principles of sabotage; this maneuver, and accompanying bureaucratization, doubtless contributed to the union's decline in the following years.

What remains valuable in the history of the IWW is the marvelous revolutionary ardour and solidarity, the reckless spontaneity, the libertarian creativity, passionate humor and poetic millenialism which characterize its earliest years. This reprint of SABOTAGE is dedicated to the renewal among the youth of today of precisely that spirit of revolt which animated those early years of the IWW.

More specifically, it is certain that the theory and methods of sabotage possess a growing significance for today—in stopping, or at least slowing down, the war; in the workers' struggle; in the black insurrections and in student revolts—and deserve reconsideration as a crucial weapon in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

BLACK SWAN PRESS
Chicago

SABOTAGE

ITS HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY & FUNCTION



WALKER C. SMITH

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SABOTAGE.

FOREWORD

This little work is the essence of all available material collected on the subject of Sabotage for a period of more than two years. Thanks are due to the many rebels who gave assistance, and especially to Albin Braida, who made for me what I think to be the first English translation of Pouget's work on Sabotage. From this last pamphlet extracts have been taken and adaptations made to suit American conditions.

The object of this work is to awaken the producers to a consciousness of their industrial power. It is dedicated, not to those who advocate but to those who use sabotage. WALKER C. SMITH.

No theory, no philosophy, no line of action is so good as claimed by its advocates nor so bad as painted by its critics. Sabotage is no exception to this rule. Sabotage, according to the capitalists and the political socialists, is synonymous with murder, rapine, arson, theft; is illogical, vile, unethical, reactionary, destructive of society itself. To many anarchist theorists it is the main weapon of industrial warfare, overshadowing mass solidarity, industrial formation and disciplined action. Some even go so far as to claim that sabotage can usher in the new social order. Somewhere between these two extreme views can be found the truth about sabotage.

Three versions are given of the source of the word. The one best known is that a striking French weaver cast his woden shoe—called a sabot—into the delicate mechanism of the loom upon leaving the mill. The confusion that resulted, acting to the workers' benefit, brought to the front a line of tactics that took the name of SABOTAGE. Slow work is also said to be at the basis of the word, the

idea being that wooden shoes are clumsy and so prevent quick action on the part of the workers. The third idea is that Sabotage is coined from the slang term that means "putting the boots" to the employers by striking directly at their profits without leaving the job. The derivation, however, is unimportant. It is the thing itself that causes commotion among employers and politicians alike. What then is Sabotage?

Sabotage is the destruction of profits to gain a definite, revolutionary, economic end. It has many forms. It may mean the damaging of raw materials destined for a scab factory or shop. It may mean the spoiling of a finished product. It may mean the displacement of parts of machinery or the disarrangement of a whole machine where that machine is the one upon which the other machines are dependent for material. It may mean working slow. It may mean poor work. It may mean missending packages. giving overweight to customers, pointing out defects in goods, using the best of materials where the employer desires adulteration and also the telling of trade secrets. In fact, it has as many variations as there are different lines of work.

Note this important point, however. **Sabotage does not seek nor desire to take human life.** Neither is it directed against the consumer except where wide publicity has been given to the fact that the sabotaged product is under the ban. **A boycotted product is at all times a fit subject for sabotage.** The aim is to hit the employer in his vital spot, his heart and soul, in other words, his pocketbook. The consumer is struck only when he interposes himself between the two combatants.

On the other hand, sabotage is simply one of the many weapons in labor's arsenal. It is by no means the greatest one. Solidaric action is mightier than the courageous acts of a few. Industrial class formation gives a strength not to be obtained by mere tactics. Self discipline and co-

operati... ...ction are necessary if we are to build a new social order as well as destroy the old. Sabotage is merely a means to an end; a means that under certain conditions might be dispensed with and the end still be gained.

Sabotage will sometimes be misused, flagrantly so; the same is true of every one of the weapons of labor. The main concern to revolutionists is whether the use of sabotage will destroy the power of the masters in such a manner as to give the workers a greater measure of industrial control. On that point depends its usefulness to the working class.

II.

Sabotage is not a form of action brought forth from French conditions. It dates back to the earliest days of human exploitation. It is born of class struggles—of man's inhumanity to man. From serfdom to wage slavery the enslaved class has instinctively tried to render less to the master than was expected of it. This unconscious sabotage shows the irreconcilable antagonism between capitalist and laborer—master and slave.

Sabotage was not formally baptized as a word to describe a formula of social struggle until the Confederal Congress of Tolosa in 1897. Open advocacy of the idea and conscious sabotage in place of instinctive action began in France about this time. It had been preached in England and Scotland for many years before that under the name of "Ca' Canny." This phrase of Scotch origin meant "Go slow," or to be more literal, "Don't hurry up." From a publication "The Social Museum" an instance is gained of the use of sabotage by the Scotch.

"In 1889 the organized dockers of Glasgow demanded a ten per cent increase of wages but met with the refusal of the employers. Strike breakers were brought in from among the agricultural laborers and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and return to work on the old wage

scale. But before the men resumed their work, their secretary of the union delivered to them the following address:

"You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and time again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural laborers who had taken our places for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work; we have seen that they could not even walk a vessel, that they dropped half of the merchandise they carried, in short, that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted by the work of these fellows; well, then, there is nothing left for us but do the same and to practice Ca' Canny. Work as the agricultural laborers worked. Only they often fell into the water; it is useless for you to do the same."

"This order was obeyed to the letter. After a few days the contractors sent for the general secretary of the dockers and begged him to tell the dockers to work as before and that they were ready to grant the ten per cent increase."

Balzac, writing three-quarters of a century ago, gave a good illustration of sabotage in describing the bloody uprising of Lyons in 1831.

"There have been many things said about the uprising of Lyons, of the republic cannonaded in the streets, but no one has told the truth. The republic seized the movement as an insurgent seizes a rifle.

"The commerce of Lyons is a commerce without courage; as soon as an ounce of silk is manufactured it is asked for and payment made at once. When the demand stops, the workers are dying of starvation; when they are working they earn barely enough to live upon. The prisoners are more happy than they.

"After the July revolution misery reached the point where the workers were compelled to raise a standard:

"Bread or Death!"—a standard which the government should have considered.

"The republicans had felt out the revolt and they organized the spinners who fought in double shifts. Lyons had its three days. Then everything became normal again and the poor went back to their dog kennels.

"The spinners who had, until then, transformed into useful goods the silk which was weighed to them in cocoons, laid aside probity. They began to grease their fingers with oil. With scrupulous ability they rendered the correct weight, but the silks were all specked with oil The commerce of the silk manufacturies was infested with greasy goods which caused a loss to Lyons and to a portion of the French commerce."

This action, as Balsac points out, was nothing more than the workers taking revenge for having been the victims of bayonets when they had asked for bread. But sabotage is something more than simply the equivalent of an oppression received; it has an economic foundation.

III.

There exists today a labor market in which the wage workers sell their power to perform various task asked of them by the purchasers—the employing class. The labor power of the workers is a commodity. In selling their merchandise the workers must sell themselves along with it. Therefore they are slaves—wage slaves. In purchasing goods from a merchant one receives an inferior quality for a low price. For a low price—poor products. If this applies to hats and shoes, why not equally to the commodity sold by the laborer? It is from this reasoning that there arises the idea: For poor wages—bad work. This thought is a natural one even to those who agree with society as it is now constituted. To those who do not look upon the wage system as a finality and who have come to regard the employers in their true light—as thieves

of the laborers' product—the idea of sabotage commends itself still more strongly. It is a logical weapon for the revolutionist.

Economists have shown that the wages of the workers are not determined by their product. Wages are simply the market price of the commodity called labor power. Wages are not raised or lowered as the productivity of the worker ebbs and flows. They are conditioned upon the supply and demand, the standard of living where the wages are paid, and the relative strength of the organizations of workers and employers. Not many wage workers have studied the deeper economists, but the ditch digger knows that when he has finished the ditch upon which he is at work he must hunt another master. He instinctively slows up. Self-preservation is one of the first laws of nature. His action has value from a class standpoint, for either more ditch diggers must be employed to complete the work within a given time, or else there is less competition in the labor market for those extra days he labors.

Many who condemn sabotage will be found to be unconscious advocates of it. Think of the absurd position of the "craft union socialists" who decry sabotage and, in almost the same breath, condemn the various efficiency systems of the employers! By opposing "scientific management" they are doing to potential profits what the saboteurs are doing to actual profits. The one prevents efficiency, the other withdraws it. Incidentally it might be said that sabotage is the only effective method of warding off the deterioration of the worker that is sure to follow the performance of the same monotonous task minute after minute, day in and day out. Sabotage also offers the best method to combat the evil known as "speeding up." None but the workers know how great this evil is. It is one of the methods by which employers coin wealth from death, consuming the very lives of the toilers. By payment of slightly higher wage to the stronger and

more dexterous slave, the rest are forced to keep pace. Those who fall by the way are unceremoniously cast aside to beg, steal or starve. One method used by the saboteur to stop this form of scabbery is illustrated by the following occurrence:

Building laborers were wheeling barrows of material to an electric hoist, following the rate of speed set by their higher paid taskmaster. The pace became so swift that those who were weaker could no longer keep up. During the noon hour one of the men stepped to the wheel barrow of the speeder and tightened the burrs on the wheel. Upon resuming work the task master started at his usual pace but soon was obliged to slow down through sheer weariness. No class conscious worker will join the moralists and vote catchers in condemning this action.

In the steel mills the speeding up process has become so distressing to the average worker that still greater steps are taken for self protection. In fact, in speaking of these class traitors, it is often remarked that "Something dropped on their foot often affects their head." There are many points of similarity between the speeder and the favored steer in the stock yards who is trained to lead the other steers into the killing pens.

England offers an example of a practical method of limiting the output. Due to effective, widespread, systematic sabotage the brick masons there lay, as a day's work, less than one-third the number of brick required from their brother craftsmen in America. Any reduction in pay is met with a counter reduction in the work. Sabotage means, therefore, that the workers directly fight the conditions imposed by the masters in accordance with the formula "Poor wages—bad work."

IV

Actions which might be classed as "capitalist sabotage" are used by the different exploiting and professional classes.

The truck farmer packs his largest fruits and vegetables on top. The merchant sells inferior articles as "something just as good." The doctor gives "bread-pills" or other harmless concoctions in cases where the symtoms are puzzling. The builder uses poorer material than demanded in the specifications. The manufacturer adulterates foodstuffs and clothing. All these are for the purpose of gaining more profits. Carloads of potatoes were destroyed in Illinois recently; cotton was burned in the Southern states; coffee was destroyed by the Brazilian planters; barge loads of onions were dumped overboard in California; apples are left to rot on the trees of whole orchards in Washington; and hundreds of tons of foodstuffs are held in cold storage until rendered unfit for consumption. All to raise prices. Yet it is exploiters of this character who are loudest in condemnation of sabotage when it is used to benefit the workers.

Some forms of capitalist sabotage are legalized, others are not. But whether or not the various practices are sanctioned by law, it is evident that they are more harmful to society as a whole than is the sabotage of the workers. Capitalists cause imperfect dams to be contructed, and devastating floods sweep whole sections of the country. They have faulty bridges erected, and wrecks cause great loss of life. They sell steamer tickets, promising absolute security, and sabotage the life-saving equipment to the point where hundreds are murdered, as witness the Titanic. The General Slocum disaster in an example of capitalist sabotage on the life preservers. The Iroquois Theater fire is an example of sabotage by exploiters who assured the public that the fire curtain was made of asbestos. There are also the Primero, the Drakesboro, the Cherry mine disasters and the terrible Triangle Shirtwaist tragedy. The cases could be multiplied indefinitely. These capitalist murderers constitute themselves the mentors of the morals of those slaves who "have nothing to lose but their chains." Only fools will take their ethics from such knaves. Capitalist opposition to sabotage is one of its highest recomendations.

Capitalist sabotage aims to benefit a small group of non-producers, while working class sabotage seeks to help the whole body of producers at the expense of the parasites. The frank position of the class conscious worker is that capitalist sabotage is wrong because it harms the workers; working class sabotage is right because it aids the workers This view comes from the position the proletarians occupy in the class war. A word about that class war.

To the rebellious toiler the class war is no mere theory. It is a grim realty. To him it is not a polite sparring match according to Marquis of Queensbury rules with four years between each round. It is love of liberty, and war against the exploiters. "All's fair in love and war."

Because the revolutionist has discarded the moral code of the master class and has spit in the face of bourgeois ethics, it does not necessarily follow that there is no rule regulating his conduct. He is, in fact, so strongly actuated by an ideal that he has left the arena of words to enter the realm of action. Sabotage is a direct application of the idea that property has no rights that its creators are bound to respect. Especially is this true when the creators of the wealth of the world are in hunger and want amid the abundance they have produced, while the idle few have all the good things of life.

However secret must be sabotage, when used by the individual instead of the whole body, it is taking its place in the rising moral code of the propertyless toilers just in proportion as it is being openly advocated. The outspoken propaganda of sabotage and its widespread use are true reflections of economic conditions. The current ethical code with all existing laws and institutions, is based upon private property in production. Why expect those who have no stake in society, as it is now constituted, to continue to contribute to its support?

V

The charge that sabotage is "immoral," "unethical," "uncivilized," and the like, does not worry the rebellious workers so long as it is effective in inflicting injury to the employers' profits. As it aids the workers in their fight it will find increasing favor in their eyes. In war the strategic move is to cut off the opposing force from its base of supplies. Sabotage seeks to curtail profits and in conjunction with other weapons to abolish finally the surplus value, or unpaid labor, that is the source of the employers' power.

"You are immoral" cry employers and politicians alike. Our answer is that all morals today are based upon private property. Even so-called sexual immorality is condemned while universally practiced, because it violates the principle of inheritance in property and is in defiance of customs generally accepted but seldom inquired into. When the workers accept their morals from the capitalist class they are in a sorry way indeed. The question is not, Is sabotage immoral?—but, Does sabotage get the goods?

"You are destroying civilization" is likewise hurled against us, to which we reply in the language of the street: "We should worry!" Civilization is a lie. A civilization that is builded upon the bended backs of toiling babes; a civilization that is reared upon the sweating, starving, struggling mass of mankind; a civilization whose very existence depends upon a constant army of hungry, servile and law-abiding unemployed, is scarcely worthy of consideration at the hands of those whom it has so brutally outraged. The saboteur carries on his work in order to hasten the day of working class victory, when for the first time in human history we shall have a civilization that is worthy of the name.

What is more civilized than for the workers to create powder that refuses to explode?

What is more civilized than to work slow and thus force employers to give a living to more of the unemployed?

What is more civilized than to spike the guns when they are trained on our working class brothers in other countries?

What is more civilized than to waste the adulterations given the workers to place in food, thus making it unprofitable to sell impure products?

Sabotage will civilize the soldier, the militiaman, the police, the speeder, the slave driver, the food poisoner, the shoddy manufacturer, the profit grabber of high and low degree, and even the politician.

Those who oppose sabotage on ethical grounds are supporters of capitalist theft and are faithful watchdogs of the strong boxes wherein the masters store stolen wealth. Revolutionists have no time to waste in taking lessons in correct manners from those who do no useful labor in society. In advocating sabotage we hope to show that the workers should rid their minds of the last remnant of bourgeois cant and hypocrisy and by its use develop courage and individual initiative.

From sabotage to gain better conditions it is a logical step to direct sabotage against the repressive and perverting forces of capitalism.

VI

The press is one of the greatest agencies used by the employers to keep the workers in subjection. It is dominated by the industrial masters. Sometimes the press is owned directly, sometimes through a mortgage or a secured loan. More often the subsidization of the press is accomplished through advertising patronage. But at all times the power of the capitalist press depends upon the servility of the slaves who do all the work of setting up, printing and distributing the lies of the masters. Sabotage is the most effective weapon for the stopping of newspaper attacks upon the workers and their organizations.

As a whole the reporters are favorable to the workers. They have to follow the policy of the papers to hold their

jobs, however. They can use sabotage on the masters by their handling of the news. The editors of the various departments will color the matter anyhow, in accordance with wishes of advertisers or stockholders of the paper. But when an article is written that is harmful to the workingclass there are many ways in which it can be saboted. The linotype operator can misplace a portion of the copy. The proofreader can insert or remove the word "not" and thus change a knock to a boost. The make-up man can place another article where it was intended the lie should go or he can insert a part of another article under the offending heading so that it will apparently read correctly and yet will not contain the harmful material, The stereotyper can damage the face of the offending article so that it will not print. These are but a few of the many methods that might be used. All of these "accidents" are happening every day in publishing plants and it but remains to direct them to a revolutionary end. With more class consciousness along these lines the employers will find it does not pay to lie about the workers.

One of the repressive forces of capitalism, the militia, can be made useless by the extension of the use of sabotage One saboteur can make harmless toys of the entire equipment of a company. When a trainload of soldiers are dispatched to a strike scene, where they always act in the interest of the employers, the train can be saboted. In Parma, Italy, for example, the farm laborers struck. Soldiers were ordered to the scene. The engineers refused to pull the train from the depot. Volunteers to man the engines were secured from the ranks of the soldiers. When these scabs entered the cab they found that some vital-part of each engine had been misplaced. They were forced to walk to Parma. Bridges disappeared in advance of the line of march. When the weary and disgusted troops arrived at the scene of the agricultural strike they found that the strikers had won and were back at work.

Realizing that the railroads are the arteries of commerce the capitlists of this country have practically pur-

chased the engineers by a high wage and the establishment of an aristocracy of labor. But a few rebels are bound to creep into their ranks. Even if every one of them remained a traitor to the workers by being loyal to the employers still they could not escape sabotage. A bar of soap in the boiler would keep the soldiers at home or else force them to march to the strike. If this were not possible, there are water tanks where the tender must be filled and the saboteur can "Let the Gold Dust Twins do the work"

In case of wars, which every intelligent worker knows are wholesale murders of workers to enrich the master class, there is no weapon so forceful to defeat the employers as sabotage by the rebellious workers in the two waring countries. Sabotage will put a stop to war when resolutions, parliamentary appeals and even a call for general refusal to serve are impotent. But, as stated before sabotage is but one phase of the question. Anti-military and anti-patriotic agitation must also carried on.

Sabotage is a mighty force as a revolutionary tactic against the repressive forces of capitalism, whether those repressions be direct or through the State.

VII

"It is guerilla warfare," is another cry against sabotage. Well, what of it? Has not guerilla warfare proven itself to be a useful thing to repel invaders and to make gains for one or the other of the opposing forces?Do not the capitalists use guerilla warfare? Guerilla warfare brings out the courage of individuals, it develops initiative, daring, resoluteness and audacity. Sabotage does the same for its users. It is to the social war what guerillas are to national wars. If it does no more than awaken a portion of the workers from their lethargy it will have been justified. But it will do more than that: it will keep the workers awake and will incite them to do battle with masters. It will give added hope to the militant minority, the few who always bear the brunt of the struggle.

The saboteur is the sharpshooter of the revolution. He has the courage and the daring to invade the enemy's country in the uniform of a "loyal," that is to say—subservient, worker. But he knows that loyality to the employer means treason to his class. Sabotage is the smokeless powder of the social war. It scores a hit, while its source is seldom detected. It is so universally feared by the employers that they do not even desire that it be condemned for fear slave class may learn still more its great value.

Indeed, it can be seen that the masters are powerless in the face of this weapon. In the realm of production the masters do not enter except by indirection. The creation of wealth is the work of the wage slave class, and every tendency of this class is toward sabotage.

The time clock has come as sign that the boss recognizes the instinctive sabotage that is universal. In many establishments there is even a time clock in front of each toilet, with a time limit for the toilers to remain inside. But where is there a factory that has not its saboteurs who show their class solidarity by ringing in time for some of their fellow workers? In many establishments the time clock has an unaccountable habit of getting out of order and so costing the firm more than the amount of labor time saved otherwise. As a check against the spread of sabotage the employers have their paid writers to tell tales of how success in life is sure to attend the worker who does not watch the clock and who endeavors at every opportunity to save money for the employer. But there are more of the workers who are coming to see that any saving that is made is not reflected in their pay envelope, but simply means larger profits to those who are already getting the bulk of the good things of life. They also know that where one might possibly forge ahead by being a "boss-lover," the same line of action on the part of the whole force would reduce the number of employees needed and probably result in their dismissal. Knowing this they are

scornful of Elbert Hubbard's veiled preachments against sabotage.

Those who denounce sabotage as "unfair" are also seen to be supporters of the kind of unions that notify the employers six months in advance of a strike, thus allowing them to procure scabs or to stock-pile so as to have material with which to supply the demand for goods while the workers are starving. The same moralists also hold that it is wrong for the miners to call out the pumpman on strike because the mines would flood, ignoring the fact that such action would quickly bring the employer to terms.

VIII

In warfare a flank movement is always feared by each of the opposing forces. In the social war sabotage is the best kind of a flank movement upon our enemy—the employing class. An actual instance will serve to illustrate the point.

On an orchard farm in the state of Washington a disagreement arose over conditions on the job. A strike took place. The I. W. W. members among the strikes immediately telephoned to the union in the nearest city. When the employer arrived in town looking for a new crew he was rather surprised at his speedy success. Full fare was paid for the men and the railway train was boarded. At the first stop, about two miles from the city, the whole crew deserted the train. They were all members of the union. Returning to the city the farmer picked up a second crew. He arranged to have them pay their own fare, same to be refunded upon their arrival on the farm. This crew went through all right and worked for a while under the farmer's direction. Thinking the strike was successfully broken the employer finally busied himself with other matters for the rest of the day. Next morning upon visiting the work the farmer was surprised to find that 1000 young trees had been planted upside down, their roots waving to the breeze as a mute evidence of solidarity and sabotage. No further

argument was needed to convince the farmer of the "justice" of the demands of the original crew.

This instance also shows that sabotage is not always an individual tactic. It ofttimes develops into mass action. Slowing up on the job is the most frequent form of mass sabotage, but a commonly related incident shows one of its other forms.

A gang of section men working on a railroad in Indiana were notified of a cut in their wages. The workers immediately took their shovels to the blacksmith shop and cut two inches from the scoops. Returning to the work they told the boss: "Short pay, short shovels."

Every cut in wages is met by a decrease in efficiency on the part of the workers. It remains for the militants to show that mass sabotage can be used to counteract the decreased wages that do not appear in terms of money but arise from the higher cost of living. When this is plain to the workers it will be only a step for them to use sabotage as lever by which to raise wages and, in the hands of the most rebellious, as a means to destroy profits utterly. For the piece workers other methods of sabotage must be used. They, naturally enough, are not interested in diminishing their product. Sabotage can be used in the quality or upon the materials and tools. It is useless to try to give all the different methods that are capable of being used Each line of work dictates its own methods.

The one point must ever be borne in mind, however, that sabotage is not directed toward the consumer. The reason for sabotage is to strike a blow at the employing class profits and that is the thing that must always be uppermost in the mind of the saboteur. But take a theatre strike, where the patrons are fully aware that a boycott is on and the consumer—the playgoer—is then considered an ally of the employer and therefore to be treated as an enemy. The motion picture operators, especially in Chicago, have used sabotage to good advantage to clear the

houses of unfair patrons. They simply dropped some vile smelling chemicals upon the floor during the performance and then made a quiet and speedy exit. The audience generally followed the example within a short time. This method was used only after an extensive boycott of the theatre in question had been advertised.

It is quite natural that the employing class try to have it generally understood that sabotage means poisoning soup, putting ground glass in bread, dynamiting buildings and the like, so the revolutionists must at all times emphasize the point that sabotage is not aimed at the consumer but at the heart and soul of the employing class—the pocketbook.

IX.

"It will be met by the lockout," is another argument advanced against the use of sabotage. That is to say, the employer, finding sabotage in use in his factory, will cut off all of his profits in order to try to save a portion of them! But let a lockout be used and will not wage workers have to be employed as soon as operations are resumed? Will not the employer have to hire the same saboteurs, who have remained unknown to him? If workers are imported, cannot saboteurs get on the job in the guise of scabs?

A little thought on the subject shows that a lockout is impracticable in the face of sabotage. No employer locks out his force with the intention of keeping them out permanently. The workers must be re-employed. Their lockout experiences will drive home the class struggle more than would a thousand lectures on the subject, and many of them will return to work, as was predicted in the Lawrence strike, "with bitterness in their hearts and emery dust in their pockets." The employers, however, resort to the lockout only when all else has failed. Even when using this weapon they seek to have it appear as a strike, and they launch it at a time favorable to themselves in every particular, and therefore unfavorable to the workers. They

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hope, by such a lockout, to cause the workers to lose faith in the strike as a weapon; failing to note the fact that workers strike because they must, and not through mere desire. They do not know that no agitator can cause a strike, no writer can call sabotage into use, no social revolution can be created and consummated, unless all the socially necessary elements of discontent are present.

The direct lockout, even when it serves the immediate end of the employers, is harmful to their class interests as a whole. Even Gompers would scarcely dare preach "mutual interests" to locked out workers. Instead of blaming themselves for having struck, or placing the blame upon inefficient strike leadership, all the hatred of the workers is directed against the employers. Armed with a knowledge of sabotage the workers return to their task, more terrible in defeat than in victory.

Nor can the military forces be successfully employed against sabotage. The employers could not long afford to have a soldier to guard each worker. The workers, in fact, would immediately rebel when placed under such espionage. Neither is there any surety that sabotage will not have permeated the army. It is there already and it is growing in favor. Even were the workers to allow the military rule it might mean that sabotage would cease for the time being, to break out all the more fiercely the moment the soldiers were withdrawn, but more likely the natural resentment against such espionage would lead to an increased amount of sabotage. Wealth cannot be created with bayonets. The employers well know that their rule rests upon the peaceful acquiescence of the workers. They will scarcely undermine their own foundation by employing soldiers to massacre an entire force when a militant minority use sabotage.

Now that the capitalist class are ceasing even to per-

form the slight task of nominal superintendence in the industries to which they hold legal title, they are entitled to absolutely no consideration at the hands of the actual producers of wealth. Their withdrawal also means that the slight remaining check to sabotage is being removed.

Eliminating all the obviously master class objections there remain but two pertinent questions from the point of view of the class conscious wage worker. Does sabotage destroy working class solidarity? Will sabotage continue to disarrange industry when the workers have taken possession?

Taking up the two questions in turn it can be shown that sabotage is not a boomerang that will return to slay those who use it.

X

Working class solidarity is simply the result of a consciousness of power. Sabotage, by arming the workers with a weapon which the masters cannot wrest from them adds greatly to the feeling of strength.

Mass sabotage is in itself a sign of solidarity. The concerted withdrawal of efficiency, by slowing down or other means, is sure to bind the workers closer together. This is true whether they are organized or not. In case they are organized it gives to the workers a greater sense of security as well as additional industrial control.

Individual acts of sabotage, performed to the end that class benefit be derived, can in no way militate against solidarity. Rather they promote unity. The saboteur involves no one but himself and is impelled to take the risk by reason of his strong class desires.

Solidarity between the capitalists does not seem to be affected by their use of sabotage. That they fight each other with that potent weapon is quite evident. That they use it upon the workers is also easily seen. But nowhere can it be shown that there has been a division in the ranks of their fighting organizations, when the workers were doing battle against them, as a result of their use of sabotage.

Various cases of this capitalist sabotage might be quoted. Competitors of the Standard Oil Company often found that legal documents had been improperly executed for them. Rivals of the Sugar Trust had foreign materials introduced into their shipments, and in the fight of Havemeyer against Spreckels the latter's machinery had an unaccountable habit of getting out of order. A Denver brewing company almost ruined a competitor by hiring men to spread the story that a decomposed body had been found at the bottom of its rival's brew-vat. But when it comes to robbing the wage workers these capitalist saboteurs are "banded together like thieves at a fair."

Several of the so-called "muck-raking" magazines have been forced to suspend through the use of sabotage. Hampton's was killed in that manner by those capitalists who saw their interests menaced. The Appeal to Reason has been a sufferer at the hands of capitalist saboteurs who pied their mailing lists and played havoc with the mailing room generally. Just imagine the effects upon capitalism were the Appeal to have its millions of readers apply the same tactics!

Upon learning that "accidents" had happened to fifty thousand yards of cloth, during the trial of Ettor, Giovan-

nitti and Caruso, William Wood is reported to have said "They are beating us at our own game." Surely no one can seriously claim that sabotage in the textile industry did not help to cement the various workers all the more closely together.

Even were it true that sabotage worked against solidarity to some extent, still it would have to receive consideration as an economic factor. It is sure to remain in use. It is co-existent with human slavery. No analysis of the labor movement is complete where sabotage is not accepted as a weapon.

Just as sabotage must differ in each industry so also must it change with industrial development. Should capitalism create an oligarchy to crush out all labor organization the attempt would be met by destructive sabotage. The degree of destruction would depend upon the measure of repression.

But should matters follow their present course, with the possibilility of the workers gaining an ever increasing amount of industrial control, then labor's tactics will develop accordingly, with constructive sabotage as the result.

XI

To every positive there must be a negative and in all cases destruction must precede construction. Therefore, there is no absurdity in the term "constructive sabotage."

Sabotage may mean the direct destruction of property. Again it may mean indirect destruction through organized inefficiency. Or as an alterative it may proceed from a greater degree of efficiency than is desired by the employ-

ing class. This last is the point toward which sabotage tends when coupled with class solidarity.

The direct destruction of property for immediate individual benefit or to make a gain for a small group is but the following out of the theory of economic determinism. As such no revolutionist can condemn it. The indirect destruction of property for group benefit may also be a class weapon. It may be abused, but so may any other means of warfare. Like the strike, the fear of its use has as great a power as its direct application. The constructive qualities, in such a case, comes from its power to solidify labor. A consciousness of economic might springs from the knowledge thus gained, that the employers have no force save that given by the labor of the slave class.

As solidarity is produced there comes an added feeling of responsibility upon the organized workers. Gaining more and more the control of industry they realize that ere long the management of the whole of society will rest in their hands. Sabotage, which is sure to be used to long as a slave class exists, will then take on a definitely constructive character.

It is already the trend for sabotage to be directed more against the product than the machine. As the idea of an injury to one being an injury to all sinks in more thoroughly we shall see products sabotaged in a different manner—constructively.

The workers are coming to see that their class is the one to whom adulterated food, shoddy clothing and rotten materials are sold, and by refusing to adulterate products they not only destroy the employers' profits but safeguard their own lives as well. The bakers can gain the same

result by putting the best of materials in the bread and pastry as they can by inserting coal oil. The secret refusal of packing house workers to handle rotten meats certainly is constructive from a class or a social viewpoint. Yet such actions are as fatal to the employers' profits as is the direct destruction of products. In fact it does mean the destruction of alum in bakeries, of "slunk" calves in packing houses, of "shoddy" in the woolen mills, and the destruction of capitalist property in profits.

The mass of workers are already propertyless. No tie binds them to our so-called civilization. Sabotage, for protection as well as for revenge, appeals to them. They have nothing to lose and much to gain by its use. Their economic condition calls for sabotage as a weapon against oppression. This mass must be impregnated with the ideal of working class control of industry so their sabotage may take on a constructive character. That ideal is already firing the brains and nerving the hands of thousands of migratory workers.

Without apologizing for sabotage in any form, it can be said that constructive sabotage is destined to be a vital power in the class struggle from now until Capitalism falls and the industries are operated by the producers of all wealth.

XII

With the workers in full control of industry it is evident that all able bodied adults will be required to take part in the productive process. This means an end to classes and class rule; the disappearance of the political state; and the carrying on of production for use instead of

for profit. Industrial brotherhood will have ended the terrible civil war in industry and sabotage will naturally cease when the reason for its existence is removed. In an Industrial Democracy, where the productivity of the whole body would be reflected in the life of the individual and the acts of the individual in turn would be a contribution to all of society, it is inconceivable that sabotage would still be carried on. Any continuation of its use over an extended period would show the necessity for another industrial adjustment to secure the real objects of the revolution.

Should the victory of the workers be forestalled by State Socialism, or governmental ownership of industry, it would be a signal for an increased use of sabotage on the part of the industrialists. The governmental tendency to regard a strike of state employees as treason to be curbed by court martial, would be met by a strike on the job through the medium of sabotage. Many of the present congressmen have already stated that they regard the formation of a labor union among postal employees as illegal and that a strike would mean nothing less than treason to the government. The postal employees need run no risk of being court martialed or even dismissed from the service. In mass sabotage they have a weapon which may be used in an entirely legal but none the less effective manner. They can obey all rules. The example was given by some Austrian postal workers some two years ago, as reported in the Saturday Evening Post.

In order to gain certain demands, without losing their jobs, the Austrian postal workers strictly observed the rule that all mail matter must be weighed to see if the

proper postage was affixed. Formerly they had passed, without weighing, all those letters and parcels which were clearly under weight, thus living up to the spirit of the regulation but not to its exact wording. By taking each separate piece of mail matter to the scales, carefully weighing same and then returning it to its proper place, the postal workers had the office congested with unweighed mail on the second day. This method is more effective than striking, especially when used on a large scale.

In 1905 the railway workers of Italy gave a good example of the value of legal sabotage. They simply remained at their accustomed places and obeyed all the rules and regulations. When a person purchased a ticket they had to present the exact change. When they failed to comply, the rule in question was read to them. The wicket closed exactly on the set time, leaving long lines of waiting passengers. Inside the yards the same thing was going on. Every car was examined to make sure that it was in good condition. Every nut and bolt was tested before a car was allowed to leave the yard. Switching engines moved at the rate of speed called for in the regulations. When the indignant passengers tried to leave the cars they were held by the station guards and were shown the rule that forbade them to leave. Trains were thus held for hours, and finally when released from the station they were not allowed to run beyond the legal rate of speed and all signals were scrupulously observed. The service was completely demoralized within a short time.

So sabotage may be expected not only to form an increasingly popular weapon against capitalism, but also to be a means of bringing about the speedy downfall of any

governmental ownership schemes that may be hatched for the purpose of blocking the road to industrial freedom. Only with the gaining of industrial freedom will sabotage stop.

XIII.

When a strike breaks out the employers are quick to seize some prominent figures in the fight to place under arrest on serious charges. This in itself is not a bad thing for it has the immediate effect of solidifying the strikers. But when these arrests are multiplied to such an extent that special publicity cannot be had in each case, and conviction results, the workers are weakened. The inceasing contempt for legal procedure will automatically shut off funds to support such cases unless it can be shown that the propaganda value of the trials is equal to the amount of cash expended. Yet it is certain that no organization proclaiming that "An injury to one is an injury to all" can abandon any of the victimized workers. New tactics must be employed in such cases. Sabotage is the most logical weapon to force a discontinuance of the practice of arresting strike leaders.

Let the capitalist be reasonably certain that any attempt to judicially strangle the spokesmen of the workers will be met by a prolonged series of mishaps in the industries, and their hands will be stayed. Let the depriving of the workers of their liberty be a signal to deprive the employer of all profits, and arrests will cease to multiply. Law is a thing in which the wage slaves play no part, but industry is the place where the employers are impotent when the workers decide to act. The same thing may be

applied to cases where active union men, committee members, etc. are discharged. The employer generally starts his blacklist work at a season when a strike is undesirable from a working class viewpoint, and the discharges may even be for the purpose of provoking a premature strike. Sabotage should be the answer to the disruptive attempts of the employers. Then again, there are minor grievances in the shops which the employer refuses to adjust and which are scarcely serious enough to warrant the tying up of industry. After due notification sabotage can be employed to gain the demands. This is especially true where the whole body are not class conscious enough to engage in an intermittent or irritation strike

Sabotage has been called a confession of weakness because of its use when a strike has failed, where a strike is not advisable, and where the organization is without mass power because of being in the process of formation. Admitting the charge, is it not true that the workers are still largely without consciousness of power? It would be suicidal to act on the theory that we are today clothed with the might for which we are struggling. Being weak we must guard our embryonic organization, using every means within our grasp save that of compromise with our enemy, the employing class.

Another childish charge is that sabotage cannot gain any benefit for the workers that could not as well be gained by thorough industrial organization. Can the battles of the present be fought with the weapons of the future? We are not armed today with thorough organization, but every toiler in the industries has sabotage at his command. With thorough industrial organization there would be no wage

system and it is idle to suppose that the capitalists will allow the workers to build a union to displace them without making strenuous attempts to wreck the structure. Sabotage can be used as a means of fighting capitalism in its attempts to stop the creating of a new society. The above mentioned argument sounds strangely like that of the socialist politician. We are told to elect a mayor to prevent violence against striking workers. Suggesting that the militia would be sent if the mayor refused to protect private property according to his oath of office we are told that the governor also must be elected before we strike. When the regular army is employed we are gravely informed that a socialist president is the necessary article to win strikes with. Then to crown it we are told by some that strikes will cease when a socialist is president, while others maintain that the president will abolish his office and turn the industries over to the workers.

But strike leaders are being jailed and active rebels victimized now and we must meet conditions as they exist and not as they will be when the present system is overthrown. Sabotage is a weapon of the existing daily combat between the masters and the slaves.

XIV

"Open Mouth" sabotage shows the weapon in its best form, a form which allows the spy but little place to act; which does not allow use of police; which strikes at the fraudulent practices on which Capitalism is based.

Commerce today is founded on fraud. Capitalism's standard of honesty demands that the wage slave lie to everyone except his employer. An honest business man is

a myth and an honest clerk could not sell the shoddy goods of the merchants. There is not a single portion of the commerce of the entire world where exact truthfulness would not spell finacial ruin under present conditions.

In the foodstuffs industry open mouth sabotage is peculiarly potent. Its use will at once enlist the support of a large portion of the public. It becomes one of the highest social acts. Let the workers, instead of striking, or even when on strike, expose the methods of manufacture and the boss will soon come to terms.

Let the workers in the candy factories tell of the glucose, terra alba and other poisonous substances in the candies and the consumer becomes hostile to the manufacturer.

Let the cooks tell how food is prepared for the table: of how foul meats are treated with chemicals so they may be served; let the dishwashers, waiters and other hotel and restaurant workers tell of conditions under which dishes are "washed" and the orders "prepared," and the employers will be forced into submission.

Let the building workers make known the substitution that invariably takes place in erecting structures by contract.

Let the firemen spread the news of boilers in which steam is generated to a dangerous point in order to save expenses.

The factory workers can tell of goods piled up beyond the fire limit. The workers engaged in the building of bridges, dams, reservoirs and structures of a similar nature, can tell of inferior materials used therein and of methods of construction not according to specifications, ofttimes

being the direct cause of many deaths. Workers on the railroads can tell of faulty engines, unsafe trestles. Marine transport workers would do well to tell of the insufficient number of lifeboats, of inferior belts, and so forth. The textile worker can tell of the shoddy which is sold as "wool."

The persistent use of open mouth sabotage, besides gaining the demands of the workers, will be more effective in bringing about the stoppage of adulteration of foods than "pure foods laws" or other remedial legislation.

Nor does open mouth sabotage end there. The workers carry with them the secrets of the masters. Let them divulge these secrets, whether they be secret methods of manufacture that competitors are striving to learn, or acts of repression directed against the workers. Let the masters know that henceforth they must deal with industrial mutiny.

Both France and this country can record cases where it has been found expedient to have loyal workers pose as detectives so as to ferret out the secrets of the masters' guardians. The famous case in Boise, Idaho, is one example; and in nearly every great battle the working class forces are forewarned of some of the intended attacks.

With this effectual form of sabotage we do not think that even the reformer can quarrel. In fact, he is a party to it at all times and he justifies it on humanitarian grounds.

CONCLUSION

Labor produces all wealth—all wealth belongs to labor.

We, the workers, mental and manual, with our muscle, mind and skill, wrest raw materials from the breast of Nature and with infinite pain fashion them into the things of social value. We are the creators—to us belong the products. So far as actual productive processes are concerned we are in possession of industry, yet we have neither ownership nor control because of an absurd belief in property rights.

We stand aghast at the things of our own making We create property and let it master us. We build thing great and small and we who are greater than all stand in abject fear of our own creations; foolishly thinking them to have some supernatural power—some force outside ourselves.

Property and precedent rule us all today and the precedents rest, one and all, upon a property basis. Things of flesh and blood and bone and sinew and tissue are held cheap as compared to the things of iron and steel and stone and brick and wood. "Property is robbery," said Proudhon. If this means that reverence for "property rights" is the basis of all exploitation, then Proudhon was right. The idea that wealth is greater than its creators has enslaved the world's toilers.

We have damned ourselves because we have thought that the right of the bakeshop and the bread was greater than the right of the working man's empty stomach. That same foolish belief has crowded countless thousands into death-dealing tenements, while on the healthy outskirts of the city there are numerous vacant dwellings. Garment workers are out at the elbows while the warehouse shelves groan beneath their load of clothing. "Property" is indeed a hideous Frankenstein which will destroy us unless

we are first able to destroy the sanctity with which it is surrounded.

Sabotage is discredited by those who believe in property rights. It is the weapon of those who no longer reverence the thing that fetters them. Its advocacy and use help to destroy the "property illusion." The parasites, who have property, oppose sabotage, while the producers, who have poverty, are commencing to wield that potent weapon.

Is the machine more than its makers? Sabotage says "No!"

Is the product greater than producers? Sabotage says "No!"

Sabotage places human life—and especially the life of the only useful class—higher than all else in the universe.

Will you keep private property and public poverty, master class morals and working class misery, capitalism and crime—or will you arise in your outraged manhood and take a stand for sabotage, solidarity and a new social order in which there will be neither master nor slave? For sabotage or for slavery? Which?

—FINIS—

Glen Ellen, Sonoma Co., Cal.,
Dec. 5, 1913.

Dear Comrade Smith:—

Just a line to tell you that I have finished reading your pamphlet SABOTAGE. I do not find a point in it on which I disagree with you. It strikes me as a straight-from-the-shoulder, clear, convincing, revolutionary statement of the meaning and significance of sabotage.

Yours for the Revolution,

JACK LONDON.

Originally
Published
by the
Industrial Workers
of the World
Publishing Bureau
Chicago.

This Reprint by the
Solidarity Bookshop
1947 No. Larrabee
Chicago ~ Illinois.
60614

Shop Talks on Economics

By MARY E. MARCY



Published by
Industrial Workers of the World
1001 W. Madison St.
Chicago, Ill.

Price 10 Cents

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CHICAGO

SHOP TALKS ON ECONOMICS

BY
MARY E. MARCY
Author of "Stories of the Cave People," "The Right to Strike," Etc.

Published by the
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Shop Talks on Economics

I.

What You Sell to the Boss

If you are a working man or woman, no matter what you do in the shop or factory, or mine, or as an agricultural worker, you know that there are **two** kinds of power used in the plant or on the farm,—human, or **labor power,** and steam, or horse, or water (or perhaps—gas explosion) power.

The owner of a new barrel plant in Indiana decided it would be cheaper to have some company furnish **power** to run his mill than to install a power plant himself, so he sent for the three representatives of the three power plants in that city.

The first man came from the company that offered to run the machines in the mill by **steam** power; the second came from a firm which wanted to sell him a gasoline engine to furnish the power by the explosions of gas, while the third came from a great water-power company. This man offered to supply power to run the mill machinery at a lower price than the others asked. Of course, he secured the contract.

By this time the mill owner was almost ready to have his plant opened. He had logs (or raw material) ready to start on; he had machinery and power to run that machinery. Only one thing more was needed to start the plant running and to produce staves and hoops for barrels. This was the **commodity** which you workers supply. It is **human power,** human **labor-power.**

One hundred years ago almost everything was produced by human labor-power, but gradually improved machinery has been invented that lessens the human toil needed to make or grow and harvest things. Big machines, run by steam, or water-power, now do most of the heavy and difficult work. But the owner of the mine or factory or mill or the farmer or farm tenant, needs one other **commodity** to guide the machines, to tend the machines and feed them. He needs **your labor-power.**

The barrel manufacturer in Indiana said he needed "hands." He meant **hands to do things.** He meant **labor-power.** So he put an advertisement in the paper reading "Men Wanted." Of course, he did not want to buy **men** outright, as folks used to buy chattel slaves. He hired some of you to work for him. He bought your human **power** (to work)—your **labor-power.**

And you sold him your **labor-power,** just as a stockman sells horses or a baker sells bread. You went to the boss or the farmer with something to **sell.** He was in the market to **buy** human **labor-power,** and if your price was low you probably got a job.

Some of us work many years before we realize that even we wage-workers have **one commodity** to sell. As long as we are able to work we try to find a **buyer** of our **labor-power.** We hunt for a job and the boss that goes with a job.

Men and women who have no other means of support **have to sell** their **labor-power** for wages in order to live.

A **commodity** is something that satisfies some human want; something produced by **labor-power** for sale or exchange. A dress made by a woman for herself is not a commodity. A dress made to be sold to somebody else is a commodity. It is not made for use, but for **sale.**

Sheep are commodities, as are shoes, houses, gloves, wheat, corn, bread, steam-power and water-power, when sold by one man to another. And your strength to **make** things, your human laboring-power (or, as Marx says, your **labor-power**) is also a commodity when sold to an employer for wages.

Now you know that any man who is selling a commodity asks as high a price for it as he can. The little grocer who runs the small store near your home charges just as much as possible in selling butter to you. The coal dealers raise their prices whenever they can. And when you strike the boss for a job, you ask him as high a price for your labor-power as you think you can get.

High prices for **labor-power** is what wage-workers want. **Low** prices for **labor-power** is what your employer wants.

Are your interests identical?

What happens when there are ten men competing to **sell** their **labor-power?** Who gets the **job?**

What happens when there are several jobs and only one worker? Will he receive **higher** or **lower** wages? Will he get a good price for his labor-power?

When workingmen are scarce and manufacturers are forced to pay a high price for **labor-power** (high wages) in a certain locality, does the scarcity of workers last long? If not, why not?

When men are hunting jobs toward which cities do they go? Why?

Does **supply** and **demand** have anything to do with the **price** at which you are able to sell your **labor-power?**

Why is the steel trust putting up a fifty million dollar plant in China? Will they be able to make more profits manufacturing steel there than in America? Why?

Why do Chinese workmen come to America to sell their labor-power?

Karl Marx talks much of **commodities**—their **value** and their **price**, and in order to understand his teachings, we must know first of all that we are sellers of a **commodity** called **labor-power.**

In the next lesson we shall take up the question of what determines the **value** of your **labor-power** and the value of other commodities.

Why do some farmers prefer to hire scabs rather than members of the I. W. W.?

Are men organized industrially able to get a better price (or wage) for their labor power?

Do low wages for the agricultural workers mean more profits for the farmer?

We suggest that students buy and study Capital, by Marx; 3 vols.; cloth, $2.50 each.

Value, Price and Profit, by Marx, 15 cents.

These lessons are only an attempt to say, in the language of working men and women, the things Marx says in his own books.

II.

The Value of a Commodity

In the preceding chapter, we learned that the wage-worker's relation to the boss is that of a seller of a commodity. Whether you work in a mine, a mill, or a factory, or on a farm, whenever you get a job, you are **selling** your **strength** to work—or your **labor-power**—to the boss.

We know that **labor-power** is a commodity like shoes or hats or stoves, or wheat.

Now **all** commodities are the product of labor, that is, there was never a commodity that was not the result of the strength and brains of working men or women. Workers make shoes; bakers of bread are working men or women; houses, street cars, trains, wheat, palaces, bridges, stoves—all are the product of the laboring man. **All** commodities are the product of labor.

There is one common thing which all commodities contain. This is labor. A commodity only has value (exchange value) because it contains human **labor.**

Horses are commodities, cows are commodities, gold is a commodity. **Human labor** has been spent in producing all these. Labor-power is also a commodity, the result of human labor in the past.

Working men and women spent **labor** producing you and me. Somebody made bread, sewed shoes, built houses and made clothes **for us.** All the things we ate and drank and wore and used were made by the labor of working men and women. Their labor was **necessary** labor. Without it we should never have grown old enough or strong enough to have **labor-power** to sell. Labor-power was spent in **raising** us to the point where we would be able to work.

The value of a commodity is determined by the social labor-time necessary to produce it. On page 61 of the Kerr edition of Value, Price and Profit, Marx says:

"It might seem that if the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor bestowed upon its production, the lazier a man, or clumsier a man, the more valuable his commodity, because the greater the time of labor required for finishing the commodity. This, however, would be a sad mistake. You will recollect that I

used the word **social** labor, and many points are involved in this qualification.

"In saying that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor worked up or crystallized in it, we mean the quantity of labor necessary for its production in a given state of society, under certain social average conditions of production, with a given social average intensity, and average skill of labor employed."

If you spend three months cutting up a log with a penknife into a kitchen chair, it will be no more valuable in the end than the kitchen chair made in the big factories where many men working at large machines produce hundreds of chairs in a single day.

Of course, we know that every new improvement in machinery lessens the labor-time needed in making certain commodities. Oil is less valuable than it was ten years ago because it takes less labor-power to produce it. Steel has fallen in value, because owing to the new and improved machinery used in making steel it requires **less** human labor power for its production.

Every time a new machine is invented which lessens the human labor contained in a commodity, the value of the commodity grows less because it represents less labor.

Suppose every shoe factory in the country were working full time in order to supply the demand for shoes. The factories using the very old fashioned machinery would require more labor to the shoe than the factories using newer machines, while the great, up-to-date factories using the most modern machines would need comparatively little **human** labor-power in producing shoes.

The value of shoes would be determined by the **average** (or social) labor-time necessary to make them, or the socially necessary labor contained in all the shoes. The same is true of farm products.

The value of gold or silver is determined in the same way. The necessary social labor needed to produce gold gives it its value. The value of gold rises or falls just as the value of other commodities rises or falls. Today gold is much lower in value than it was twenty years ago, because new methods of production have reduced the social labor needed in gold mining about one-half. If you have twenty dollars in gold it is only of half the value of

twenty dollars twenty years ago. It contains only half the labor.

In the same way we may determine the value of laboring-power. "Like every other commodity its value is determined by the quantity (or time) of labor necessary to produce it.

"The laboring-power of a man exists only in his living individuality. A certain mass of necessaries must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man, like the machine, will wear out, and must be replaced by another man. Besides the mass of necessaries required for his own maintenance, he wants another amount of necessaries to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labor market and to perpetuate the race of laborers. . . . It will be seen that the value of laboring-power is determined by the value of the necessaries required to produce, develop, maintain and perpetuate the laboring-power." (Value, Price and Profit, pp. 75-76.)

The value of a man's labor-power is determined by the social labor necessary to produce it, Marx says. This means food, clothing, shelter (the necessities of life) and it means something additional to rear a boy or girl to take your place in the shop or factory when you grow too old to keep up the fierce pace set by the boss.

Enough to live on and to raise workers to take our places—this is the value of our labor-power, if we are wage-workers.

QUESTIONS

What is a commodity? What does the wage-worker sell to his employer?

What determines the value of a commodity?

What do you mean by SOCIAL labor-power?

Are matches less valuable now than they were ten years ago? Why?

Have commodities in general decreased in value in the last ten years of improved machine production? Why?

Name commodities that have decreased in value. Has rubber increased in value? Why?

Does it take less labor power to weave cloth, to make cement, to slaughter hogs than it did twenty years ago? Why?

Remember that SCARCITY may cause a commodity to exchange (sell) above or below its value, but it does not make value. Marx says that value is human labor (in the abstract).

Is wheat less valuable today than it was ten years ago? Why?

If the value of gold should fall 50% in ten years and the value of wheat should fall 50% also, would there be any change in the price of wheat if these two commodities exchanged at their value?

Every class should have at least one set of Marx's Capital for reference in connection with these lessons. The Table of Contents in these three volumes is a splendid guide to students. Price, $2.50 a volume, $7.50 for the set; we prepay expressage.

III.

Prices

The value of a commodity is determined by the necessary social labor contained in it. If some one told me that an overcoat was equal in value to the value of (or contained in) a suit of clothes, I would know that the overcoat and suit of clothes were equal in value because they contained equal quantities of the same common thing —labor.

Generally speaking the value of four pairs of trousers is about equal to the value of one coat. Why is the coat more valuable than the trousers? And what determines the measure of value when we come to exchange commodities?

You exchange your labor-power—to the boss—for perhaps $4.00 in gold a day, and in turn the gold is exchanged for the necessities of life—food, clothing and shelter. Why do these commodities exchange for each other?

As we learned before, **labor** is the measure of value. The coat, mentioned above, exchanges for **four** pairs of trousers because the coat contains **four** times the quantity of social labor that one pair of the trousers contains.

The necessary social labor contained in a commodity (shoes, wheat, corn, coats, gold, bread, **your labor-power,** or whatever it may be) determines what it will exchange for. The natural tendency is for commodities of equal value to exchange for each other, or for other commodities of equal value.

For example: the amount of wheat produced by ten hours of necessary social labor time will exchange for the

amount of cloth, shoes, chairs, gold or some other commodity that will be produced by ten hours of necessary social labor.

The value or values for which commodities will exchange change constantly as the social labor necessary to their production changes. Last month we read of a new molding machine that enables one boy to produce as many castings in one day as four men had been accustomed to produce. These castings have now greatly decreased in value (in the individual plant where the new process is used) but the total value of castings in general has been only **slightly** reduced. The **average** labor necessary to produce castings is only a little less than formerly. When the new process becomes general and the average necessary labor greatly reduced, castings will greatly decrease in value.

"If we consider commodities as values, we consider them exclusively under the single aspect of realized, fixed, or, if you like, **crystallized** human labor. In this respect they can differ only by representing greater or smaller quantities of labor, as for example, a greater amount of labor may be worked up in a silken handkerchief than in a brick.

"A commodity has value, because it is a crystallization of social labor. . . . The relative values of commodities are, therefore, determined by the respective quantities or amounts of labor worked up **(or contained)** in them." (Pages 56 and 57, Value, Price and Profit.)

"In calculating the exchangeable value of a commodity we must add to the quantity of labor **last** employed, the quantity of labor **previously** worked up in the raw material of a commodity, and the labor bestowed in the implements, tools, machinery, and buildings, with which labor is assisted." (Value, Price and Profit, page 60.)

The value of barrels, for example, is determined by the social (factory) labor spent in producing staves and hoops and the labor time used in producing the portion of machinery worn out in making them, as well as the necessary social labor spent in cutting and hauling (producing) raw logs for use in the mill.

Every time **more** social labor is needed in making commodities—shoes, hats, gloves, wheat, stoves or cigars —whatever these commodities may be—their value is **in-**

creased. Every time the quantity of socially necessary labor is lessened in the production of commodities, their value is **decreased.**

Nearly all kinds of furniture have greatly decreased in value the past few years owing to the improved machines used in their production and the relatively small quantity of labor contained in furniture.

Gold has steadily been decreasing in value in the past ten years owing to the improved methods of producing gold and the decreasing quantity of labor contained in it.

Rubber is steadily growing more valuable because the available world supply has been nearly exhausted and it requires more time hunting or planting, and caring for rubber trees—more labor is contained in a pound of rubber than a few years ago.

Gradually we see huge machines replacing the smaller ones in all the great producing industries and, with the constant introduction of more improved machinery, the quantity of human labor contained in commodities produced by modern methods—grows less and less. Such commodities decrease in value with every decrease in the labor embodied in them.

Price

Price is the money name for which commodities exchange. **We** are accustomed to figure in gold prices. All our bank notes ought to read "payable in—so much—gold." But gold is a commodity just like bread, or overcoats, or dresses, or automobiles. And commodities tend to exchange for the sum of gold containing a quantity of labor equal to the quantity of labor contained in them.

That is, if ten dollars in gold contains forty hours of necessary labor, that gold will exchange for (or will **buy**) as many pairs of shoes as forty hours of social labor will produce.

Generally speaking, a commodity containing ten hours of necessary labor will tend to exchange for gold, or any other commodity containing **ten hours of necessary labor.**

This is true when price and value are equal. But supply and demand cause commodities to exchange (or sell) above or below their value, temporarily. When producers

sell to a buying monopoly they usually have to sell their commodities below their value.

A temporary shortage in coal—when the supply does not equal the demand—may enable the dealers to exchange coal **above** its value for a short time. An **over** supply of automobiles may cause the manufacturers to offer to sell (or exchange) autos **below** their value, for a time.

Prices are often a little above or below the value of commodities, but they are always **inclining toward the value** of commodities.

(Please remember that we are not here speaking of monopoly prices. We shall consider them in a later lesson.)

"If supply and demand equilibrate each other, the market prices of commodities will correspond with their natural prices, that is to say with their values, as determined by the respective quantities of labor required for their production. . . . If, instead of considering only the daily fluctuations, you analyze the movement of market prices for longer periods . . . you will find that the fluctuations of market prices, their deviations from values, their ups and downs, paralyze and compensate each other; so that, apart from the effect of monopolies and some other modifications I must now pass by, all descriptions of commodities are, on the average, sold at their respective **values** or natural prices. . . .

"If, speaking broadly, and embracing somewhat longer periods, all descriptions of commodities sell at their respective values, it is nonsense to suppose that profit, not in individual cases, but the constant and usual profits of different trades, spring from the prices of commodities, or selling them at a price **over** and above their value. . . .

"To explain the general nature of profits, you must start from the theorem that, on an average, commodities are **sold at their real values,** and that **profits are derived** from selling them at their **values,** that is in proportion to the quantity of labor realized (or contained) in them.

"If you cannot **explain profit** upon this supposition, you cannot explain it at all." (From Value, Price and Profit, pages 68, 69 and 70.)

QUESTIONS

Why does skilled labor-power sell (or exchange) at a higher price (for more gold) than unskilled labor? Does the fact that it requires more LABOR to produce a skilled laborer, that it takes more years of feeding, clothing and shelter to PREPARE a skilled workman, have anything to do with the VALUE of their labor-power?

Mining experts tell us that it takes much less labor-power to produce the commodity—gold, than it did a few years ago. Have you noticed that your gold (or money) exchanges for fewer commodities nowadays than it did ten years ago?

Wheat is produced for a world market. Do you think wheat has decreased much in value in the past ten years as compared to the decrease in value (or social labor necessary) of steel?

We believe it takes very nearly as much labor-power to produce a bushel of wheat (on the AVERAGE) as it did in 1900; hence its value must have remained nearly the same.

Why then will a hundred bushels of wheat today exchange for MORE gold dollars than in 1900?

If the VALUE of both commodities had remained the same and no monopolist controlled the world's wheat or gold supply, they would exchange upon the same basis as formerly. That is, the same amount of gold would exchange for (or buy) the same amount of wheat.

Does the decreased value of GOLD result in the farmer getting higher price (or more gold) in exchange for his wheat crop?

(Do not forget that, as Marx says, if we cannot explain profits upon the basis that all commodities exchange at their values, we cannot explain them at all.)

Our next lesson will take up Surplus Value, which explains how capitalists make profits even though all commodities exchange at their values.

Remember that we do not sell our labor. We sell our strength to work, our laboring power, our labor-power. Labor is the expenditure of labor-power. See Value, Price and Profit, pages 71, 72 and 73. When we apply for a job, we do not offer to sell our WORK, but our strength to WORK. The commodities we make are crystallizations of our work or of our LABOR, but it is our strength to labor, or laboring power—our labor-power which we sell to the boss.

IV.

How Profits Are Made

Many of us have been accustomed to think that profits are made from graft, from special privileges or from monopoly. We have talked so much of the thieving among capitalists that we have altogether overlooked the great, main method of profit taking.

As Marx says, if you cannot explain profits on the supposition that commodities exchange at their values, you cannot explain them at all.

And so we shall assume (as in truth they generally do) that commodities, on the average, exchange at their value.

Suppose that it takes two hours of necessary labor to produce the necessaries of life for a workingman—or, in other words, two hours of labor a day to produce **laboring-power.**

Suppose too (as is very likely the case), that $4.00 in gold represents two hours of labor.

Now the value of labor-power (which the workingman sells) is determined (as the values of all commodities are determined), by the social labor contained in it. It is represented by the necessities of life, produced by two hours of necessary labor a day.

If the workman sells his labor-power at its **value**, he will receive in return a commodity containing two hours of necessary social labor. In the case we mention above, he would receive $4.00 a day.

In other words, a day's labor-power represents two hours of labor, embodied in the food, clothing and shelter that produce it, just as the four dollars in gold (or an equivalent) represent two hours of necessary labor. The labor-power is equal in value to the value of the $4.00 in gold. The workman has sold his labor-power at its value.

The workman receives enough ($4.00) in wages to eat, drink, to rest and clothe himself—enough to **produce more** labor-power. He receives the value of his labor-power.

But wage laborers sell their laboring-power to the bosses by the day or by the week, at so many hours a day. The capitalist, or farmer, buys the commodity (labor-

power), paying for it at its value. If the wage worker is a miner, in **two hours** he will dig coal equal in value to his wage of $4.00 a day. The coal he digs will contain two hours of labor just as the four dollars in gold contain two hours of labor and as the necessaries for which he exchanges his four dollars, contain two hours of labor.

In other words, in two hours (of necessary labor) the miner would have produced value in coal, or if he be a farm laborer, in wheat, equal to the value of his wages (or his laboring-power). But he sells his labor-power by the day or week and the boss prolongs the hours of work as far as possible.

In two hours, however, the miner or farm laborer has produced enough value to pay his own wages, but the boss, having bought the laboring-power by the day, may be able to make the wage-worker work ten hours daily. The miner, or farm laborer, needs only to work two hours to produce a value of $4.00 to reproduce his labor-power. As Marx would say:

He must daily reproduce a value of $4.00 (which he will do in two hours), to daily reproduce his labor-power.

But when he sells his laboring-power to the boss the boss acquires the right to use his labor-power the entire day—as many hours as the worker's physical endurance will permit.

If he forces the miner to work ten hours daily, the workingman will be laboring **eight** hours beyond the time necessary to pay his own wages (or value of his labor-power). These eight hours of surplus labor are embodied in a surplus value or a surplus product.

In two hours the miner produces in coal value sufficient to pay for his labor-power, but in the eight succeeding hours of labor he will produce coal valuing $16.00, all of which the capitalist retains for himself.

Since the miner sold his laboring-power to the capitalist, the coal, or value the miner produces, belongs to the capitalist.

Thus the capitalist spends $4.00 a day in wages (or two hours of labor) and acquires coal, or other commodities, equal to $20.00 (or ten hours of labor). Thus come profits.

Year after year the capitalists buy labor-power, pay-

ing for it at its value (in the case of the miner at $4.00 a day). The capitalists **own** the products of the workers—equalling ten hours of labor. They exchange a commodity (gold, or money), containing two hours of labor for labor-power (containing two hours of necessary labor—represented by the necessities of life). But when the miner goes home at night the capitalists find themselves **owners** of the coal he has dug, which contains **ten hours of labor.**

Coal (representing ten hours of labor) will exchange for gold (or money) containing ten hours of labor; in this case for $20.00. The miner has produced $20.00 worth of coal. He received $4.00.

The eight hours of value, or $16.00 worth of coal, which the capitalists appropriate, is **surplus value,** for which they give no equivalent.

"It is this sort of exchange between capital and labor upon which capitalistic production, or the wages system, is founded, and which must constantly result in reproducing the workingman as a workingman and the capitalist as a capitalist.

"The rate of surplus value, all other circumstances remaining the same, will depend on the proportion between that part of the working day necessary to reproduce the value of the laboring-power and the surplus time or **surplus labor** performed for the capitalist. It will, therefore, depend on the ratio in which the working day is prolonged over and above that extent, by working which the working man would only reproduce the value of his laboring-power or replace his wages." (Page 81, Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx.)

The capitalist, or farmer, owns the product of his wage-worker. When he sells this product he disposes of commodities a part of which have cost him absolutely nothing, although they have cost his workman labor.

It is easy to see how the miner received the **value** of his laboring-power; $4.00 gold contain two hours of labor, $4.00 exchange for—or will buy—the necessaries of life (produced by two hours of labor) which will enable the miner to produce **more labor-power** for the next day's work.

In this case the miner's product, the coal he digs in one day, contains five times the quantity of labor needed

to produce the necessaries of life, which produce, in him, more strength or more labor-power.

For the things he gets for his labor-power contain only two hours of labor, while the things he produces, and which are claimed by the capitalist, or farmer, contain **ten hours** of labor.

The miner sells his labor-power and, naturally, the capitalist desires to use it as profitably (for himself) as possible. If the wage-worker demanded commodities in exchange for his products, containing an equal quantity of labor, he would no longer be a wage-worker, for capitalists would no longer employ him. There would be nothing—no **surplus value**—left for the capitalists.

But men and women who have nothing to sell but their labor-power have no choice in the matter. They are compelled to sell their strength or labor-power in order to get wages to live. Capitalists, on the other hand, employ them for the sole purpose of taking profits. Capitalists are forced to give the working class enough to live and work on, but they try by every means at their command to prolong the working day into ten, or even twelve hours, in order that more surplus products, or surplus value, may remain for themselves.

But intelligent workmen and women are not content with selling their laboring-power at its value. They are coming more and more to demand the value of their **products.** We are growing weary of being compelled to sell our strength for wages at the regular "market price." We are weary of receiving a product of two hours of labor for products containing ten hours of our labor. We are tired of living on meagre wages while we pile up millions for the capitalist class.

This is the chief demand of revolutionary industrial unionism; that workingmen and women cease selling themselves, or their strength, as commodities. We propose to **own** the commodities we produce **ourselves** and to exchange commodities containing a certain quantity of necessary social labor, for other commodities representing an equal quantity of necessary social labor.

You and I work for the boss because he **owns** the factory or mine or farm or railroad or the mill. **Ownership** of the means of production and distribution (the factories,

land, mines, mills—the **machinery** that produces things) makes masters of capitalists and wage-workers of you and me.

We propose the ownership, in common, of the mines, mills, factories and land, of all the productive industries, by the workers of the world.

When you and I and our fellow workers **own** the factory in which we work, or the land we cultivate, we will no longer need to turn over to anybody the commodities we have produced. We shall be joint owners of the things we have made socially. We shall demand labor for labor in the exchange of commodities. This is the kernel of the I. W. W. It proposes to make men and women of us instead of sellers of a **commodity** to be bought and sold upon the cheapest market as men buy shoes or cows.

QUESTIONS

In the illustrations given above, can the mine owner pay the mine-workers the value of their labor-power and still make a profit? Can the mine owners sell coal at its value and pay the mine-workers the value of their labor-power and still make a profit?

Would it be possible for the mine owners to pay the mine-workers MORE than the value of their labor-power and to sell the coal at less than its value, and still make a profit? Explain why this would be possible.

If the wage-workers should become strong enough to demand the value of their products what would happen? Would there be any surplus left for the capitalist class? Explain why not.

What becomes of the difference between the value of your labor-power and the value of the things you produce in the factory or mine?

Suppose you are working in a California mine and earning $5.00 a day, which is sufficient to buy food, clothing and shelter IN CALIFORNIA, enough to produce your labor-power. Suppose your employer wants to send you, and 200 of your California fellow workers to work in his mines in Alaska. The value of the necessities of life is far more in Alaska than it is in California. It requires $10.00 a day to buy food, clothing and shelter (to produce LABOR-POWER) in Alaska.

Will you be able to save any more money in Alaska at $10.00 a day than you would in California at $5.00 a day? Why not? Who pays the difference in the high prices of the necessities of life? YOU or YOUR BOSS? (We are not speaking of individual cases, but of high prices charged for food, etc., in general.)

Of course, we all know that the working class produce all exchange value. We make all commodities, but as we have sold our labor-power to the boss, our products belong to HIM. So the boss pays for nearly everything, because he has appropriated the things we have made.

When the value of the necessities of life RISES, does the working class or the capitalist class pay the bill? In the case of our mining jobs in Alaska, do we pay $10.00 for our board, clothes and room, or does the $5.00 increase in OUR cost of living FALL ON THE CAPITALIST?

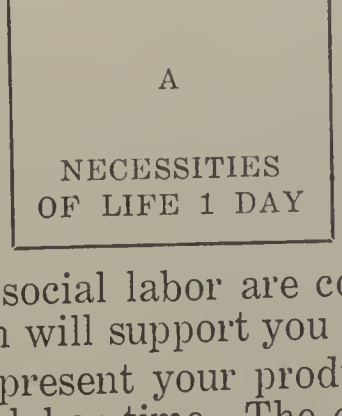
V.

Low Prices and More About Profits

We know that strength to work, or labor-power, is a commodity. The value of a commodity is determined by the necessary social labor time contained in it.

If it takes three hours of social labor to produce the necessities of life for you one day, the value of your labor-power one day will be three hours of necessary social labor.

Figure A will represent the value of your labor-power,



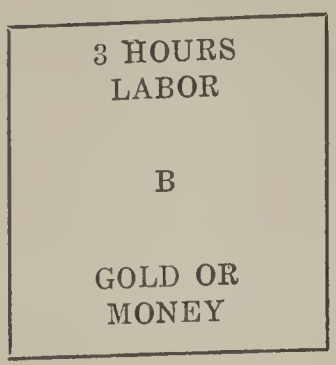
because 3 hours of social labor are contained in the necessities of life which will support you one day.

Let Figure C represent your product for one day. It contains 9 hours of labor time. The capitalist, or farmer, who employs you will need to return to you sufficient value to enable you to pay for A (or the cost of living).

Figure B is equal to A because it contains 3 hours of labor. It represents the value returned to you by the boss in the shape of gold or wages.

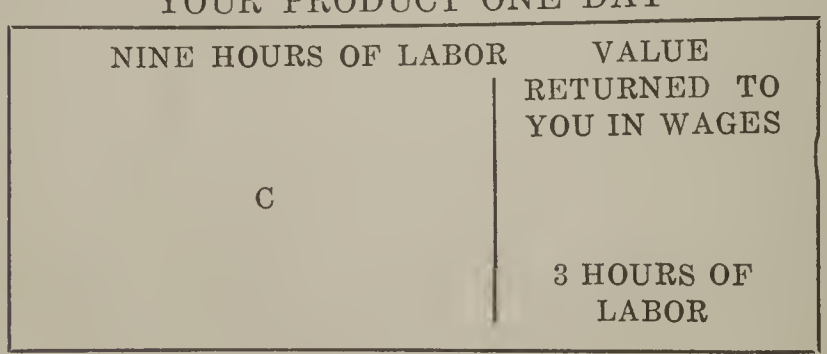
We know that A is equal to B. And we know that C contains three times the value of A or B. We know also that the capitalist, or farmer, is constantly trying to prolong C into **ten** or even **eleven** hours, and that capitalists

WAGES



cut wages whenever and wherever possible. It is only by constant struggle that the working class has been able to maintain its position, to secure a, perhaps normal, increase in wages, or a shorter workday.

YOUR PRODUCT ONE DAY



It is self-evident that if you secure more wages (B) there will be less of value of your product (C) remaining for the capitalist employing you, just as a reduction in wages leaves more surplus value for him.

An increase in the length of your workday (C) to ten hours will leave 7 hours of unpaid labor instead of six. A shorter workday will leave less surplus value for the capitalist.

Reformers and some wage-workers believe that if we could decrease the cost of living we would better our condition. They think if A (the cost of living) were lowered, we could save a part of our wages (B). Of course, the value of our labor-power falls with a decrease in the value of the necessities of life, but they imagine we might be

able to lower the cost of living without suffering a corresponding decrease in wages.

Personally, you know if your landlard should cut your rent down one-half next month, you would have more money left to spend for other things. Personally, you know if your brother offered to board you at half the regular rate, you could save a still larger sum of money next month. This is true of your individual case.

But we are not talking about individual cases, though we use concrete examples for the sake of making things clear. We are asking if **low prices** would benefit the wage-working class.

We will suppose an extreme example in order to illustrate our explanation. Suppose the City of Chicago should buy up all the houses, flats and cottages that rent to the working **class** here, and suppose this city should cut rents down one-half. Suppose that Chicago had municipal ownership and it was possible for the city to reduce the cost of living here 50 per cent. What we want to consider is—would the reduction benefit the working class or that part of the capitalist **class** not directly engaged in producing the necessities of life?

When the cost of living is greatly reduced at any given city, workingmen and women flock to that point to sell their labor-power. They believe that if they can get jobs where it costs less to **live,** they will be able to save money and, perhaps, finally climb into the capitalist class themselves.

But note what happens. There is an immediate influx of workers into the city of low prices. The competition **among workers for jobs** becomes more keen at once, and it is always keen. Capitalists purchase labor-power at the lowest price. Men and women offer to sell their labor-power at a lower and still lower price till wages again fall to the cost of living. In a very short time these workers will find that they have gained nothing.

Take the examples of A, B and C. When the cost of living (A) is cut in half, the competition, among the sellers of labor-power, reduces wages (B) accordingly. If your capitalist employer is a steel manufacturer will he be able to appropriate **more** or **less** of the value of your product?

Capitalists rarely start industrial enterprises in Alaska because the cost of living (or value of labor-power) is so extremely high in the far north that there is very little surplus value left for them.

The value of a commodity is determined by the average social labor contained in it. The Alaska steel manufacturer would have to compete in a world market just as the Bethlehem and Gary mills compete, and it is **necessary** social labor only that makes value.

Reports are coming from Guatemala of cotton manufacturers who are locating and establishing cotton mills there. The natives of Central America can live on very low wages. Almost all natives in Guatemala build and own their own thatched huts. The climate is warm and artificial heat is never needed. Nobody requires steam heat or base-burners. A cotton shirt and cotton trousers clothe a man as well as his neighbors, so that the cost of living is a very negligible quantity. Bread fruit and bananas grow wild, and 10 to 12 cents a day will keep a native in comfort. A recent magazine article, which dwelt upon the advantages of capital in Central America, reports that Guatemala natives receive, on the average, 9, 10 or 12 cents a day.

If the Central American natives were driven to toil as fiercely as we are of the states, Guatemala would be a heaven for capitalists. But it is still possible for them to live without much labor. When, however, the capitalists gain control of the land, so that the natives will be **forced** to sell their **labor-power** in order to **live,** more exploiters of labor will turn toward the land where the cost of living is almost nothing (labor-power of little value), and where they will be able to appropriate a still larger portion of unpaid labor.

From no angle can we find where low prices will benefit the working **class** for any appreciable length of time, because the struggle for jobs soon brings wages down to just about enough to live on.

QUESTIONS

The workingmen and women of Belgium have long labored to reduce the cost of living in Belgium. They have formed co-operatives and we learn that they actually HAVE been able to lower the prices on the necessities of life. If we had list

prices of groceries in Belgium, we would probably be amazed at the difference in their prices and ours. And still only recently a Belgian Socialist wrote us that his country was still the Heaven for capitalists and the hell for workingmen and women.

Will wages in Belgium be as high as they are in Colorado or in Ohio? Why not? Are the Belgian workers any better off than we are?

If every workingman owned his own home in Salt Lake City, would this tend to INCREASE or to DECREASE wages there? Explain why?

Why do the owners of factories usually build them in small towns? Why are there so few factories in New York and Chicago?

Is the wage-worker exploited of his product at the mine or factory or is he CHEATED when he spends his wages for the necessities of life?

Before you reply to the above question, reply to the following:

What determines the value of your labor-power? What determines the value of any commodity?

Does A (the cost of living) have anything to do with the amount of B (wages) you will receive?

If B (wages) are not equal in value to A (the cost of living) will this mean that you HAVE NOT RECEIVED the value of your labor-power, or will it mean that the grocer, and butcher, and clothier are cheating you?

If wages (B) are reduced will your employer be able to appropriate more surplus value?

Owing to the improved methods of production the necessities of life are slowly decreasing in value. A contains less labor; is less valuable. Gold also is decreasing in value, contains less social labor. What would be the natural explanation of the fact that gold today exchanges for FEWER commodities than it did five years ago? Which would you expect to have decreased most in value—gold or the necessities of life?

If the necessities of life decreased FASTER than the value of gold decreased, would prices of the necessities fall? In this case B would be of more value than A. Would wages continue to be of more value than A for very long?

Would general co-operatives for reducing the cost of living in America benefit the working class? Or would they tend to reduce wages? Why?

Will we have to exclude the natives of Central America from the United States in order to prevent them from competing with us to sell their labor-power? Or are they already taking jobs from American cotton workers even though working in Guatemala? Explain.

VI.

High Prices and Monopoly Prices

We have been considering Low Prices and their effect upon the working class. We discovered that, owing to the competition among wage-workers for jobs, wages are reduced (when prices fall) to just about the cost of living. In discussing Low Prices we have learned what would happen to B (wages) as a result.

We are still speaking of commodities which exchange at their values.

VALUE OF
LABOR POWER

3 HOURS LABOR A NECESSITIES OF LIFE 1 DAY

If A (or the **value** of the necessities of life) is **doubled,** the **value** of your labor-power will also be doubled. Suppose A is doubled without B being increased accordingly —the value of food, clothing and shelter be twice what it was formerly and wages remain stationary.

Reformers will tell you that the grocer, the butcher, clothier and landlord are exploiting you. They say that your employer exploits you, but that when you go to spend your wages these other men also cheat or rob you.

But if wages (B) do not rise to the same level as the necessities of life (A) this merely means that your boss

WAGES

3 HOURS LABOR B GOLD OR MONEY

is no **longer paying** you **the value of your labor-power.** The value of food, clothing and shelter **determine** the value of your labor-power.

Do not be confused into thinking because rents are "high," or because food is expensive, that you are exploited when you pay for these things. As A increases in value your labor-power increases in value. And only when wages equal the cost of living are you receiving the value of your labor-power.

Shortage of workingmen may cause labor-power to exchange above its value temporarily; shortage or an oversupply of any commodity may cause it to exchange above or below its value for a short time. But monopoly alone can cause a commodity to exchange above its value for any length of time. To repeat:

Reformer says: The wage worker receives his wages. That he is exploited by his employer. But when he goes to buy shoes, food, meat or clothes, he finds the owner of these commodities selling them at a higher price than he can pay. Then the reformers conclude that these merchants are exploiting the workers also. These people do not understand that the value of A (the necessities of life) **determines wages.**

Not all individual workingmen or women receive the value of their labor-power. Some men and women receive a little more than the value of labor-power. We know a young girl in this city who works in a department store for $10.00 a week. She cannot buy food, clothing and shelter for $10.00. Her brother receives $20.00 a week. He can live on less than that sum. He helps his sister pay her expenses. Thus both receive the value of their labor-power.

Men cannot work long upon less wages than the value of their labor-power. They must have help from without. Fortunate members of families help those who do not earn enough to live on. Thousands of families receive intermittent aid from charity organizations, so that the working class, in general, receives just about the value of its labor-power. In other words, the army of workers receive enough to produce more workers for tomorrow and twenty years from now. It is the unemployed fighting for jobs who force wages down almost to the bare cost of living.

We see how an increase in the value of A means a consequent increase in the value of labor-power. We must not, therefore, berate the grocer, the butcher or landlord when our employers fail to pay us the value of our labor-power. We will be forced to demand higher wages in order to live.

But High Prices do not necessarily mean that food, clothing, etc., have **increased** in value. It may mean that gold—or the medium of exchange—has **decreased** in value.

The tendency of almost all commodities is to decrease in value, as modern production lessens the necessary labor contained in them. Gold may decrease in value faster than the value of meat, shoes, wheat, bread and clothing has decreased.

A is shrinking, but B (wages) are shrinking faster in value. Since gold (or wages) is out-decreasing the necessities of life, in value, it exchanges for fewer of them. One dollar buys less meat today than it bought five years ago.

Reformers are crying for Low Prices, but revolutionists are demanding Higher Wages (the value of their labor-power) today. They are also working for the abolition of wage-slavery tomorrow. Everywhere we see wages slowly rising to meet the increased cost of living.

We have bewailed the High Prices, while prices are only nominally higher than they were five years ago. Gold (or wages) has decreased in value considerably and as commodities tend to exchange at their values, money buys fewer commodities.

We may still be receiving the same number of dollars each week, but the value of these dollars has decreased. **Actually** our wages have been reduced. Unless they enable us to buy the necessities of life we are not receiving the value of our labor-power from our employers.

1. An increase in the prices of the necessities of life may come from an increase in the **value** of commodities. We shall have to receive an equal rise in wages if we are to get the value of our labor-power.

2. Wages (or money) may decrease in value until they no longer will purchase A. Unless we receive **more** wages accordingly we will be receiving less than the value of our labor-power.

Monopoly Prices

Now all through the preceding chapters I could hear, in imagination, the reformers crying, "But what about **monopoly** prices?"

In the first place, there never was an absolute, permanent monopoly. There are steel mills in China, Japan, Mexico, England and Germany which will supply the American market if they can undersell the home product. China is now shipping steel rails into California at a lower price than the American mills supply them.

There are still many independent oil companies in many lands. Automobile service, electric car lines, aeroplanes, water courses, chutes and flumes all infringe upon the railroads. Whenever the railway charges become more than the traffic will bear, the manufacturer removes to another city.

Men may hope to gain permanent complete monopolies, but there is always the danger of somebody coming forth with a **substitute.** Some one is always providing substitutes.

No man was ever able to raise the general price of a commodity at will, and **get** that price. If any man ever held such power, he would have charged an unlimited price for his commodity and immediately assumed the world's dictatorship.

John D. Rockefeller may be able to raise the price on oil in certain communities, but he cannot force men to buy at this price. So-called monopolists are subject to economic laws just as are wage-workers. No monopolist was ever so great a philanthropist that he did not charge all the traffic would bear at all times. We see, therefore, that they cannot raise prices at their own sweet will.

No man ever held a near monopoly but what other capitalists with money to invest turned ever longing eyes upon the Golden Goose ready to produce a substitute that will relegate his rival's product to the Past.

But there are some very near monopolies in the United States. Some of these doubtless are able to sell—or exchange—their commodities **above** their value. A few of these are engaged in the production of food, clothing or houses.

Now it does not mean because a monopolist holds temporary control of a commodity that he will raise the price of that commodity. He will surely seek to lower its value by closing down unnecessary factories and installing improved machinery that will lessen the labor contained in his product. Many "monopoly" owned commodities sell at a **lower** price than they did before they were monopoly produced.

If a monopoly produced commodity exchanges at its value, under the new method of production, its prices would be lower. Many friends assure me that **oil** is much cheaper today than it was twenty or thirty years ago, before John D. began to build the Octopus. If a monopolist continues to sell a commodity at the same price it exchanged for formerly, he will be able to appropriate greatly increased profits, for its value will have **decreased** —perhaps 50 per cent.

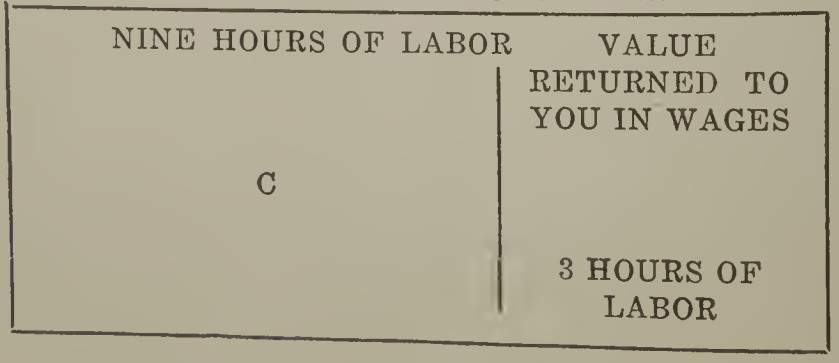
But we will take an extreme case to illustrate who pays the increased price where an imaginary Octopus **doubles** the **price** of the necessities of life.

Let us suppose that 500 miners are receiving $10 a day working a copper mine in Alaska. Ten dollars just affords them a comfortable or tolerable living in Alaska. The man who owns the food and clothing supply in Alaska at this time has a temporary monopoly—an absolute, temporary monopoly of these necessities.

This man finds he actually can double the prices on these necessities for one season. The cost of living in Alaska rises to $20.00 a day.

The **employer** of the miners will be obliged to **double** their wages if the miners are to receive the value of their labor-power as formerly. He will need to pay $20.00 a day if he expects to have them to work for him tomorrow.

YOUR PRODUCT ONE DAY



If the mine owner finds $20.00 in wages will leave no profits for him, he will refuse the increase and shut down the mine; the miners will return South and the Monopolist will find himself without a market. The possibility of such a contingency has always to be reckoned with by every "monopolist." There is always the danger of killing the Goose That Lays the Golden Egg.

You see how if the price of A is **doubled,** wages will need to follow, and as B (wages) are increased there remains less surplus value for the employer to appropriate.

The monopolist, in this case, who has been able to **double** the price on the necessities of life and caused our wages to be doubled will have **forced** our mine-owning employer to divide this surplus value with him.

Note Figure C. If the portion returned to us in wages is doubled, there will be just that much less unpaid labor for our employers to keep. The extra portion paid to **us** will be paid over to the monopolist.

Monopoly generally means that the monopolist is strong enough to force other employers to **divide** with him a portion of the value of our products formerly appropriated by them.

The real fight is between the **monopolist** and the **mine-owning** employer who will do all in his power to "smash the trusts."

The mine owner in this instance may offer us $18.00 a day and we may try to live on $18.00 for a few weeks. We will be unable to do it because we will be receiving **less** than the value of our labor-power.

QUESTIONS

Do the Trusts rob the wage-workers when selling them trust-made products?

Can a monopoly sell its product at the same price as the independent concern and make a bigger per cent. of profit? Why?

What are three causes for a rise in Prices? Explain.

There are more factories producing barrels this year than last year. All these owners are competing with each other to sell hoops and staves. But the prices of hoops and staves have risen everywhere. Why? Has the value increased? Precisely the same methods of production prevail in the hoop and stave industry as formerly.

Also the wages of men and women working in the hundreds of small factories all over the United States have risen during the past year or two. There are many men and women out of employment, but they have not reduced wages at these points by competing for jobs, although they are always in the market offering to sell their labor-power. Even men out of work are asking MORE for their labor-power than they asked a few years ago.

Why are wages rising at these points and everywhere in general? Why are men who are out of work asking more for their labor-power?

There are no Trusts in China—yet. Prices of the necessities of life are extremely low. Do "low prices" in a country necessarily mean the working class is any better off than where "high prices" prevail?

Suppose one landlord owned all the ground and cottages rented to workingmen in one city. Suppose all these men worked in a factory at this point. Suppose the landlord raised the rent on cottages from $20 to $50. If the workmen had been receiving just about the value of their labor-power before, what would happen when rents were raised? Who would actually pay the increase?

VII.

Wages

There are several ways whereby wage-workers may try to improve their condition today. In Lesson V we discussed Low Prices and their effect upon the condition of working class life. We discovered that as the prices on the necessities of life fall, wages fall proportionately, because of the competition among wage-workers for jobs.

It would be impossible for an employer of labor arbitrarily to lower wages, just as it is impossible for capitalists arbitrarily to raise the prices on commodities. The conditions must be favorable to such a rise or fall in prices. It is the Army of Unemployed men and women that force wages (or the price of labor-power) down when the cost of living falls. We were unable to find where low prices would benefit the working class.

In discussing prices in the last two lessons, we have not said much about **wages,** or the price of labor-power. Labor-power is a commodity just as stoves, wheat, coats, machines or flour are commodities. And the value and price of labor-power are determined exactly as the price and value of all other commodities are determined.

Wage-workers are always trying to get higher wages, or a better price for their labor-power.

It is easy to understand that the gold miner who secures a raise in wages from $4.00 to $6.00 a **day,** leaves less surplus value for the mine-owner. He receives back **more** of his product. And the aim of revolutionary workmen and women is to become owners of their **entire** product.

Supposed economists have repeatedly claimed that a rise in wages was no benefit to the proletariat. They insisted that the capitalists would raise prices on the necessities of life, so that the workers would be just where they where before.

But in Value, Price and Profit, Chapter II, page 17, Marx says: "How could that rise of wages affect the prices of commodities? Only by affecting the actual proportion between the demand for, and the supply of, these commodities."

"It is perfectly true, that, considered as a whole, the working class spends, and must spend, its income upon necessaries. A general rise in the rate of wages would, therefore, produce a rise in the demand for, and consequently **(temporarily)** in the market prices of, necessaries.

"The capitalists who produce these necessaries would be compensated for the risen wages by the rising market prices of the commodities."

Note.—Marx says that **temporarily** the prices on necessaries would probably rise, owing to the **increased demand** for food, clothing and better houses; not because the capitalists decided to raise prices. And then note what begins to follow immediately:

"What would be the position of those capitalists who do not produce necessaries? For the fall in the rate of profit, consequent upon the general rise in the price of wages, they could not compensate themselves by a rise in the price of their commodities. because the demand for their commodities would not have increased . . .

"Consequent upon this diminished demand, the prices of their commodities would fall. In these branches of industry, therefore, the rate of profit would fall. . . .

"What would be the consequence of this difference in

the rates of profit for capitals employed in the different branches of industry? Why, the consequence that generally obtains whenever, from whatever reason, the **average rate of profit** comes to differ in the different spheres of production.

"Capital and labor would be transferred from the less remunerative to the more remunerative branches; and this process of transfer would go on until the supply in the one department of industry would have risen proportionately to the increased demand, and would have sunk in the other departments according to the decreased demand.

"This change effected, the general rate of **profit** would again be **equalized** in the different branches. As the whole derangement originally arose from a mere change in the proportion of the demand for, and supply of, different commodities, the cause ceasing, the effect would cease and prices would return to their former level and equilibrium.

"The **general rise in** the rate of wages would, therefore, after a temporary **disturbance of market prices, only result in a general fall** in the **rate of profit, without any permanent change in the prices of commodities."**

We will use a concrete illustration to explain Marx's point. In a mining camp the miners secured a gain of wages of from $4.00 to $6.00 a day. The man who ran the only restaurant in the camp thought he could raise the price of board from $8.00 to $10.00 a week. For a week or two the miners paid the advanced prices, but the third week a new restaurant was opened by a man who heard of the "prosperity" in this particular camp, and inside of two months there were **four** restaurants competing for trade in Golden Gulch. This competition among the restaurant keepers forced board down to $6.00 a week. Some of them moved away until board fell to the **average** rate of board in that state.

As long as prices were better there new investors came to Golden Gulch, and when they fell below the average price for board investors went away.

Marx says that when workmen and women get higher wages, they spend this increase in better food, better homes and better clothing. This stimulates the demand for food, clothing and houses. More capitalists begin to

invest in food production, in houses and in the manufacture of clothing. The competition among capitalists often brings the prices on these things **below** the rates charged before the workers received their increase, until these capitalists find they can make more money in other fields, when they invest in other industries and prices fall to what they were before the rise in wages.

On the very last page of Value, Price and Profit, Marx says again:

"A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities."

QUESTIONS

If you were getting four dollars a day for digging gold out of a mine and you secured $6.00 by striking, would there be as much surplus value left for your boss as before?

On what do wage-workers usually spend their money? On luxuries?

If the working CLASS is able to force up wages four dollars a week for every man and woman, will they spend the increase on auotomobiles, trips to Europe, or upon more and better clothing and food?

What happens when there is a sudden increased demand for a commodity? Does the price of this commodity rise or fall (temporarily)? If the capitalists producing this commodity, for which there is a suddenly increased demand, is able to get higher prices for it, will this attract other capitalists into the same field of production in the hope of securing bigger profits?

What happens when several big capitalists fight for a field of production where prices are high? Do prices fall?

Do these capitalists remain producing a commodity after its price falls so low that they cannot make the average rate of profit?

When they go into another sphere of production do prices on this commodity fall to normal again?

Why cannot a capitalist raise prices at his own will? Suppose a wealthy ranch owner has a splendid stock of horses when the U. S. troops are sent down to the Mexican borderline. Horses are very scarce, since automobiles have won favor with the leisure class. He sells these horses at an enormous price. There is still talk of war. What does every other ranchman in the country plan to do when he hears of the profits of the lucky owner of the horses? Do they all go into the COAL BUSINESS?

Even if there is still war, or rumor of war, will the price on horses be as high in a few years as is it now? Why not?

VIII.

Shourter Hours of Labor

In Lesson VII we discussed a general increase in wages and how and why they would benefit the working class. We discovered that a general increase in wages would ultimately result in a fall in the average rate of profit, but would not affect prices in general.

But now that we have seen the desirability of higher wages, how may we secure them?

It is true that the working class, as a **class,** has never been sufficiently well organized to demand a universally higher price for its labor-power—a larger portion of the value of its product from the capitalist class.

It is equally true that when they shall have become sufficiently organized and class conscious to do so, they will not stop with asking higher wages, but will abolish the whole wage system itself.

But Capital makes continual war upon the workers. It reduces wages to the bare cost of living and lowers the standard of living whenever and wherever possible. It prolongs the hours of labor as far as the physical endurance of the workers themselves will allow. And the workers find themselves forced constantly to fight in order to hold the little they already have. So that, on every side, we see little groups of workers in conflict with their employers, fighting to maintain working conditions, or to improve them where they become unendurable.

It is obvious that men or women working from ten to sixteen hours daily will have little strength or leisure for study, or activity in revolutionary work. It is also patent that wages are bound to be higher where men toil eight hours a day than where they work sixteen hours. It requires two shifts of men, working eight hours daily, to run a machine that one man runs sixteen hours.

It is not only necessary, but it is a highly desirable matter, that we continue to resist and to advance and attack in our daily struggle with the capitalists. For it is through present defeats and victories that we learn our strength and our weaknesses. We learn to fight **by fighting.** New tactics are often evolved in struggles that seem to be total failures. And class solidarity becomes a living

thing, a resistless weapon, when we are fighting and acting more or less as a class.

Even group struggles—the isolated wars waged by craft unions against their employers—bear fruitful lessons in class solidarity. For craft wars are becoming more uniformly failures, and they show the vital need for revolutionary industrial unionism.

But craft union struggles have not always failed in that which they set out to accomplish, although victories are becoming increasingly difficult and impossible with the advance of productive machinery that abolishes the need of skilled laborers. Skilled workers have often been able to form skilled labor monopolies, or unions, where their particular skill has been in demand, and have forced their employers to give them shorter hours, higher wages or better working conditions. But these victories have been due to a monopoly of a particular kind of skill, and not at all to any class consciousness on the part of the workers.

Just at present workers all over the world in the countries where gold is the recognized standard of value are demanding, and generally securing, higher wages. This is owing to the decreasing value of gold, and to the excess of paper money printed, which exchange for fewer commodities than formerly, and which has consequently caused a rise in prices, and an increase in the cost of living.

These workers are gaining higher wages from the employing capitalists because it costs more to "keep" them, just as the man owning a horse has to pay a bigger bill when the price of "feed" goes up, if he wants to keep the horse. They are not gaining higher wages through **class conscious** efforts, although every struggle is a breeder of class consciousness, even though it be only in a negative way.

Modern machinery is eliminating the need of skilled labor and unskilled labor with ever increasing speed. Skilled workers are thrown into the ranks of the unskilled and unskilled workers are thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. And gradually all workers are being more and more forced to compete with each other for jobs upon a common level. Nothing can stop the progress of the automatic machine, the most wonderful invention of

man through all ages—the machine that will one day free mankind from ceaseless anxiety and degrading toil!

But struggle we must—today and tomorrow. And the fight will grow keener with the passing years.

Men and women are being hurled into the ranks of the unemployed by thousands and by hundreds of thousands. We must reduce the number of jobless workers.

We must organize along industrial lines to shorten the hours of labor. If a six-hour day were inaugurated, it would mean the additional employment of millions of men and women in America tomorrow. It would insure us leisure for study and recreation—for work of organization and education, and it would mean higher wages in America generally. For the fewer men there are competing for jobs, the higher the wage they are able to demand.

To repeat: Modern machinery is throwing more and more men and women into the Army of the Unemployed. Shorter hours will employ more men and women, and will maintain and even increase wages, to say nothing of the tremendous development of the fighting spirit, the solidarity and class consciousness of the workers.

QUESTIONS

Which is the most benefit to the working class, a rise in wages or shorter hours? What is the greatest hindrance to the workers securing higher wages? Or better conditions of any kind?

What would be the effect of a general shortening of the hours of labor in one nation? Do shorter hours tend to increase or decrease wages? Why?

If the general workday were suddenly to be lenghtened three hours a day, what would be the effect upon unemployment? Would it tend to reduce or increase wages? Explain why shorter hours tend to increase wages.

When you seek a job you meet your boss as the seller of a commodity. What is the commodity? What determines the price (or wages) you will get for your labor power? What determines the value of this commodity?

What determines the price of any commodity? What determines the VALUE of a commodity? Do supply and demand affect the value of a commodity? Do they affect the PRICE of a commodity?

Suppose it takes ten men twenty hours to make 100 pairs of shoes in one factory and ten men one hundred hours to make

100 pairs of shoes in another factory. What would determine the value of a pair of shoes? The labor contained in the shoes produced in the first mentioned factory or in the second factory? Or the AVERAGE labor time necessary to produce a pair of shoes?

The working class generally receives the value of its labor power. But it does not receive the value of its PRODUCT. Explain the difference between these two.

Where do the profits come from? What is surplus value? Who appropriates it? Can an employer of labor pay his workmen the value of their labor power and sell their product at its value, and still make a profit? Would it ever be possible for him to pay the laborers MORE than the value of their labor power and to sell their products at LESS than their value, and still make a profit? Explain why this would be possible.

Are the workers any better off where the cost of living is low than where the cost of living is high? Are they able to save any more in the countries of low prices? Do low prices benefit the working class? Do we find wages high or low where the cost of living is high? Where the cost of living is low? Does a low cost of living benefit the capitalists? Why?

Do your butcher and your baker and your landlord exploit you? Suppose all three classes of men were suddenly able to double prices in America, would you pay the additional bills or WOULD THE EMPLOYING CAPITALISTS pay them? Would wages rise? Suppose wages did NOT rise, would you then be getting the value of your labor power? If you failed to get higher wages, would this mean that the landlord and butcher and baker exploit you, or would it mean that you had to have more wages, if you were to continue to receive the value of your labor power?

What is the great aim of revolutionary industrial unionism?

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A Brief History of the Up Hill Struggle of the Industrial Workers of the World in California and Expose of the Sacramento Frame-Up :—: and Conviction :—:

By HARVEY DUFF

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THE PREAMBLE
OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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By
HARVEY DUFF

"The people is a beast of muddy brain
That knows not its own strength, and therefore stands
Loaded with stick and stone: The powerless hands
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein.
One kick would be enough to break the chain,
But the beast fears and what the child demands
It does: Nor its own terror understands,
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
Most wonderful! With its own hand it ties
And gags itself—gives itself death and war
And peace doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven:
But this it knows not: And if one arise
To tell the truth, it kills him unforgiven."

From "Campanella." Translated by John Addington Symonds.

THE state of affairs here reminds one of old Russia at its worst." Colonel Harris Weinstock made this comment after he searchingly investigated the San Diego Free Speech Fight of the spring of 1912, at the request of Hiram Johnson, then Governor of California.

The same comment applies to the Sacramento prosecution and conviction for that elaborately staged frame-up was but a continuation of the policy inaugurated by the police department of San Diego. That policy may very properly be designated as mass ter-

rorism. A review of the Sacramento situation must start with the San Diego fight.

Though the Fresno fight preceded the San Diego one, the latter attracted the attention of the entire country to the labor fight on the Pacific Coast and the brutality used in crushing the right of free speech in San Diego. Indignation was so strong in California that Hiram Johnson was compelled to take notice. The general public assumed that every citizen had the right to organize and to do so in the most public manner, and consequently when Czar Spreckels of the southern city abrogated the constitution there was a general outcry. Colonel Weinstock, in his report, severely condemned the attitude of the city authorities and the terribly inhuman treatment of the free speech fighters by the police, and popular leaders and progressive publications re-echoed his vigorous strictures.

Despite the San Diego reverse the organization grew rapidly, and asserted the right of free speech in every city of any size on the Pacific Coast. But the organizers didn't spend all their time on the street corners. There was too much to do "on the job" as they aptly termed it. They had a fertile field. The migratory worker wandered aimlessly from state to state, harvesting wheat here, picking cotton there, jumping to another state to pick fruit, finishing that job to find that another crop was to be garnered half a dozen states away. He had no organization to watch out for his interests, and as a result job conditions were unbearable. He was often used as a strikebreaker. He knew no better. It was adventurous, and to his non-union psychology better than his weary pilgrimage from job to job. At many national conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and at every recent convention of the California State Federation of Labor, pious platitudes have been indulged in as to the desirability of organizing the migratory worker. He was a menace! Skilled workers could not go on strike without the nightmare

of armies of unskilled men grabbing their jobs! But nothing was ever done.

So the Industrial Workers of the World started with this raw material. At first the A. F. of L.—at least the rank and file—was not very hostile, for the newly organized legions aided in winning many strikes. And they didn't wait to examine the merits of the strike with a moral microscope. They just jumped in. They also fought and won many strikes on their own hook, and day by day they forged ahead. You heard the term, Industrial Unionism, in camp, on the street corner, in the cheap boarding houses—everywhere. It was the most assiduously cultivated slogan of that day. It penetrated the ranks of the craft unionists and the leaders of that movement began to sit up and take notice. As yet the battles of the I. W. W. were for principles vital to the general labor movement and the notabilities of the older movement could not very well afford to unsheath the sword. They took notice, however, of a very disquieting fact:

The I. W. W. was definitely on the map!

The Wheatland Hop Field Riot

The farmers also noticed the fact. Job after job was organized. But the next big publicity the organization got was in Wheatland, where there was but one card member out of 2,300 strikers on the now famous Durst Brothers' hop ranch. This brings us to the summer of 1913.

The Dursts were the largest hop growers in the state of California, and yearly employed over 2,000 men, women and children to pick their crop. Whole families made an annual trip to the Durst ranch to gather the rich crop. The Dursts were firm believers in the divine right of capital, and profiteered the defenseless workers under conditions which menaced the health and morals of every worker in their employment, and eventually led to one of the worst industrial disturbances in the history of the state.

In 1913 there were six toilets for 2,300 men, women and children. These were used indiscriminately by both sexes and by six or seven different nationalities.

The temperature was 122 degrees Fahrenheit. Drinking water was unobtainable and the water sometimes used by the workers was so polluted that dysentery and disease struck down dozens. The workers, however, had the option of buying lemonade (said to be a concoction of nitric acid) or ice cream from a concessionaire named Jim Durst, a cousin of the employers.

The workers were tied down on the job by a bonus system. In other words, they relinquished a portion of their wages unless they stayed, under these intolerable conditions, till the last sack of hops was picked.

The workers revolted, and the famous strike was on. The broiling sun, the hideous smells, the meagre wages, the cries of the fever-stricken girls, the revolting indecency of the toilet system—all combined, in the absence of organization, to force a demand for sanitary working conditions. A delegation went to Mr. Durst. He was inplacable. "Go back to work!" was his ultimatum. And to signify his utter contempt for his striking employees, he slapped Richard Ford, head of the delegation, across the face with his kid glove. That was his answer. It was symbolic of the next step to quell the strike.

The strikers were in open meeting discussing Mr. Durst's answer to their demands when an automobile dashed up bristling with sawed-off shotguns and rifles. "Go back to work!" District Attorney Manwell imperiously demanded. Yes, the vassals of the economic king of Yuba were there for the preservation of the profit machinery of the hop baron. That was their idea of "law and order." Within a few minutes four men were lying on the ground dead and the wildest chaos reigned, where a peaceful strike meeting was in progress but a short while before.

"The sheriff fired a shot in the air," wrote Jack London afterwards. "Then, presto! it all happened

at once. As a matter of fact nobody knew what happened. I am willing to bet that if every one of those witnesses went before Almighty God and told the best of his recollection, no two of them would agree as to the facts. I saw a good many of the hop-pickers afterward. They were bewildered. They reminded me of nothing so much as refugees after an earthquake. When they did tell of the affair they all spoke of it as an accident, a spontaneous, unpremediated explosion. They were dazed by it."

After the riot the state investigated. The late Dr. Carleton Parker in his report corroborated the charges of the strikers that the sanitary conditions were indescribably bad, and that they were the worst in the entire state. Special Agent Harry Gorman of the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in part:

"The toilets, which are but two feet deep, are close to the water the people drink. There is no sewerage system of any kind and the sewerage from the kitchens of the several camps is allowed to run into an old irrigation ditch. At the time of my visit it was covered with water that had stagnated and contained parts of floating vegetables that had been thrown from white and Japanese camps. The temperature in the hop fields was 122. One family by the name of Martinez from Pleasanton consisted of five children, a husband and wife. Three of the children were very sick, and one I thought would die. Upon my advice, Mr. Ralph Durst and his physician, Dr. Lowell, visited the family and when I returned an hour later the family was gone. In another family a girl, aged 13, had typhoid fever. She was in a tent close to other people. Upon interviewing Dr. Lowell with reference to the Martinez family he stated that the only thing that was the matter with it was "hop-poisoning and complication of diseases including dysentery."

When Mr. Gorman reached the Durst ranch 90% of the pickers had left, and the toilets had been doubled. So a really accurate description of the real

conditions there was impossible. We cannot leave Mr. Gorman's report, however, without drawing attention to the inhumanly callous dismissal of the condition of the Martinez family by the hop baron's doctor.

The Man Hunt!

To return to the aftermath of the fatal riot! There was but one member of the I. W. W. among the 2,300 strikers. Straightway the organization was saddled with the responsibility for the four deaths. Little attention was paid to the two dead workers, one of whom, a Porto Rican, was said to have shot one of the officials in an exchange of fire. The dead district attorney and his deputy had to be avenged and the man hunt began, with a crowd of Burns detectives leading the hue and cry. The tactics of the vengeful officials were very reminiscent of later labor battles. Scores of workers were arrested all over the state. Possible witnesses were isolated in jails and bulldozing officials sought to have them perjure the lives of defendants away. The prisoners were held incommunicado and beaten up by detectives behind closed doors. Herman Suhr attempted suicide after being kept awake for an entire week by detectives in an endeavor to force a confession. Allan Johnson was committed to a state asylum a raving maniac after a fearful beating by detectives, during which his ear was frightfully mutilated. Prisoners were deprived of all constitutional privileges.

The defense vigorously protested against the frame-up methods of the prosecution and succeeded in having a Burns operative, Cradlebaugh, found guilty of assault under color of authority, fined $1,000, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

Then came the Marysville trial. Out of the many defendants indicted, the issue simmered down to two: Richard (Blackie) Ford, and Herman Suhr. They were sentenced to life imprisonment, despite

an able defense by Austin Lewis and Robert M. Royce. The jury was composed of friends of the Durst Brothers and intimates of the dead officials, and, obsessed by local prejudice, disregarded anything other than the call for vengeance.

Labor United In Defense

The innocence of Ford and Suhr and the rest of the defendants was so evident from the very begining of the fight that all the Central bodies of the American Federation of Labor in the San Francisco Bay District rallied to the defense. Supervisor Andrew J. Gallagher and Paul Scharrenberg, secretary of the California State Federation of Labor, were especially active in endeavoring to have Hiram Johnson pardon the two convicted men. He refused the request on the ground that threats of reprisal had been made by the I. W. W., and stated that Ford and Suhr would be compelled to stay in prison till all talk of reprisal had ceased. His statement in reply to labor was curiously inconsistent. In one paragraph he thus described the conviction: "By a forced construction of the law of conspiracy the leaders of an industrial revolt, who had committed no wrong themselves, were convicted of a heinous offense . . ." And then he said, "Ford is violent, truculent and considers himself bound by none of the rules of human action that makes it possible for men and women to live in organized society. "

It was a practical admission that Ford was imprisoned because of his opinions and not because of any criminality.

Labor couldn't understand this reasoning and many protests were again sent the governor. The Alameda Building Trades Council issued a lengthy open letter addressed to the governor and signed by President Perry Burlingame and Secretary F. H. Pratt:

"Ford and Suhr, so far from being agressors and murderers were in reality pacifiers and moderators," declared this Council. "We find no marked violence in the words of Ford as quoted by yourself and we certainly do not discover the least incite-

ment to crime. If we are to reapportion responsibility in these cases, if we are to go out of our way to say that a labor leader who did not murder did murder, shall we not go a step farther and say that the real murderer was the man who was responsible for the original wrong and that Durst ought to be on trial for the murder of the District Attorney and Rockefeller on trial for murder in Colorado? Ford and Suhr are, even on the showing of your statement, held in prison on such a forced theory and we must protest most vehemently against their continued incarceration. If, however, the Chief Executive of this State is wedded to so dangerous a doctrine and one so inimical to the working class we demand that he be at least logical and that Durst be tried for the murder of the District Attorney, since his action led directly to that result, although he may not have advised it or even contemplated it. You admit that Ford and Suhr could not have had any part in the alleged campaign of violence, and yet they are to be punished as long as 'threats of injury and sabotage continue'. We may perhaps be pardoned for thinking that this conclusion will not appeal with any moral force to the migratory laborer, who will be disposed to regard his superiors henceforth as illogical as well as unjust."

Hiram Johnson never saw fit to release those men "who committed no wrong." His successor, William D. Stephens of Los Angeles, is also of the opinion that Ford and Suhr, though innocent, should suffer life imprisonment, and consequently they are still in Folsom Prison—"each in his separate hell."

So ended the second big fight of the I. W. W. in California.

Character of the Opposition

The persistent agitation of the Industrial Workers of the World that labor should concentrate its efforts on the industrial field and absolutely divorce itself from politics gradually built up a venomous and vigilant opposition. Though Samuel Gompers, time after time, has condemned the idea of Labor attempting to gain any benefits through the medium of the ballot box; numerous of his lieutenants affiliated themselves with political machines from Maine to California. They used their influence in the labor movement for personal profit, and as a business proposition have bitterly fought the I. W. W.

In California these men have been as bitter in their hatred of the organization as the Los Angeles Times, the Sacramento Bee, and the dfferent employers' organizations from San Diego north. The Los Angeles Times, bitterly hating labor, has devoted editorials praising San Francisco labor leaders and boasting of their loyalty to the unspeakable Fickert.

P. H. McCarthy was openly acclaimed some time ago as the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce candidate against Mayor James Rolph. The San Francisco Examiner and the Oakland Enquirer published this fact and were not contradicted by McCarthy. He, however, has withdrawn his candidacy. It seems that this premature and unsolicited boost killed whatever chance McCarthy had. His candidacy by the Chamber of Commerce against Rolph was caused by the uncompromising hostility of the employers toward Rolph as a result of the last street car strike. Rolph peremtorily refused a request of the Chamber of Commerce that policemen be placed on the street cars to guard the scabs. "The time is past for settling labor disturbances with a whiff of grapeshot," Rolph informed Frederick Kostor, president of the Chamber of Commerce.

Another prominent anti-I. W. W. labor misleader is Michael Casey of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Casey recently appeared before a civic committee in San Francisco, according to the "Call and Post" to protest against the United Railroads putting in a street crossing in a certain portion of the city. His objection was that the crossing would impair the valuation of a row of flats, which he had built by the sweat of his brow! This is by no means the only parcel of property this politician owns.

Both these men are typical labor politicians and opponents of industrial action.

No one questions their right to play politics or become rent-lords, but their capacity to rise above their economic interests, when these interests conflict with the interests of the propertyless laborer, can be questioned with perfect sincerity and reason.

Frame-Ups Ad Infinitum

Two more frame-ups followed the Wheatland one. Both were directed at the American Federation of Labor, and Tom Mooney was sought in both. The first was in connection with the Stockton lockout in 1914. A Merchant and Manufacturers' detective, named J. P. Emerson, was caught redhanded at Bay Point with a suitcase full of dynamite, and confessed that he intended checking the suitcase full of dynamite in the Southern Pacific parcel room and then slipping the check into the packet of Olaf Tveitmoe, Secretary-Treasurer of the California Building Trades Council. A motor boat was to be purchased in the name of Tom Mooney and "discovered" in the Stockton slough with a plant of dynamite, fuses and fulminating caps. According to the confession of Hans Le Jeune, another gunman employed by the "law and order" forces of Stockton, who was caught by Anton Johannsen in the latter's room, the employers were to use 500 pounds of dynamite in discrediting the strikers by hiding it in their rooms and placing it under non-union plants and factories to be later "discovered" by detectives. Those confessions killed the plot.

Next came the Mooney frame-up, the details of which are too well known to need recapitulation here. Here the labor "politicals" showed their hand plainly. They attempted to cripple the defense in every possible manner. Their methods were not open. They were typical of the Italian Mafia. When Bernard Doyle, president of Carmen's Union No. 516, was asked by District Attorney Fickert to give testimony against Mooney and refused, Fickert assured him: "Your labor leaders were down here the other day and told me that they would see that Mooney was not defended by labor. You are absolutely safe in testifying against him."

One of these leaders testified for Fickert in the bomb cases. Knowing full well that Mooney was innocent, these leaders were perfectly satisfied to

have Mooney put behind the bars. The fight was not a question of his guilt or innocence. It was an alliance of the Chamber of Commerce and political labor to "get" a left wing leader. Mooney was an industrialist — not a politician. That was his crime.

The connection between all these frame-ups and the Mooney and Sacramento prosecution forces were vividly portrayed by the Densmore dictagraph revelations.

A Saturnalia of Graft

The Densmore dictagraph revelations, made public on November 22, 1918, were complete proof that the same forces responsible for the Mooney frame-up were at work on the Sacramento case, and that the U. S. officials in charge of the latter case were in league with Fickert with a view to mutual aid.

Assistant United States District Attorney P. H. Johnson: Deputy United States Marshals Mulhall of San Francisco and Shannon of Fresno: Martin Swanson, the Mooney framer: Ex-Chief Justice Henshaw of $410,000 bribe fame: C. C. Crowley, the convicted German dynamiter: John Dymond, provocateur: Burns and U. S. operatives—all flit in and out of this brilliant expose of "law and order" as seen from the inside.

The squaring of prosecutions of wealthy perverts, the buying of jurors at $50.00 a throw, the framing of new witnesses to hang Rena Mooney, the wholesale fixing of cases—all this evidence of the graft saturnalia reigning still in San Francisco is too lengthy to recapitulate here.

Billy Otts, the Burns operative, hired to frame a new witness against Rena Mooney, told Fickert:

"I CAN FRAME THE DAMNEDEST LOT OF STUFF YOU EVER HEARD OF."

Ed Cunha, in his anxiety to railroad the same victim, exclaimed:

"CHIEF, IF YOU CAN GET A WITNESS WHO WILL PUT MRS. MOONEY AT STEUART AND MARKET STREETS, I DON'T GIVE A DAMN IF YOU PUT HER THERE IN A BALLOON."

Deputy United States Marshal Mulhall seems to have been the connecting link between the two gangs of framers. His tactics seem to have been too raw for the U. S. District Attorney's office, for he was constantly criticising them to his friend Fickert.

On October 7, 1918, Mulhall told Fickert: "If I go on the stand and tell all I know about these —— Preston's office will be open to ridicule."

"The bunch of them are out for publicity and would blackmail a man if it would do them any good." Fickert responded. This was after the United States District Attorney's office had convicted C. C. Crowley, one of Fickert's bosom friends, as a paid German dynamiter.

"I am going to have a meeting with Mulhall tomorrow," Fickert told his deputy Cunha on September 14th, "and I am going to link the Mooney case up with the Sacramento one. Mulhall has a letter from Mooney to Governor Spry in his pocket. He says he can knock hell out of the Mooney case for me." At their meeting the next day Mulhall said that a good way to get the I. W. W's to plead guilty would be to bring a squad of soldiers and inform the I. W. W.'s that on the report of the operatives they would be court martialed and shot. He claimed that this would produce the desired result. (From the statements of the defendants at Sacramento, it appears that this was actually tried.) Fickert said, "The best thing to do would be to get a bunch of soldiers who have served in the Philippines and give them the water cure."

Then they discussed the possibility of losing both the Sacramento and Mooney cases.

"YOU KNOW IF THIS THING EVER BREAKS," said Mulhall, "WE WILL GO DOWNHILL SO FAST THAT ALL HELL WON'T SAVE US." Fickert grunted.

Every conversation between Mulhall and Fickert seemed to clearly indicate that both cases were framed, and that prejudice was the main hope of the prosecutions.

Mulhall's remark was eloqent of the situation.

On September 18th, Captain J. J. O'Meara, head of what Fred Esmond described as the "Brutality Squad, rushed to Fickert's office and complained to "Legs," the pet name of the underworld for Fickert, "The Department of Justice won't let me do anything with Goebel!" Goebel is the creature who recently masqueraded in Arizona as "T. R. Wilson." While spying in Sacramento during the Ford and Suhr fight he was discovered and severely beaten by Fred Esmond and John Edenstrom. Goebel was seemingly in the employment of the Department of Justice in San Francisco as a provacateur, like Abrahams, and O'Meara innocently took him for an honest-to-goodness Wilhelmstrasse agent, when he was in reality a Government spy planning some terrible "Pro-German I. W. W.-outrage" for the ignorant and unsuspecting public!

How Public Opinion is Poisoned

(Headlines from Pacific Coast newspapers of the fall of 1917.)

"I. W. W. THREATEN DEATH TO FRIENDS OF JULIUS KAHN."
"I. W. W. HELD TO BE MENACE TO NATION."
"I. W. W. CUT TROOP TRAIN IN TWO."
"I. W. W. PLOT TO KILL OFF LIVE STOCK."
"I. W. W. LEADER IS BASTINADOED."
—Sacramento Bee.

"I. W. W. PLOT. DYNAMITE FOUND BY U. S. FOOD FACTORY."
"I. W. W. TERROR NIPPED IN BUD."
"FEATHERS LIGHT. TAR CHEAP. I. W. W. ARE WARNED."
—Oakland Tribune.

"KAISER'S GOLD PAYS FOR I. W. W. SABOTAGE."
"WORLD PLOT IS LAID TO I. W. W."
—San Francisco Chronicle.

"ARMY HORSES DIE. I. W. W. CHIEF HELD."
"BOLSHEVIK SHIP CARRIES SHELLS AND ARMS FOR I. W. W."
—San Francisco Examiner.

"SHORT SHRIFT FOR I. W. W. TRAITORS DEMANDED."
"WHOLESALE KILLING OF CATTLE PLANNED BY I. W. W."
—Sacramento Union.

"BOLSHEVIK SLUSH FUND CHEERS I. W. W."
—San Francisco Call and Post.

"17 LASHED AND EXILED AS I. W. W."
—San Francisco Bulletin.

"NOTED SAN FRANCISCANS GET DEATH THREATS."
—Los Angeles Times.

"I. W. W. RESPONSIBLE FOR SUGAR SHORTAGE."
—Fresno Herald.

How Bomb Plots Are Arranged

The Fickert recall election took place on December 18, 1917. Two weeks before the San Francisco Bulletin published a warning that Fickert agents had been overheard arranging a fake dynamite explosion to take place at Fickert's residence on Green street a few days before election. The publicity of the plot in the Bulletin spoiled the arrangement and the San Francisco explosion was abandoned. However, one was pulled off in Sacramento equally as good. Of that more anon.

Densmore caught the details of yet another fake plot against Fickert in the dictagraph. Here is the story:

August 19, 1918, 5:10 p. m.

(Press Agent called Joe Rock, Fickert's campaign manager in his candidacy for governor.)

Press Agent: I've been thinking over our talk, and have prepared some stuff for the Bulletin and the Call, which I will try to put over.

Rock: Good.

Press Agent: I've also been thinking that there's another way to start up a little excitement. It seems a little lonely down there where Fickert is, but if someone would shoot off a pistol—or even a big firecracker—and throw a scare into the audience—do you get the idea?

Rock: Yes, I get you.

Press Agent: If he got shot at with a blank cartridge, it would be blamed on the I. W. W.'s, and the chief would hop up in the limelight. I've been talking to Rolph, Stephens and

Hayes, in order to get the enemy's ideas. By the way, did you get any action on the telegram to T. R.?

Rock: No, not yet."

Neither of these fakes was ever pulled off. But if they were? Well, then, all the king's horses and all the king's men couldn't wipe out the impression that the "direct-actionists" of California were after the noble Fickert to avenge his conviction of the "Russian anarchist," Tom Mooney.

The Harmless Sacramento Explosion

The Sacramento explosion occurred at the rear of the gubernatorial mansion at midnight on December 17, 1917, a few hours before the polls opened in the Fickert recall election in San Francisco. The damage done was infinitesmal. Immediately hundreds of phone girls were put on the job in San Francisco. Voters were called out of their beds. "Vote for Fickert and your own preservation. Stop dynamiting in California," was the message the phone girls were instructed to repeat. It worked very successfully. The estimate of the probable vote given to the press by Registrar Zemansky was nearly 10,000 short of the official poll. Fickert was re-elected.

In Sacramento Governor Stephens attributed the explosion to pro-German plotters. They were after him for his patriotic war endeavors, he claimed. Chief of Police Ira Conran was just as emphatic in his way that the dreaded I. W. W. was the culprit.

Investigators were out at work to determine the culprit or culprits. A raid was made on the I. W. W. headquarters. Every member in town was arrested and detectives stationed in the hall picked up any one who straggled in. As in Bisbee the telegraph offices were watched so that no news of the raid could be conveyed to any outside organization and several were got in this fashion.

On December 22 (five days after the explosion), the Sacramento police arrested William Hood and George Voetter as they were leaving an express of-

fice with a package containing nine sticks of dynamite, five cakes of soap and a quantity of bacon. Hood had been working as a cook in a construction camp in the country and on leaving there had taken this stuff with him, as he intended going on a prospecting trip. This was taken as complete proof of the guilt of all the defendants.

"I AM FOR PROMPT USE OF THE ROPE," was the declaration of City Commissioner D. W. Carmichael, also head of the local Chamber of Commerce. Carmichael is supposed to be the originator of curing unemployment by pickhandle brigades. So this incitement to violence was not unexpected.

The Sacramento Bee was equally bloodthirsty. Elsewhere will be found a selection of extracts and two cartoons which exceed the Los Angeles Times in bitterness and malevolence. "Shoot them at sunrise," was the dictum of the Bee. They held this idea constantly up to the public. The Sacramento Sunday news told how a Committee of Five wanted to call at the jail and notify the prisoners that in the event of another explosion a number of them would be taken out and hanged. The suggestion was vetoed after much discussion.

Don S. Rathbun of the Department of Justice went up to Sacramento from San Francisco to investigate the situation. The result of his visit is best described by the Sacramento Bee of December 29th.

"Don S. Rathbun, special agent of the Department of Justice, located at San Francisco, spent yesterday morning in looking over the evidence in the hands of the local police, and advised that there was not sufficient justification therein for holding any of the men, save William Hood, G. F. Voetter and John Graves, for probable connection with the outrage (the alleged dynamiting at the gubernatorial mansion). Nor would he undertake, on behalf of his department, to make further investigation or order the men held pending results.

"When urged to proceed agaist these men for seditious and disloyal utterances, proofs of which were offered, HE ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS NOT AUTHORIZED TO DO SO AND FURTHER THAT THE UNITED STATES CANNOT HOLD OR PUNISH THE I. W. W. OR OTHERS UNDER THE PRESENT LAWS FOR OFFENSES OF THIS CHAR-

ACTER, WHEN NOT ACCOMPANIED BY OVERT ACTS OR PROOF OF CONSPIRACY."

Practically the same news story appeared in the Sacramento Union. What a farce! There was no evidence! Sheriff Gormley, who was coming up soon for re-election, had a brilliant inspiration. He went before the Chamber of Commerce and urged that the Californian senators and congressmen be telegraphed urging that an immediate law be passed making membership in the I. W. W. a felony. Whether they took any action or not is unknown. Gormley's rival, Ellis Jones, won the election. This campaign manoeuvre availed the sheriff nothing.

The prosecution was up against it. The jail was packed so tight that Commissioner Simmons notified the authorities that they were violating the law. That did not worry them so much. Where was the evidence? That was the big problem.

Carmichael ordered the men held. They were not to be released under any circumsances. Then he and Ray Benjamin, Assistant Attorney-General, wired Washington urging that the federal authorities hold and prosecute the prisoners. Benjamin is famous as the polite prosecutor of his friend Fickert's friend Frank C. Oxman of Oregon.

Washington acceded and the work of building up a case was started.

The Investigation

Prominent citizens of Sacramento, including Simon Lubin, chairman of the Immigration and Housing Commission, hired private investigators to probe the explosion. The watchman, a man named Claussen, told the most contradictory stories. Eventually he disappeared. It later transpired that he was an intimate friend of Martin Swanson, the Mooney framer.

The press had already convicted the I. W. W.'s of the crime. They needed no further evidence. "German gold!" was the taunt flung at the prison-

ers. About this time the San Francisco Examiner had flaring headlines, "The Russian steamer 'Shilka' has arrived on the Pacific Coast with a cargo of arms for the I. W. W." and good unsuspecting citizens shuddered in their boots at the prospect of an I. W. W. army marching through California destroying everything in their path.

The result of the investigation was not disclosed for some time. On Sunday, February 24th, 1918, the truth came out. "Stephens blocks bomb case, says Johnson," was the glaring headline. A sub-heading read, "Flat statement is made that administration was trying to job District Attorney Fickert."

"The State Capitol was thrown into a furore late today," said the Chronicle, "when it was learned from an evening paper that Governor William D. Stephens was accused in the strongest of words of not assisting and even hampering the investigation of the Federal officers into the activities of the I. W. W.

"The statement was made by Assistant U. S. Attorney P. H. Johnson of this city and was made when he was shown a published statement from a San Francisco paper that the Governor was personally interesting himself in the investigation of Fritz Hagerman, alias Charles Aisenbach, said to have confessed to an I. W. W. plot in Susanville.

"Reading the statement, an angry flush suffused the face of the Federal attorney. He nearly jumped from his chair and heatedly said, almost loud enough to be a shout: 'I have never been able to get to the bottom of this thing with the Governor. They've shut up out there. I know the Governor has been making a private investigation ever since the explosion at the gubernatorial mansion. At the Governor's office we were promised a man to aid in the investigation and to give us a state fund to run down these criminals. This never has been done.

"SOMETHING IS DOG-GONED STRANGE HERE. THIS SCHEME OF BLOCKING THE FEDERAL

OFFICERS WAS PLANNED TO LAY THE BLAME ON THE FICKERT CROWD IN SAN FRANCISCO TO SET UP A PLAUSIBLE DEFENSE FOR THE I. W. W. JAILED HERE AWAITING THEIR TRIALS UNDER THE FEDERAL INDICTMENT RECENTLY RETURNED."

So the dynamiting of the gubernatorial mansion was NOT done by the I. W. W. The guilty party was never uncovered. The result of the investigation was never revealed. But Prosecutor P. H. Johnson DID give the public a very logical clue.

The boys and the girl, Theodora Pollok, were duly indicted. The indictment was changed four times before the actual trial. It was a very interesting document, and in it we discovered new crimes. Many of the defendants wrote their friends after being arrested. Portions of these letters appeared against them as "overt acts." Telegrams of protest addressed to the authorities by Frederick Esmond, publicity agent of the defense, and Albert Fox, treasurer of the Defense Committee, against the inhuman treatment meted out to those first arrested, were charged against them, thus making it a felony to assist in a labor defense.

Another crime charged aginst the defendants was the reproducing of a Dooley witticism. Here's the heinous utterance:

> Mr. Dooley: Don't ask f'r rights. Take thim. An' don't let anny wan giv thim to ye. A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has somethin' the matter wid it."

Finley Peter Dunne—take notice!

The abolition of the wage system (recently advocated by a committee of bishops) also came in for prominent mention. But, of course, the bishops will not be prosecuted.

The defendants were charged with violating every war act of Congress, with every editorial and article appearing in I. W. W. publications, with every large fire in the state since the declaration of war—in all they were charged, according to some statistical wag, with 10,000 crimes each.

Some of the excerpts from the official organs read:

"Wouldn't it be better to stay in this country and defend what little you've got than to go all the way to France to defend something you haven't got at all?"

"Owing to the comparative scarcity of men and the large amounts of orders the lumber companies have on hand, we have now an opportunity such as we never had before to shorten hours, raise wages and improve conditions." Jim Rowan.

"Deny free speech, free press and free assemblage if you dare, but beware of the deluge."

"To hell with submission."

Another White Elephant

Meanwhile down in Fresno another bunch of members had been indicted on November 21, 1917. They were still in jail. The main clause in the indictment was aimed at the strike weapon. It read:

"The defendants are charged with having conspired to injure, intimidate and oppress certain citizens of the United States . . . **by demanding stated wages and certain terms from the employers** throughout the United States and unless the employers of labor will agree to pay the stated wages and agree to the certain terms demanded, the said defendants and the said persons, with whom said defendants conspired, would refuse to work for or give their services to said employers, and would engage in **what is known in every day parlance as a strike.**"

Later at the actual trial, William Bath, a prospective juror, said explosively, "A man that strikes in war time is not a loyal man to his country. It is disloyal to strike in war time."

"I agree with you," replied Prosecutor Duncan.

The same doctrine was expounded by Nebeker in Chicago.

Eventually the Fresno and Sacramento indictments were amalgamated, with the anti-strike clause omitted, and all the defendants incarcerated in Sacramento County Jail, including some of the Fresno defendants who were out on bail, but who were rearrested.

The uphill task of conducting a defense began.

Defense Harassed Into Silence

It was a big task. It proved to be an impossible one. The press reeked with lies. No denial was possible. If the organization attempted a handbill refutation, the distributors were promptly arrested. It was useless asking for a square deal from the press. Worse than useless—for a favorite trick was to distort a denial to substantiate the lie it was designed to correct. We will enumerate some of the statements put out in the press by the prosecution:

1. "The government has evidence in its possession that the I. W. W. is planning to destroy every flour mill on the Pacific Coast, to burn a great portion of the wheat crop of California, to cause strikes in all canneries as soon as the fruit season is in full swing and to hamper the shipbuilding industry."—Assistant U. S. District Attorney Casper Ornbaum, Sacramento Bee, May 27, 1918.

(Note—Not one word of corroborative evidence was produced at the Sacramento trial. There was a cannery strike in Oakland in August, 1918, and six workers were arrested and held incommunicado under the work or fight act by the Department of Justice. The American Federation of Labor was organizing them. Secretary William Spooner of the Alameda Labor Council was threatened with arrest under the Espionage Act when he attempted to see the prisoners. Mr. Spooner is a conservative, and is now a leader in the movement to exclude aliens from membership in Alameda unions.)

2. "They state that their stand in the war is natural. Their demeanor indicates that they are absolutely opposed to war and if anything were done by them it would be against the United States and in favor of Germany."—Assistant U. S. District Attorney Casper Ornbaum.

(Note—Again not a word of evidence to corroborate the "German gold" bogey).

3. Headline: "I. W. W. CONFESSES WHOLESALE ARSON AND SABOTAGE PLOT."

This story appeared in February, 1918. An alien,

Fritz Hagerman, confessed that he had been hired by the I. W. W. to set fires, poison stock and generally terrorize the state. The story, with the minutest detail, covered an entire page in the press. It didn't stand up for a moment. It was soon shown that it was impossible for him to be at the places named in his confession. An insignificant item in the press later informed the public that the "confessor" was insane!

4. Headline: "I. W. W. ARRESTED FOR SHEEP POISONING."

This, as well as the above, appeared in the San Francisco press. Basil Saffores, secretary of the Latin Branch of the I. W. W., was arrested in connection with the poisoning of a few hundred sheep in South San Francisco. After the press, as usual, had convicted him without trial, a chemist found that the sheep had died as a result of having been fed fermented beans.

These kind of stories appeared almost every day. When disproved, the denial was found on a back page—if it was published at all.

George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, admits this wholesale lying in an article entitled, "The American Newspaper," in Everybody's Magazine, April, 1919.

"Any silence with regard to loyalty," writes Creel, "was more than made up for by space given lavishly to everything even remotely indicating disloyalty. Just as every untoward incident was credited to the German spy system, SO WAS EVERY DISORDER, EVERY MANIFESTATION OF UNREST ASCRIBED EITHER TO THE I. W. W. OR THE BOLSHEVIKI. NO EFFORT WAS MADE AT DISTINCTION, MOONEY PROTESTS, SOCIALIST MEETINGS, ETC., BEING LUMPED TOGETHER."

Referring to the Bisbee deportations, Creel writes:

"The press of America, in July, 1917, carried the story of an industrial rebellion in the Warren district of Arizona, stating that the trouble was due to an I. W. W. and pro-German combination formed for the purpose of interfering with the copper production, so vital to the war needs of the Gov-

ernment; that the Government itself had been forced to take a hand; that a censorship over telegraph and telephones had been instituted, and that the most drastic measures would be necessary to still a very grave and menacing outburst of disloyalty."

The labor organizations of the country protested, and a Presidential commission of inquiry made the following report on November 6, 1917:

"A strike was called in the Warren district on June 26. The aid of Federal troops was requested, and after full investigation the War Department refused the request on the ground that conditions were peaceful and free from disorder. On the night of July 11 managers and officials of the copper companies agreed upon a campaign of deportation.

"Early on the morning of July 12, the sheriff and an armed force of two thousand men rounded up one thousand one hundred and eighty-six men in the Warren district, put them aboard a train, and dumped them finally in the desert town of Hermanas, where they were abandoned without adequate supply of food, water and shelter.

"According to an Army census of the deported men, 199 were native-born Americans, 468 were citizens, 472 were registered under the selective draft law and 433 were married. Of the foreign-born, over twenty nationalities were represented, including 141 British, 82 Serbians and 179 Slavs. Germans and Austro-Hungarians (other than Slavs) were comparatively few.

"NOTHING STOOD PROVED MORE CLEARLY THAN THAT IT WAS NOT AN I. W. W. MOVEMENT, NOR EVEN REMOTELY GERMAN INTRIGUE."

The "German gold" bogey was overworked in California. It was flung at the whole radical movement, but more concentrated in the I. W. W. than on the rest.

What are the facts?

THE ONLY PERSONS CONVICTED IN CALIFORNIA OF RECEIVING "GERMAN GOLD" WERE PROMINENT CAPITALISTS AND AN ATTACHE OF DISTRICT ATTORNEY FICKERT'S OFFICE IN SAN FRANCISCO!

Swayne & Hoyt, prominent lumber and shipping magnates, the Northern & Southern Steamship Company, and about a dozen other big business interests were convicted of victualling the German fleet in Pacific waters.

C. C. Crowley, joint employe of District Attorney Fickert and the German Consulate in San Francisco, was convicted of dynamiting outrages, committed at the instigation of Germany and paid for by German Consul Von Bopp.

Fickert was a witness for the German defendants and was proven to have given Crowley a letter of introduction addressed to "Officials and Officers Throughout the United States and Canada." The letter described Crowley as "a special agent of this (Fickert's) office and connected with the Department of Justice of the City and County of San Francisco."

There is no such organization as the "Department of Justice of the City and County of San Francisco."

When Crowley was prowling about with his dynamite, Fickert's letter was in his pocket—a lying alibi.

The Densmore dictagraph revelations proved that Fickert and Crowley are again bosom friends, Crowley having served his term at McNeill's Island.

These are facts from the records of the United States Courts of San Francisco.

So much for the poisoned press. We said that the defense was harassed into silence! That is a mild term. The Chicago defense was scientifically crippled. The Californian one was bludgeoned.

The men in jail, for one whole year without trial, suffered terribly. During the Spanish Inquisition prisoners were mutilated piecemeal or suffered the deadly embrace of the Iron Maiden. The inhuman practices of that day have passed. They have been replaced. In Sacramento the prisoners were densely packed. Commissioner Simmons, as stated before, protested. He seems to have been ignored. The men were confined in a room so small that half had to stand or sit up while the others lay down to sleep. They slept on a concrete floor with a thin cotton blanket each. The food being inadequate, they were sent in some from the outside.

IT WAS PLACED OUTSIDE THE CAGE IN FULL VIEW OF THE MEN AND ALLOWED TO ROT!

The petty privations and annoyances suffered by the men are too numerous to mention here. It is sufficient to say that they were treated in much the same fashion as the boys were in Kansas.

Five of the Men Died in Custody!

JAMES NOLAN.
HENRY C. EVANS.
ED. BURNS.
R. J. BLAINE, descendant of James G. Blaine.
FRANK TRAVIS.

Nolan died from tuberculosis aggravated in jail and the others died of the Spanish influenza.

The men were cared for by their comrades and got the tenderest treatment. Many others were in a critical condition and $200 spent on medicine saved them. This money was to be refunded to the organization by the United States authorities. Despite many requests this has never been done.

Numerous efforts were made to get the prosecution to give poor Nolan a chance. The work was all in vain. Nolan's life was forfeited for nothing. There was no evidence against him but his membership in the I. W. W. He paid the penalty of death for that.

The following medical certificates are eloquent:

"People's Bank Building.
"Sacramento, Calif., April 15, 1918.

"TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

"I herewith present report on my examination of James Nolan. Nolan is 33 years old; former occupation, kitchen worker. He complains of a cough caught last November (a month prior to his arrest) and which is steadily growing worse. The cough is particularly annoying during the latter part of the night and in the morning. He says that he has lost considerable weight. Temperature at 11 a. m., 98 8-10, pulse 104. Temperature at 5 p. m., 99 2-10, pulse 82. Upon examination I find dullness and moist rales over the entire upper lobe of the left lung and apex of the right lung. Upon ausculation moist crackling rales are heard over these areas. Sputum analysis showed pus cells and tubercle bacilli. I would say that this man is in the advanced stage of pulmonary tuberculosis.

"W. A. BEATTIE, M. D."

And later:

"1005 K Street.
"Sacramento, Calif., June 17, 1918.

'Judge Van Fleet,
"San Francisco.
"Dear Judge:

"Mr. James Nolan, who is to be tried in your court on Oct. 8, is suffering from consumption and I feel that he should go to Arizona for at least a couple of months. He has been under my care, but owning to the fact that he must work he is not improving.

"It seems to me that he should be given this chance.

"Yours very truly,
"A. E. BRIGGS, M. D."

Poor Nolan got no chance. The last face he saw on earth was that of one of his jailers.

Extracts from Sacramento Lynching Editorials

"The average highwayman, the average murderer, is a far better citizen than the I. W. W. For the I. W. W. is out to rob, to burn, to kill, for no other purpose than that he hates mankind in general. There are few criminals in San Quentin or Folsom as great moral hyenas as any man or woman who would subscribe to the tenets of the I. W. W."—Sacramento Bee.

"A vigilante movement which will act with the deliberation and justice of a court and without the delays and evasions permitted by our laws may sometimes be a desirable and even a necessary thing in the protection of life and liberty."—Sacramento Bee.

"Until there be such legislation the citizenry of each community may find it necessary to regulate these matters themselves. And if such regulation is invoked, it will be under a drastic system in which 'There may be mighty little law, but there'll be heaps of justice.' "—Sacramento Bee.

"If the national administration is so weak in authority or so wanting in determination that it will not prevent or punish the disloyal teachings of these I. W. W.'s, then the city should do it. And if the city may not legally do so and effectively protect its citizens against the threat that exists in the continued presence of this criminal class in our midst, then it becomes the duty of the private citizen to secure that result by other than legal means. The Bee recommends an organization of responsible citizens that will act in this matter with determination and deliberation."—Sacramento Bee.

"If justice should be thwarted the people may find it necessary in such cases to visit the drastic and salutary punishment upon all such offenders before the courts are given opportunity for trial."—Sacramento Bee.

"It would be a waste of time to have them arrested and tried. The best thing to do is to shoot them and not wait for sunrise, either. The sooner the better, even if there is no time to permit them counsel or benefit of clergy."—Sacramento Bee.

"The I. W. W.'s convicted at Chicago deserve nothing less than to be taken out and shot at sunrise."—Sacramento Bee.

"Mooney deserves the gallows, even if he never had been connected with the Preparedness Day bomb infamy."—Sacramento Bee.

"The Committee of Five (well known, but nameless citizens) thought it advisable to make it known to the I. W. W. that in the event of any more dynamite outrages in this city a VIGILANCE COMMITTEE WOULD BE ORGANIZED AT ONCE AND A NUMBER OF THEM WOULD BE TAKEN OUT AND HANGED."—Sacramento News.

"We Don't Intend to Have Any Publicity in This Case"

The attitude of the prosecution toward the defense committee is aptly summed up in the above phrase of one of the "law and order" forces. The idea of even attempting a defense was a dangerous one. Communications passing between the Sacramento and Tulsa, Oklahoma, Chambers of Commerce urged violence and a communication from the latter body urging whippings and coats of tar and feathers were approvingly printed in the Sacramento Bee and other "law and order" publications.

Of course all ideas of opening a defense headquarters in Sacramento were abandoned. One was opened in San Francisco. It was raided seven times in six months and papers and equipment necessary for defense work were carted away. Even Underwood typewriters were banned as treasonable!

Treasurer A. L. Fox, though working under salary, was arrested for vagrancy fifteen times in four months. He was discharged every time.

Theodora Pollok, the first secretary, was arrested without warrant when she sought to bail out James

Price, and $1,000 defense money found on her was held a long time, when it was urgently needed to carry on the defense.

Two women, Mrs. Kaufman and Mrs. Esmond, the latter wife of Frederick Esmond, one of the defendants and a paid employe of the defense committee, were arrested on one occasion when the police raided the defense and grabbed Secretary R. A. Williams. After being ordered released by Judge Brady, they were held by the police and ordered to subject themselves to the physical examination usually given arrested prostitutes! When Judge Brady heard of it, he shouted: "These women shall not be examined while I sit on the bench! They must be released immediately!" After the police had twice refused to obey, the judge descended from the bench and himself gave his orders. The girls were freed.

Though neither of these girls had ever been convicted of any crime, and although they were not then charged with committing any crime, they were photographed and their fingerprints taken by the police!

Frederick Esmond, defense publicity agent, was also jailed in pursuance of the prosecution policy of "No publicity!". Esmond had been active in many labor fights, notably the Wheatland and Mooney fights. He had been admitted to bail on the Sacramento indictment, but as soon as he started exposing jail conditions in Sacramento he was promptly arrested as a "dangerous alien"!

The indictment was changed four times to suit the rounding up of all active organization members and the consequent change of prosecution tactics. Six months after the first arrests a large group were arrested for alleged arson and the original defendants were included in this rearranged indictment, though this resulted in many of the boys being charged with fires occurring after their imprisonment.

Mail between the Chicago and San Francisco defense headquarters was held up for four months.

The clumsiest prosecution tactic was the circulation of a forged circular letter bearing the signatures of Fellow Workers Embree, Hegge, Matt Fox and Pete Stone. This was doubtless the product of a member of the Naval Intelligence Bureau, William Abrahams, who was trying to ingratiate himself into the defense in the role of agent provocateur. He had already offered a $500 check to "start something." His magnanimous offer was refused!

"The next time you are asked to donate for Sacramento, turn it down," advised this letter. "Tell whoever has the list that you believe in organizing and not in direct action anarchism. It has never been our policy to advocate destruction of property and for us to come out and defend men who believe in and practice arson and other forms of destruction, is to play into the hands of the master."

Not many were deceived by this forgery.

The result of this constant persecution and raiding of the defense was a step which shocked the confidence of the American people in Californian "justice." It was a healthy douche following the flagrant perjury plot against Tom Mooney!

"No Legal Defense, Labor Will Judge," Say Defendants

Nathan Coghlan, prominent in many Coast labor cases, had been retained by the defense. But the forty-three defendants in the Sacramento Jail determined on a bold stroke. "There is no justice to be obtained in Californian Courts," they proclaimed. "We can't get a fair trial in any state in the union. Bourke Cockran, the most famous lawyer of the New York Bar, couldn't save Tom Mooney. Vanderveer failed in Chicago. The confessions of Allie Kidwell and Estelle Smith, the publication of the famous perjury-suborning letters of Frank C. Oxman and the supplications of the President of the United States couldn't take innocent Tom Mooney out of his death cell. Eugene V. Debs didn't whine and retract. The Labor movement of America will judge us. We will have no lawyers. We will not put a single witness on the stand. The prosecution has harassed our de-

fense in its efforts to organize and prepare a legitimate case. The blame rests on them. We are ready for your farce!"

The vote of the men in jail in favor of the policy of a silent defense read: For silent defense 40, against 1, and neutral 2. Theodora Pollok, A. L. Fox and Basil Saffores, who were out on bail, dissented and employed attorneys.

The policy of a silent defense aroused much discussion. It was not accepted by the entire organization as a policy to be invoked everywhere, but as the almost unanimous decision of the forty-three men in jail, it was accepted by the Californian movement.

That it was eminently justified was proven by the statement of Captain Alexander Sidney Lanier, published a few months ago in a few progressive publications. Captain Lanier, formerly Assistant Attorney-General of the Philippine Islands, belonged, during the war, to the military intelligence division of the general staff of the United States Army.

His statement reads:

"Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Chicago indictment and the question of the sufficiency of the evidence as a whole to sustain the prosecution—and upon these matters there may be ground for debate—there can be no question, in my opinion, of the absolute innocence and wrongful conviction of Charles Ashleigh, Leo Lauki and Vincent St. John in particular. I defy any one to show me one scintilla of evidence in the record of this trial that proves either of the above defendants conspired with any one to violate the law, or that they did, in fact, violate any law, as charged and set forth in the indictment, or otherwise.

"While I am of the opinion that these men were convicted contrary to the law and the evidence, solely because they were leaders of a revolutionary organization against which public opinion was incensed: and that the verdict rendered was a foregone conclusion from the beginning in obedience to a public hysteria and popular demand due to the psychology of the times. I feel that the inclusion in the verdict and sentence of the three defendants, above named, was a gross miscarriage of justice and an outrage that every consideration of right and good order of society demand should be corrected."

Captain Lanier's courageous confession of wrong is neatly reposing in Attorney-General Mitchell Pal-

mer's files. It has not been acted upon. It has been ignored.

It is, however, an official endorsement of the Sacramento silent defense.

It is manly and brave and true.

The American public will not ignore and forget it.

It is a damnable indictment of democracy as known and practiced by the Wilson administration.

It won't be forgotten as quick as the "fourteen points" of sacred memory!

The "Trial" Starts

The "trial" started. "We want it distinctly understood that these attorneys don't represent us," stated Mortimer Downing the moment court convened. He referred to Attorneys Nate Coghlan, Harry McKee and Cowells.

The forty-six defendants answered the roll call. They presented quite a contrast. Mostly American, other nationalities were represented. Frenchmen, Syrians and Italians were interspersed with graduates of Oxford and Dublin Universities, court stenographers, editors and Washington correspondents, lumbermen, chemists and agricultural workers. All of them showed the strain of the year's confinement and the deaths of five of their fellow defendants. And they all showed a supreme contempt of the initial proceedings. They spent most of their time sleeping and reading standard works on economics.

The attorneys for the three other defendants, however, were alert and fought fruitlessly.

No "safer" and "saner" jury could have been selected than the twelve who were ultimately sworn in as jurors. Eleven of them are said to have been subscribers to the Sacramento Bee. Indeed, the Bee stated on December 11th; "There has not been a juror examined who is not a subscriber to the Bee." Henry C. Wolff, excused juror, stated in court on December 12th; "If I believed all there was in the Bee regarding the I. W. W. I would believe they were as guilty as the devil." Such was the psychology of

eleven out the twelve jurors, perhaps of the entire jury.

Before the "trial" got properly started, Mortimer Downing asked for a ruling as to the censorship of the defendants' mail. He complained that letters written to Judge Van Fleet by him were opened and read by the prosecution and never reached the judge. One of those letters will be found in the appendix. "It is the custom for the marshal to censor prisoners' mail," replied Judge Rudkin. "Suppose I write a letter to a witness I propose to call in, in which I ask him what he knows," asked Downing. "Must I submit it to the prosecution to read?" "I'll see that the proper person gets it," responded the Court. "Then an absolute censorship does exist?" said Downing. "Um—well—yes," was the answer.

The prosecution started by reading, "I. W. W. History, Structure and Methods" by Vincent St. John. Other pamphlets were also read before the long line of witnesses reached the witness chair.

The evidence went back to 1905. It included strikes all over the Pacific Coast. Every activity against the organization for years was recalled. Private letters of no importance were read—worse, detached sentences from private letters, that, taken with their context, might have meant something very different from the construction there being put upon them. The main idea of the evidence was to prove to the jury (1) that all the defendants were class conscious; (2) that consequently they believed in the strike weapon, and (3) that they had the audacity to strike for better conditions in wartime, when their employers had to produce a maximum of work with a not altogether adequate labor supply.

The lumber strike in the Northwest was particularly harped upon, but the weakling, Julius Weinberg, deliberately stated on the witness stand as a prosecution witness that "the strike was for better conditions and wages." Tired of the numerous charges of "they struck in war time," Judge Rudkin

almost shouted at Prosecutor Duncan at one stage of the trial: "They had a perfect right to strike for better conditions!"

Deputy United States Marshall Ed Byrne was dragged down from the North to testify regarding a raid on the organization in Spokane. Having testified as to arrests, etc., Coghlan started to cross-examine him. "The ground of the arrest of these men in the Northwest is not proper cross-examination," objected Duncan. "These men are not on trial. This is immaterial." "You brought out this matter, yourself, Mr. Duncan," retorted Judge Rudkin. This incident was typical of the spirit of the prosecution throughout.

Then it transpired that the nineteen men were arrested because they protested against what they considered the unfair imprisonment of some of their members, and debated whether they should strike to get justice for the men in jail. The jury was shown that the arrests were not made because of the concealment of any German U-Boats in the I. W. W. premises or the presence of 42-centimeter guns for the destruction of the Seattle Times office or Ole Hanson's henhouse.

Dennis, Dymond and Coutts. Stars—All of Them.

The chief witnesses—"star witnesses"—for the prosecution were three of the original defendants, Wilford Dennis, John Dymond and Elbert Coutts. Dennis capitulated after a few days in the Sacramento County Jail, and his name was stricken from the indictment on condition that he would testify against his fellows.

The prosecution read the following letter, written by Dennis during the Ford and Suhr fight. It was addressed to the Sacramento Defense Committee:

"New action in the Ford and Suhr matter must be thought out and put going. Realizing that the hop barons have not got the economic power sufficient to move state affairs (or they would have turned Ford and Suhr loose) we must enlarge the strike to include the canneries and fruit industry. Get the

sab kittens started in the canning industries and we can holler loud and cripple the demand for Californian canned goods, for none are so patriotic as to court the diarrhea. Just as good and no sab cats prowling. Then advise labor and its friends to cut out Californian canned goods for the benefit of the Ford and Suhr case and their own health. It will put an awful cramp in the demand. Maybe the canners can help the hop growers get Ford and Suhr a little justice. Either this, or educate the rank and file of the I. W. W. to charge the capitalist class $500,000 per month as long as Ford and Suhr are inside and make the capitalists pay it each day."

Dennis testified that letters written by him in his Berkeley home were the general sentiment of the San Francisco International Workers' Defense League, which was assisting in the Ford and Suhr defense. Prosecutor Duncan introduced this letter as the sentiment and conviction of the defendants connected with the defense of Ford and Suhr.

Attorney Nate Coghlan completely refuted this contention, despite the mental wriggling of Dennis on the witness stand.

We reproduce part of the cross examination:

Coghlan: The Committee never advised you to answer that letter that way, did they?

Dennis: The Lambert reply about the $2.75 and the Dodson matter—"

Coghlan: Just answer my question. Did the committee advise you to reply to this letter that way or was it not, as a matter of fact, a private communication, deemed so by you, in which you added these other effusions that had nothing to do with the matter communicated to you by Lambert?

Dennis: Part of it is with reference to Dodson—"

Judge Rudkin: You understand the question. The question is whether the answer was authorized by the committee?

Dennis: I would not say that they particularly authorized it, no.

Coghlan: Answer the question. Did they authorize any part of that answer to this letter?

Dennis: I do not believe that there was a meeting held whereby they authorized me to write that."

Comment on Dennis and his testimony would be superfluous.

Dymond Defaults, Then Stars for Prosecution

Fred Ines or Jackson or John Dymond, another of the prosecution stars, had a substantial reason for rounding on his friends and changing from an active defense agent to a venomously untruthful prosecution prop.

$1,200 was the reason. It was defense money entrusted by A. L. Fox to Dymond for safekeeping and never since accounted for. Others say that the prosecution had cognizance of some of Dymond's past misdeeds and that they held that fact over his head to compel him to betray his friends. Various rumors allege that Dymond has been a counterfeiter, a "stick-up" man and a wire thief. If these rumors be true, then the second surmise is doubtless correct.

He was a painstaking witness. "Quinlan confessed to me that he did this. O'Connell confessed to me that he did that. Downing confessed to me that he did that, etc., etc." That was the evidence of Dymond in a nutshell. He, to use a slang term, "went down the line" and gave the most circumstantial and damning evidence against almost every defendant in the courtroom. Every one of them confessed his crimes to Dymond, according to his testimony. His evidence was too detailed, too particular, too mechanical, to suit a clear-thinking juror. His motive and manifest obsession to get rid of the men he had robbed and betrayed was manifested every moment in every movement he made during his voluble and profitable career on the witness stand. He is now being taken care of by Deputy United States Marshal Shannon of Fresno. A tale has come from Wichita that the prosecution had him there, to assist in "putting over" the conviction in that equally infamous case.

Elbert Coutts is a young Californian who served a two year term in San Quentin Penitentiary for burglary. He, like Dymond, has never shown much aptitude for honest labor. He was arrested in the early days of the prosecution, but his name was never

placed on any of the various indictments. He admitted on the witness stand that he "was put in jail and information gradually worked out of him". In other words, he bought his liberty by perjury. Like Dymond he gave lurid and insignificant details of the "sabotage campaign" and even excelled Dymond in minuteness of testimony. He hid a phial of phosphorus in a certain river bed in Modesto, he testified. A few days later up pops a witness who found that identical phial in the same longitude and latitude! He was in arson, according to himself, much the same as a famous character was in the phases of his country's history. Coutts was the first to discover a luckless hay pile or rustic barn; he was the first to apply the famous torch: he was the first to sound the retreat: he was the first to confess. And after his glib testimony Prosecutor Duncan, in his address to the jury, admitted that it was possible that Coutts **lied.**

Fifteen fires in one night was Coutts' record. He seemed to take a huge delight in his own work. "Who burned those barns?" Duncan would ask. "Myself, Brown, Smith, Jones, etc." was the smiling reply of the ex-burglar. His evidence was challenged by his own fellow witnesses in regard to a furnace he swore he made in the Oakland Hall for the manufacture of phosphorus. Other prosecution witnesses said that phosphorus couldn't be made in the retort, or "Dublin Bob's stew-pot," as it was dubbed after being thrown out of evidence. He swore that after making this furnace he took it to Connellan's ark in Stockton, there to manufacture bombs for shipment to the Middle West to destroy the grain crop. On cross-examination, it was ascertained that this plan existed solely in Coutts' cranium.

Coghlan's cross-examination read in part:

"**Q.** Do you know whether or not any of those bombs were actually shipped?

A. No.

Q. You mean you don't know they were not?

A. **I am sure they were not.**

Q. Were there any other chemicals made there for destructive purposes?

A. Well, not that I know of."

He swore that Mortimer Downing and Theodora Pollok discussed ways and means of obstructing the war in the Oakland Hall. He swore in particular that Downing spoke of placing a copper cent on the heart for the purpose of discoloring the skin and faking heart trouble and also of putting yellow soap in the armpits. Downing, who is an old army man like others of the defendants, was simply telling how malingerers attempted to evade duty in his day. The obstruction of the war by Downing and Pollok disappeared by the time that Coghlan cross-examined the doughty firebug. Here is an extract!

Q. Was anything said on that occasion as to the constitutionality of the Conscription Act?

A. I think there was.

Q. The law, itself, was impeached by these people that were talking about it as not constitutional. Is that correct?

A. Yes.

A little later Coghlan went one better and proved that Theodora Pollok was not and could not possibly have been in the Oakland Hall on the occasion testified to by Coutts.

No wonder Duncan admitted to the jury that the brazen-faced Coutts might have lied.

Nevertheless, he was shipped to Seattle a few months ago to testify against some of the Seattle strikers accused of criminal anarchy. He appeared in the Bruce trial, happy, fat and as glib as ever. In response to Vanderveer's questioning, he coolly admitted that he was guilty of arson and other crimes, and knew it, but that he would never be prosecuted, because he was going around the country testifying against the I. W. W. "as a profession"! It was too much for even a Seattle jury. Bruce was acquitted and most of the other twenty or more cases were dropped.

His career as a professional perjurer is about ended. Work—or burglary! That seems to be the choice facing Coutts. Perhaps, like Ortie McManigal, he will be accorded immunity in his raids on the pockets and property of the public!

The Fake Phosphorus Plot and the Stew Pot

As we said before, Coutts swore that he manufactured a furnace for the manufacture of phosphorus in the Oakland Hall: that he afterwards brought it to Bob Connellan's ark in the Stockton slough and that there bombs were manufactured for the destruction of the grain crop in the middle west, which were never used. Curiously inconsistent, but that's what he swore. Now we will examine the evidence regarding Connellan.

Chief of Police Simpson visited Connellan's ark for the first time July 24, 1917. He saw a mysterious warning on the door. It read: "Danger! Keep out! Generating CO2." A skull and crossbones topped the warning. CO2 is the gas used in mineral or aerated waters, and is harmless! The Chief looked around and left after ascertaining that Connellan was experimenting with fertilizers and exterminators of grain vermin. He returned a second time on August 27th and seized the "stew-pot" and quantities of various chemicals, the same thing he saw on his first visit.

Leon Happel, a young naval chemist, testified that they were ordinary chemical mixtures. One of them was commonly used as squirrel poison. This corroborated Connellan's statement to Chief Simpson.

G. H. P. Lighthardt, analytical chemist, testified that the potassium nitrate (saltpetre) and potassium chlorate could be used respectively in the manufacture of spontaneous combustibles and bombs. The bisulphide of carbon was usually used to exterminate gophers and other vermin.

Officer C. W. Potter of the Stockton police force testified to discovering a quantity of copper wire, some distance from the ark, which Coutts claimed was used in the manufacture of the grain bombs which were never used.

Connellan stated to his friends after this evidence was adduced that anyone could walk into a dining room and take from the table a far better and cheap-

er pyrophoric substance than phosphorus. "I used the potassium chlorate as a rapid generator of oxygen," he stated further, "and combustibles can be made quicker and easier from common salt than from saltpetre."

The Methods Used to Blame the I. W. W. for Arson

After the men were arrested they were promptly "mugged" and a large sheet, containing their photographs, exhibited in every postoffice in California, with the intimation that they were I. W. W.'s charged with treason, arson, etc., and that information concerning any one or all of them should be turned in to the prosecution. (This same procedure was used with other men not arrested or indicted, whom the authorities hoped to include in some indictment.)

The result was that Sacramento was crammed with prosecution witnesses who testified to practically every fire occurring for the past three years. All of them were by implication laid at the door of the I. W. W. One raisin grower of Fresno, P. M. Johnson, had a wage dispute with some of the defendants, also with certain Armenians who were not defendants. A fire occurred at his place afterwards, and trays of raisins were tipped over. The men were arrested. They were acquitted. He now turned up in Sacramento and laid the crime again at the door of the defendants. It is alleged that he had had trouble with the Raisin Growers' organization, and that that was the cause of his trays being tipped over. But the jury rabidly accepted the logic that the defendants, being I. W. W.'s, and being, as they considered, cheated out of a portion of their wages, took vengeance by the destruction of Johnson's property.

Forty-two million feet of lumber was burned at Westwood, California, on September 17, 1917. Fritz Hagerman, insane alien enemy, was for some time paraded as the I. W. W. who, with a corps of

assistants, committed this crime, if crime it was. Hagerman having been declared insane and it having been proven that it was physically impossible for him to have been in Westwood on that date, it was sought to lay the blame on the Sacramento defendants. According to the testimony of Dymond and Coutts, it would appear that the defendants vied with each other in their anxiety to get the credit for this fire.

Any definite proof that the I. W. W. was responsible for this huge destruction of lumber at a time when it was badly needed for war purposes has never been produced. The local Ole Hansons and P. H. Johnsons have tried their best and failed.

The prosecution put George A. Pratt, the sales manager of the Red River Lumber Company, whose property was destroyed, on the witness stand. Mr. Pratt testified (1) that his firm had no trouble with the I. W. W., and (2) that the lumber was insured and well watched.

Edward Jensen, former timekeeper at Westwood, testified that James Quinlan had worked there. He couldn't testify as to whether any of the others worked there or not.

George Wolfe, logging superintendent, testified that he had discharged Bill Hood. He couldn't swear that Connellan was there at the time of the fire.

B. C. Berger, investigator for Fire Protection Bureau, swore that the Red River Lumber Company made boxes to contain ammunition and food supplies for the army. He was present when phosphorus, found at the time of the fire, was dug up by Mr. Pratt. "Brooms with phosphorus on the bottom" had been misplaced, and he didn't get to see them.

This is all the evidence concerning Westwood.

There is nothing to connect any of the men indicted with this fire. "We accuse the I. W. W. of using phosphorus to set fires and as phosphorus was found by Westwood employes, the I. W. W. must

have caused the fire." That seems to be the prosecution reasoning. It was good enough for the "Bee jurors," who believed already that the I. W. W.'s in the dock "were as guilty as the devil."

I. W. W.'s Wrongly Blamed for Spikes in Logs

F. L. Milward, of Aloha, Washington, mill superintendent, was put on the stand to testify that his saws were ruined by spikes driven in logs by the I. W. W. Before Milward left the witness stand he proved exactly the opposite. He testified in effect: "My company was engaged in the manufacture of lumber for aeroplane parts for the United States and the Allies. We had a strike. Our saws were ruined by spikes driven into the logs." Such was the direct examination. On cross examination it transpired that the injury to the saws was caused AFTER THE STRIKE, when inexperienced men had taken the place of the strikers. The strike was for better conditions and shorter hours.

An official publication of the organization explained a long time ago why so many saws were ruined by spikes in the lumber. We shall quote:

"The logs in which spikes are found are spar trees. When the rigging is put up, lines are thrown out and attached to a tree and arranged in the manner necessary for the purpose. These lines are held by spikes driven into a spar tree. When the lines are to be lowered or released, it is easier to drive the spikes down into the trees than to draw them out. The spikes are driven clear and deep into the trees, and the lines lowered over them. After the work has passed this point, the boss comes along, observes the spar tree and notes it is good for timber. Down it comes, spikes and all. It would take time and labor to properly inspect the tree for spikes and extract them. So they remain in to be discovered when a saw strikes them in the mill, breaking the saw and endangering the lives of the workers. The explanation of spikes in logs is simple. It is the employer's greed for profit. When this is at stake, the workers' lives don't count."

This logical explanation dovetails with Milward's evidence. The saws in his mill were broken by spikes in the logs when the I. W. W. was out on strike and he was operating the mill with scab labor.

Procession of Sheriffs, Constables, Fire Chiefs Take Stand

Stimulated by the display of the photos of the defendants in every postoffice in California, there was a regular excursion of officials to Sacramento to testify regarding every fire in the state for years past. Many of these officials were coming up for re-election and, like Sheriff Gormley of Sacramento, they thought that playing a part in the great Sacramento melodrama was a beneficial election manoeuvre.

Sheriff Thorwaldson of Fresno told of fires in his district, including the one on P. M. Johnson's ranch. He told of one thrilling fire in which "a man took a pitchfork, pulled a forkful of hay out of the stack and saved the stack." He was anxious to tell what he knew of Frank Little in 1910, but Judge Rudkin halted him. "Eight years back is too far to be considered in this case," he ruled. He admitted that several Armenians had been convicted of arson in Fresno, and that he had arrested several of the defendants after the Johnson fire without warrants, and "simply because they were I. W. W.'s."

Sheriff C. J. McCoy, of Yuba County, knew Roy Connor, Whitehead and Downing. He arrested Connor at Durst's ranch on August 23, 1918. At the time of his arrest Connor had earned $126 there. There were fires at Wheatland, but not while Connor was working there.

Sheriff George Lucet, of Jackson County, arrested Vincent Santelli. The defendant admitted that he was an I. W. W.!

Sheriff Farmer, of Kings County, told of fires in that county. He didn't see them. He heard all about them. An I. W. W. confessed that he set one. "No, he wasn't among the defendants." Questioned further, he said: "What caused the fires I don't know."

Sheriff Trafton, of Santa Cruz County, testified as to the arrest of Godfrey Ebel. The date was August 30, 1915. He was in jail for six days.

Sheriff George Davis, of Modesto, testified that La Tour was in jail there.

Under-Sheriff L. Davis, of Modesto, testified as to fires there, and that he also saw I. W. W. stickers around the town. This, of course, was conclusive proof of the authorship of the fires.

Under-Sheriff G. J. Davis, of the same illustrious family, also testified as to the fires occurring. He established an alibi for Harry La Tour by swearing that he had been arrested several days before those fires occurred.

Fire Chief Wallace, of Modesto, testified that nearly all the property burned was insured. There were some arrests, but no convictions.

United States Marshall Shannon, of Fresno, testified that he arrested Frank Elliott. "I have the goods on you," he said to Elliott. "Well, if you have the goods on me, what's the use of discussing the thing?" Elliott replied. He failed to adhere to his original story that Elliott admitted guilt.

Constable William K. Clarkson, of Lemon Cove, Tulare County, identified O'Connell and Connors. They were among strikers on the irrigation project there. The strike was won, and the men went back to work.

Constable Rhine, Lindsay, Tulare County, saw O'Connell and Connor working on the irrigation project. "I suppose they were all I. W. W's," he said, referring to the strikers. "No, there were no fires there." These two constables proved that the two defendants took part in a successful strike. The "Bee" jury was deeply impressed.

Officer William O'Brien, of the San Francisco Police Department, knew five of the defendants, Fox, Saffores, Ebel, Stredwick and Esmond. He took part in twenty raids in San Francisco during a year and knew that the places raided were engaged in the defense of imprisoned members.

Don Rathbun, then in charge of the San Francisco Bureau of the Department of Justice, indignantly denied the responsibility for the constant harassing of

the Defense Committee, so gladly accepted by O'Brien:

"Did not you, Mr. Rathbun, or your deputies under your direction, raid the defense headquarters in San Francisco and strip them of their books and files and after the raid of Sept. 5 and after the arrests of the men in Fresno and Sacramento?" asked Coughlan.

"My office did NOT participate in any raids after September 5 in San Francisco," answered Rathbun, pointedly. "After the arrest of Fox and Miss Pollok, I. W. W. leaders came to my office and protested. I told them that my department had nothing to do with their arrests."

Police Officer George Richards, of San Francisco, arrested A. L. Fox and Theodora Pollok. He saw a poster in the Latin I. W. W. hall reading: "Lincoln freed the blacks in 1861. Wilson enslaved the whites in 1917." Opponents of the League of Nations will take due notice!

Police Captain Arthur Layne saw the defendants, Fox and Pollok, after arrest. Fox had $400 in cash and Miss Pollok had a telegraphic money order for $1,000 to be used in engaging counsel in the Fresno case.

Police Captain J. J. O'Meara, of San Francisco, claimed that Fred Esmond was against the war. The draft act was still pending at the time. He claimed that Esmond admitted illegal entry into the country.

(Note—The Immigration Department has since admitted that the "identification evidence" submitted to it by this witness has been found worthless!)

Fred A. Watt, Department of Justice, Spokane, admitted that approximately 7,900 out of 8,000 I. W. W.'s in his district registered for the draft.

Deputy Sheriff Max Anderson, of Spokane, testified as to John L. Murphy. Murphy criticized this country and asserted, "I have been nothing but a slave since I was a child." The question of correspondence between Murphy and Chris Luber came up during the testimony of this witness. It is admitted by the prosecution that Murphy's letters to Luber were intercepted and replied to in Luber's name. Marshall Mulhall of Densmore dictagraph fame,

dodged this contemptible transaction when he took the stand. We quote:

"Are you a party to the plot whereby any government agent answered these letters?" asked Attorney Coughlan.

No reply from Mulhall.

"Who answered them?"

"I cannot say positively," evaded Mulhall.

Mulhall could have easily qualified under the Romanoff dynasty in old Russia as a skilled provocateur.

F. A. Lamar, "investigator" of San Francisco, and employed by the Clemens-Horst Hop Ranch during the strike there, testified that he was spying on the I. W. W. at the time. He heard a conversation by Fred Esmond, while hidden in a clothes closet, detailing how the strike would be organized. Mortimer Downing was to have charge of the picket line, he alleged.

Ranchers, "Whittlers," Etc., Succeed Officials

Fred Hartwell, farmer of Wapato, Wash., solemnly swore that Ed Carey said to him: "You put Morgan and the other rich guys in the trenches and the war will be stopped." Prosecutor Duncan looked triumphantly at the jury.

W. B. Hotchkiss, fruit grower and prominent member of the Applegate "Whittlers' Club," testified that he heard one of the defendants state that he was against the war. This was before the draft law was passed.

Special Agent B. F. Phelan of the Southern Pacific arrested Gabe Brewer while he was working as brakeman for that company. Brewer admitted that he was an I. W. W.

F. A. Cunningham, real estate man of South San Francisco, heard the defendant Tori talking in Italian to some countrymen of his on draft registration day. Cunningham doesn't understand Italian and Tori registered for the draft. It was not quite clear from Cunningham's testimony what it was all about. Perhaps he didn't know himself!

Paul Bollhorn, cook and alien enemy, residing in Sacramento county jail, testified against Hood. Hood told him "he had something that was worth $10,000 to him." Dynamite was easily available. It was there Hood obtained the nine sticks for his prospecting trip, which were seized in Sacramento. He (Bollhorn) resisted all Hood's teachings and temptations. He didn't know Voetter or Saffores. He had been detained in jail there for four months and denied access to his friends all that time.

Bakersfield ranchers testified as to fires there. They didn't know any of the defendants.

L. E. Arnold of Libby, McNeill & Libby, Sacramento, testified that his firm sold half its products to the United States government. He testified rather disappointedly that his firm had had no strikes and no fires!

R. A. Gilman, real estater of Modesto, found Coutts' bottle of phosphorus in a river bed.

W. A. Goddard, Modesto rancher, had a peculiar fire that extinguished itself.

George Keith, Turlock merchant, testified about a fire in the rear of a pool hall there. The damage amounted to a few dollars. He had no proof that the I. W. W. caused the fire.

Paul Wetmore, Hanford cannery superintendent, told of a fire in his cannery. He knew none of the defendants.

Police Officer Richards of Sacramento, Expressman Paul and Mavroides testified as to Hood and Voetter receiving a parcel at the American Railway Express office, and their consequent arrest.

There were many other witnesses. Their evidence was not interesting, relevant or noteworthy. They accused one of the defendants of criticizing Samuel Gompers (same crime as the "Nation," various daily papers and some thousands of employers committed), told of fires of unknown origin and alleged anti-war declarations and of jobs where the defendants worked. That was one thing adequately

proven by the prosecution. All of the defendants were industrious and insisted on getting a living wage.

Coghlan Opens Defense For His Three Clients

"We will show you that the Industrial Workers of the World organization is not one formed for the purpose of treason," declared Coghlan in opening his defense of Fox, Saffores and Miss Pollok. "We will demonstrate to you conclusively that it is such an organization as has for its background some of the most terrible social crimes that have ever been committed. We will show to you from the articles in these publications that as a source of its growth and as its very cradle there lie things that cry to the very heavens for requital. We are going to show that Miss Pollok doubted the guilt of Ford and Suhr and that she did not, as many Americans did not, believe in murder by implication. We will prove that Miss Pollok was not in the Oakland Hall on the occasion testified to by Coutts and that she was not in the State when Dennis wrote these letters.

"If acts of violence and sabotage occurred in any connection in this case, we will be able to convince you that not the rank and file of the members of this organization, nor any of the persons I am defending did that, but persons violently moved by reason of the fact that behind them is a background spattered with blood, that behind them is a background shot thru with the crimson blood of men, women and children, which cries aloud to the very heavens for atonement."

From the report of the Federal Commission of Industrial Relations, of which Frank P. Walsh was chairman, Coghlan read:

"The extent and depth of industrial unrest can hardly be exaggerated. State and national conventions of labor organizations, numbering many thousands of members, have cheered the names of leaders, imprisoned for participation in a campaign of violence, conducted as one phase of a conflict with

organized workers. Thirty thousand men in a single strike have followed the leadership of men who denounced the government and called for relentless warfare on organized society. Employers from coast to coast have created and maintained small private armies and have used these forces to intimidate and suppress their striking employes by deporting, imprisoning, assaulting and killing their leaders. Elaborate spy systems are maintained to discover and forestall the movements of the enemy. The use of state troops in policing strikes has bred a bitter hostility to the military system among members of labor organizations and states have been unable to enlist wage earners for this second line of the nation's defense. Courts, legislatures and governors have been rightfully accused of serving employers to the defeat of justice, and while counter charges come from employers and their agents with negligible exceptions, it is the wage earners who believe, assert and prove that the very institutions of their country have been perverted by the power of the employers. Prison records for labor leaders have become badges of honor in the eyes of many of the people and mass meetings throughout the nation cheer denunciations of courts and court decisions.

"When unfortunate workers, two-thirds of whom toil from 8 to 12 hours for less than enough to support themselves and their families in decency and comfort, seek by the only means within their reach to better their lot by organizing to lift themselves from helplessness to some measure of collective power, with which to wring living wages from their employers, they find too often arrayed against them not only the massed power of capital, but every arm of the government that was created to enforce guarantees of equality and justice.

"We find that many entire communities exist under the arbitrary economic control of corporation officials charged with the management of an industry or a group of industries, and we find that in such communities political liberty does not exist, and its forms are hollow mockeries. Give the employer power to discharge without cause, to grant or to withhold from thousands the opportunity to earn bread and the liberties of such a community lie in the hollow of the employer's hands. Free speech and a free press may be denied as they have been denied again and again, and the employer's agent may be placed in public office to do his bidding.

"In large communities where espionage becomes impossible the wage earners, who are unsupported by a collective organization, may enjoy freedom of expression outside the workshop, but there his freedom ends. For the house he lives in, the food he eats, the clothes he wears, the environment of his wife and children and his own health and safety are in the hands of his employer, through the arbitrary power he exercises in fixing his wages and working conditions.

"The responsibility for the conditions which have been described above we declare rests primarily on the workers, who, blind to their collective strength and oftentimes deaf to the cries of their fellows, have suffered exploitation and the invasion of their most sacred rights without resistance."

Violence the Tool of Capital.

From the pamphlet, "Shall Freedom Die?" Attorney Coghlan read the following pertinent extract:

"Violence in labor disputes is a sign of weakness. The weakest side uses it when defeat threatens. It may be here noted that Industrial Workers of the World strikes withdraw not only one or two crafts, but all crafts, all workers in the shop or industry. That is industrial unionism, and it places the employer on the weakest side industrially. That is why violence in I. W. W. strikes invariably begins with the employer. It was a policeman in Lawrence, in the great textile strike of 1912, that shot Anna La Piza. It was a militiaman that bayoneted a Syrian boy striker from behind and left his corpse on the sidewalk. It was thugs of the American Woolen Company that shot to death a Polish mill worker under cover of darkness. Over 900 arrests, without warrant or right of bail, showed the conspiracy between the Woolen Trust and legal authority. Despite these crimes of intimidation, the strikers won. Likewise the silk workers' strike in Paterson, New Jersey, in 1913; 1,860 arrests of strikers with two convictions on minor charges; two strikers murdered, one of them killed as he held his baby in his arms on his doorstep—the guilty gunman jailed, but freed without trial.

"Nor has the I. W. W. been the only one to feel the Iron Hand. We had the Ludlow Massacre on April 23, 1914. That horror was managed from Wall street by the Rockefellers, who watched the developments of the pogrom with unusual interest and satisfaction. The local agents of Rockefeller ruled the Colorado state officials from the governor down. A letter written to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., on Uovember 18, 1913, by his agent, Mr. Bowers, says: 'We have been able to secure all the bankers. Besides the Chamber of Commerce, the real estate exchange, together with many of the best business men have been urging the governor to drive these vicious agitators out of the state.' The United Mine Workers of America lost the strike.

"On a hillside near Seattle five members of the I. W. W. lie buried, victims of Sheriff McRae and his band of Lumber Trust hirelings, who shot them down from a wharf at Everett, Washington, on November 5, 1916. They died: but lumber workers by the tens of thousands rallied to the One Big Union, and the Lumber Trust stands defeated today."

Sabotage From a Different Viewpoint.

In order to illustrate on the part of the defense what is meant by sabotage when practiced by the capitalist class, to which perhaps it may be said that I, myself, belong, I will read this," said Coghlan.

For the workers, sabotage which is aimed only at the means of exploitation—against the tools and machines, that is, against inert, painless and lifeless things—the bourgeoisie has nothing but curses and maledictions. On the other hand the detractors and slanderers of the working class were never scandalized and never show any anger against another sort of sabotage truly criminal, monstrous and abominable, which reaps human victims and deprives men of their health by sticking like a leech at the very sources of life.

"This bourgeois impassiveness and indifference to this sort of sabotage which is actually criminal, arises from the fact that the bourgeoisie draws most of its profits from it.

"Saboters are the farmers and traders who, by adulterating the milk, chief nourishment of childhood, sap the very root of the growing generation.

"Saboters, the manufacturers of chocolate made with palm and cocoa oil.

"Saboters are the millers and boss bakers who, by mixing talcum, chalk or other cheap but harmful ingredient with flour, adulterate the bread, a nourishment of first necessity.

"Saboters, the manufacturers and sellers of coffee mixed with starch, chicory and acorns.

Saboters, the growers who sell pulverized pepper made with almond shells and olive stones.

"Saboters, the confectioners who sell glucose taffy creams made with vaseline, honey with starch and chestnut meal.

"Saboters, the manufacturers of vinegar made with sulphuric acid.

"Saboters, the dairymen who sell cheese made with starch and butter of margarine.

"Saboters, the brewers whose beer is distilled from corn leaves.

"Saboters, the great patriotic and public-spirited contractors of army supplies who make shoes with paper soles, cartridges with coal dust and who sell fermented meat, poisonous canned goods and other adulterated foods.

"Saboters, the iron and steel barons who build defective boilers for our huge battleships, thus causing numerous explosions and the killing and maiming of hundreds of young Americans.

"Saboters, the sellers of meat from clandestine abattoirs where tubercular cattle are slaughtered.

"Saboters, the building and railway contractors, the furniture makers, the manufacturers of chemicals and fertilizers—in short all the captains of industry. They are all saboters, because, without a solitary exception, they all trick, fake, adulterate, defraud and swindle.

"Sabotage reigns supreme in the capitalist world."

Oral Testimony Gives Lie to Coutts, et al.

Upwards of thirty witnesses, including the three defendants themselves, took the witness stand on behalf of Fox, Saffores and Theodora Pollok.

Basil Saffores, who had served three years in the French Army, was highly commended for his honesty and sterling character by a large number of witnesses, including the proprietors of the laundry which has employed him for the past ten years. "Saffores has worked for me for the past ten years," declared E. Gentili, laundry proprietor, "He has delivered laundry and collected for it. He has given me the keenest satisfaction." J. Salina, plumber and laundry director, states: "I have known Saffores for eight years. He is a peaceful, law-abiding citizen." "Saffores has a very good reputation in the neighborhood where he resides," testified Joe Rosso of the United States Army. Saffores, himself, stated that he joined the I. W. W. because of industrial conditions, but had not taken any part in anti-war propaganda.

A. L. Fox stated that he was against violence and had no intention or purpose of assisting in the overthrow of the government. He had tried twice to join the army, was in Class 1-A at that time, and had not claimed exemption. "I have seen nothing since of the $1,200.00 I turned over to John Dymond for transmission to Mr. Coghlan," he declared. "Dymond never accounted for that money."

John K. Burke, superintendent of the Baker and Hamilton Pacific Company, San Francisco, testified that Fox worked for his company for about four and a half years, and that his services were satisfactory.

"Fox left of his own accord," he said. No sabotage had ever occurred while Fox worked for him.

Miss Pollok scored heavily in her testimony. She testified that Police Captain Arthur Layne of San Francisco told her and Fox after they were arrested: "You have no legal rights. I wish I could follow the German system, compel you to dig your graves and then line you up against a wall and shoot you!" She detailed the work she did on behalf of Ford and Suhr, consisting mainly of publicity. She reminded the prosecution of Hiram Johnson's statement that the sentences imposed on Ford and Suhr were extreme. "I never saw the letters signed by Dennis till they were produced in court," she declared. She further stated that she never saw Coutts in the Oakland Hall: never counselled violence or the destruction of food stuffs or property; did not believe in violence under any conditions; did not have the conversation with Downing testified to by Coutts and did not publish or seek to publish a poem introduced in evidence by the prosecution. It had been written prior to the war and related to the agitation for Mexican intervention, which was characterized by President Wilson at that time as being created "in the interests of certain persons owning property in Mexico."

Mrs. Anna Pollok corroborated her daughter. She gave detailed evidence showing the impossibility of Miss Pollok's being in the Oakland Hall on the date testified to by Coutts.

Mrs. Beatrice Whitnah of Berkeley, probation officer, described a conversation she had with Miss Pollok after a meeting where Jim Larkin spoke. "Sabotage is the most contemptible thing that any labor movement could use. That's why it appeals to middle class people like you," she said Miss Pollok declared. She saw Miss Pollok's poem before America entered the war. Captain Walter J. Petersen of the United States Army was a frequent visitor at meetings of the Anti-Militaristic League before America entered the war.

Hubert Fisher, Civil Engineer of San Francisco, was told by Miss Pollok early in 1915 that she had retired from peace activities.

H. M. Leete, journalist, Mill Valley, said he knew Miss Pollok for ten years. He never heard her preach violence. She spoke frequently of the Ford and Suhr case, and advocated publicity as the best means of rectifying the injustice practiced upon them.

Attorney Austin Lewis, who defended Ford and Suhr, stated that Miss Pollok was opposed to violence, direct action and sabotage. "I am not an I. W. W. I have been employed in only one of their cases," he answered the prosecution attorneys.

David Milder, Hugo Ernst, Wm. Staats, Mrs. J. P. Kellog, and Helen J. Scoychler testified as to Miss Pollok's antipathy to violence.

Frederick Dubovsky, Oakland attorney, visited the Oakland hall after a military raid in September, 1917. The hall was badly wrecked. The interior could be easily seen from the street windows. There was no furnace or electric oven there, such as had been testified to by Coutts.

Prosecution Perjurer Trapped.

Ferdinand A. Schlieman, watchman for the California Packing Corporation, was trapped in glaring perjury by Coghlan. He was testifying that on the night Saffores was admitted to bail, he, Saffores, Fox, Grave and Dymond were discussing matters. They discussed Bolshevism and revolution. "The statement was made," declared Schliemann, "that the workingmen of America were crazy to fight. That they had been treated like dogs."

"I would like to put John Grave on the witness stand to refute that statement," said Coghlan.

"I will do as you wish, boys," said Grave to his co-defendants. "What do you say?"

"Sit down!" they yelled in chorus.

"Well, I will have to call on the sheriff's office to refute the testimony," declared Coghlan.

George F. Wettenbrock, Deputy Sheriff of Sacramento County, was sworn. "Saffores was admitted to bail on March 1st. John Grave was not admitted to bail till six days later, on March 7th. I take these dates from the jail register," Wettenbrock testified.

Fox testified that the conversation never occurred, and that as a matter of fact, he never claimed exemption and had been put in Class A-1.

Coutts reiterated his evidence about the "furnace." He also admitted: "I have never been out of the sight of a government agent since my first testimony."

This ended the last word of testimony, written or oral.

The silent defendants were not exalted over the proven perjury of Schliemann. "He wasn't the only perjurer," said one of them. "They crammed in all the perjurers and dope heads they ran across. If we proved every witness a perjurer it would avail us nothing. The Sacramento Bee has told these jurors to convict and convict they must. If they were conscientious and freed us, their loans would be called in, their businesses would be ruined and they would be strictly up against it. They will disregard the perjury and convict us. They must cater to the vigilante spirit here in Sacramento, or suffer themselves."

Case Given to the "Bee" Jury.

The forty-three silent defendants made no attempt to address the jury. Attorney Coghlan made a skilful argument for his clients, and P. H. Johnson and Duncan addressed the jury for the prosecution.

"These traitors come here and sit in silent contempt of one of the greatest courts in America, and of you, gentlemen of the jury, and this is only a physical manifestation of their contempt for all law," ranted Johnson.

"On behalf of the silent defendants," said Judge Rudkin, "I instruct the jury to pay no attention to this statement."

"These dynamiters have denounced conscription and have accepted German money," shouted Johnson, unabashed.

"I assign that as misconduct," interrupted Coghlan, "It is a deliberate falsehood."

"Well," said the judge, smiling, "I think the jury has sense enough not to pay any attention to it."

"These men planned a general strike to stop the war," continued the clumsy assistant prosecutor, "and carried out a lumber strike in the Northwest that closed down the mills for two or three weeks. Think of it. While our boys were lying in the trenches waiting for aeroplanes——"

"I assign this as misconduct," Coghlan interrupted, again. "Congress is investigating that matter now, and is finding out that not the I. W. W., but certain governmental departments are at fault in the matter."

The court nodded assent.

After a Billingsgate attack upon Austin Lewis, Fremont Older, U. S. Employment Director John B. Densmore, Simon Lubin, Theodora Pollok, Fred Esmond ("the stinging lizard"), Mortimer Downing ("the wise old owl") and several other progressives, Johnson finished dramatically.

"If this organization is allowed to thrive, all the homes in the country will be destroyed."

Which reminds us of the whole sale evictions thruout the country at present, particularly in New York City, where whole families are being cared for by the city authorities.

Judge Charges the "Twelve Tried and True" Bee Subscribers.

As in almost every instance, the charge of the judge to the jury was fair. If juries paid conscien-

tious attention to the almost invariable instruction not to convict as long as they were confronted by the "slightest doubt" very few innocent people would be convicted. But packed and paid jurors pay no attention to instructions.

Portions of the court's instructions read:

"The mere fact that the defendants may have been members of an organization, known as the Industrial Workers of the world, is not sufficient of itself on which to base a verdict of guilty in the case upon any of the counts set forth in the indictment.

"You have a right to take into consideration the fact that some of the witnesses expect or hope for immunity from punishment, themselves: that they have been granted immunity from punishment and are testifying in this case by reason of having been given immunity or freedom from punishment.

"Neither acquaintanceship, nor friendship, nor association with persons proven to your entire satisfaction to be guilty is to be taken by you as conclusive proof of the guilt of any of these defendants.

"The friends and relatives or fellow members of the same organization have a perfect right under the law to render assistance to such persons by supplying money for attorneys, by organizing for such purpose or by any other legitimate means."

The jury retired at 4:40 p. m., and returned at 6:10 p. m. with the usual verdict of "guilty as charged" against all the defendants without exception.

Sentences were pronounced the following day on the forty-three silent defendants. Several months afterwards in San Francisco Judge Rudkin imposed a fine of $100 on Theodora Pollok and sentenced A. L. Fox and Basil Saffores to two months each in the San Francisco County Jail. The silent defendants serving one year terms are also in the same jail.

Judge Rudkin has never given any explanation of the great discrepancy in sentences imposed on these three, and the other boys, nor of the reason for giv-

ing men whose names had hardly been mentioned in the evidence long terms in the federal penitentiary.

Defendants Break Their Silence.

The day following their conviction, when asked to state whether they "had anything to say whether sentence should not be passed upon them" or legal phraseology to that effect, the defendants at last broke their silence and scathingly criticised their prosecutors and the forces behind them.

"We were silent througout the trial," began Mortimer Downing, "but now we will speak out and give you facts which disprove the mass of error and perjury which comprise the case against us. Prosecutor Duncan couples "direct action" and "violence." You will never find them coupled in I. W. W. literature. Shall I tell you what direct action really means? It means that the worker on the job shall tell the boss when and where he shall work, how long, for what wages and under what conditions. The I. W. W. will continue to teach that till the workers get more and more power until they ultimately take over the industries.

"It has been stated that all the defendants are members of the I. W. W. That is not true. Faust has not been a member for three years and a half. He was arrested on the testimony of people who jumped his prospecting claim. Felix Cedno is not a member. Furthermore, he never wrote a letter in English in his life. He cannot write a word of English. Horst's detective, Lamar, swore he heard Esmond say that I was handling the picket line in Wheatland. Records show that I was in Marysville Jail during the whole period of the picket line.

"Now, as to the unfortunate perjurer, Coutts. The miserable creature is a product of the times. Duncan admitted, himself, that Coutts might have lied. Imagine that! The prosecution attorney admits that his foremost witness may have perjured himself! If

phosphorus were made in this alleged retort, as Coutts claims he did, the gas would have killed anyone attempting this task. Furthermore, it could not have been made in the Oakland Hall, because strong heat is required in the making of such an article, and there was not even a wood stove in the Oakland Hall. Coutts says he met Esmond in San Francisco in 1913. Esmond was in Utah at that time. Utah court records will prove that. He said that a big crowd saw and heard me and Theodora Pollok discuss ways and means of defeating the draft. Yet he couldn't name a single one of "the big crowd." A chemist swears that phosphorus couldn't be made in the pot. Coutts swears that none was made. And to cap the tissue of falsehoods and perjury, Bob Connellan is placed in Westwood, when as a matter of fact, he was in prison.

"Dymond said I was pro-Ally and against the war. And he charges me with being against the war in 1916, when President Wilson was 'too proud to fight!' I am against war. There never was a good war nor a bad peace.

"266,000 people, all told, attended all our technical schools, colleges, universities and other higher educational institutions in the year 1914. Out of 100,000,000 people only 266,000 had a chance for real culture. During the same year we had 500,000 prostitutes, not counting the thousands of poor girls, who are doubly exploited by their employers. That is what we have to show as the flower of a civilization, a civilization that could seize Freddie Esmond, a seriously sick man, and make him sleep on the jail floor without bedding for two months.

"I am against the civilization that produces such things. I hope to see the day when there shall be a different degree of sweetness and light in this country.

"Now sentence me!"

Fred Esmond, then believed to be dying of heart

disease, bitterly excoriated the prosecution. As white as paper, gasping for breath, clutching spasmodically at his side when physical agony choked him, he denounced the perjurers and the whole court procedure as a disgrace to America. Refuting an incident testified to by Coutts, he referred to the fact that he was then ill. "I am not asking for mercy when I mention the fact of my illness!" he shouted at Judge Rudkin with extended right arm, "I'll neither beg nor take any mercy from you or any other representative of this Government!" He then collapsed.

"Mr. Duncan is a patriot and we are the scum of the earth," said James Price, "Mr. Duncan has come down here from the wilds of Ukiah to let the world know how patriotic he is. But did he ever shoulder an axe and send the logs down the skidway like the unpatriotic I. W. W.? No. Of course not! I tell you I am proud that I am an I. W. W. I am glad that I do not stand in the shoes of the prosecutor, who takes an oath to uphold the laws of his country and then violates every principle of them!"

"I am a worker," stated James Mulrooney. "I joined the I. W. W. because in Butte there happened the most brutal act I have ever seen, the deliberate murder and lynching of a sick man, and because I was there at the time of the murder of 167 miners in the Speculator mine, after we appealed to the owners to save them."

Godfrey Ebel, held incommunicado as a Government witness, and then, after refusing tempting offers to perjure himself against his companions, when he was released on a writ of habeas corpus, placed on the same indictment with them, cried: "This is my reward for refusing to take the stand against my fellow workers. I would not perjure myself." He got ten years.

Phil McLaughlin said, "We did not come into this court expecting justice. We want all you'll give us.

Go ahead. We will do the same to you when our time comes."

After some of the rest protested against the procedure, Judge Rudkin passed sentence.

THE PENALTY OF CLASS LOYALTY!

The following are the names of the forty-three silent defendants and their sentences:

Ten Years

Mortimer Downing
Fred Esmond
Chris Luber
Phil McLaughlin
John Grave
Louis Tori
James Quinlan
Edward Quigley
George O'Connell
Roy P. Connor
John Potthast
Henry Hammer
Pete de Bemardi
Myron Sprague
Elmer Anderson
Caesar Tabob
Robert Connellan
Frank Elliott
Harry Gray
Gabe Brewer
Godfrey Ebel
William Hood
Vincent Santelli
George Voetter

Five Years

Ed. S. Carey
John L. Murphy
Herbert Stredwick

Four Years

Robert Feehan
James Mulroney.
James Price

Three Years

Joe Carroll
Otto Elsner

Two Years

Frank Moran
Frank Reilly
Ed Anderson
Felix Cedino
Harry La Tour
Joseph Harper

One Year

H Donovan
W. H. Faust
Chas. Koenig
Wilbur Miller
Albert Whitehead

OTHERS REFUTE AND EXPOSE PROSECUTION

Many of the defendants who did not address the court, issued statements on the evidence and facts adduced against them. We reproduce some of them:

George O'Connell: "I was living in Sacramento during the month of September, 1917, and so could not be in Westwood. I could have proved this by a hotel register. Coutts never saw me till he saw me in the court room. I was in the hospital in Modesto, when he testified he saw me in Turlock. He was run out of there because he was caught stealing the suitcases of some members. The Lemon Cove and Lindsal constables could have testified that I and Connor went back and worked on the irrigation ditch after the strike."

Harry Gray: "I quit a job outside Fresno on September 5, 1917, and went into the hall there. I was

promptly arrested. I was ill of an abcess of the throat in jail and was refused medical aid for two weeks. I lost 25 pounds. I was third-degreed by Department of Justice agents Boden and Hudson, released, trailed, arrested and held incommunicado again. The only evidence against me was a letter."

Vincent Santelli: "I was trapped in a Sacramento telegraph office, a few days after the raid, by a gang of Government gunmen. I never talked of sabotage or dynamiting or criticised Gompers and Wilson to the American Federation of Labor organizer who perjured himself against me. I could have produced Mrs. Battaglio and a dozen of her boarders from Bunker Hill, Amador County, to refute this testimony. But of course the jury wouldn't listen to them."

Roy P. Connor: "I was never in the town of Lipton, where Dymond swore he gave me $12. I was working for G. C. Ames of Lost Hills at the time of the burning of the box cars at Corcoran or Paige."

George Voetter: "The preacher who testified against me never saw me till in the courtroom. It was not raining on the night of December 17th. I was not at the corner of 19th and C streets."

Otto Elsner: "The only evidence against me was my card and extracts from letters, written while in jail."

Joe Carroll: "I arrived in the State of California the day before my arrest. Only evidence against me was letters I wrote after my arrest."

Felix Cedino: "I can't write a word of English. I never wrote to Haywood."

Frank Moran: "I stopped in Sacramento, going from one job to another, to pay my dues. I was arrested. There was no evidence against me."

Joe Harper: "I was arrested in Sacramento while paying dues. The only evidence against me was my card."

Myron Sprague: "I never saw Dymond till he

came to jail to urge me to plead guilty. I never set fire to any property of any description."

William Hood: "I was never in Westwood. The nearest to there I was ever in my life was Keddie, fifty miles away."

Edward E. Anderson: "This is my first appearance in a court since I landed in America in 1885. Only evidence against me was my card and some verses which I wrote here in jail."

"What's the use of issuing any statement?" remonstrated several of the boys. "All the evidence and all the statements we could issue wouldn't do any good. The mere fact that Duncan admitted that Coutts 'might have lied' is the best summing up of the case. The prosecution counted on putting hundreds on the witness stand to impress the jury, and of course the fact that we were silent induced them to try and get all the perjury they could into the court record. They were caught redhanded in that when Schliemann was proven a perjurer by Deputy Sheriff Wettenbrock. But that wasn't taken into account by McClatchy's jury. They had to convict. If we produced fifty witnesses to prove that we were in the front lines trenches on a certain date and Coutts came along and testified that we were burning barns under his illustrious leadership, we would still be convicted."

STATE ACQUITS I. W. W. OF ARSON PLOT CHARGE!

Prosecution sympathisers stated that the guilt of the defendants precluded any semblance of a defense, and that this fact was the basis of the silent defense policy. Nothing is farther from the truth. The framed prosecution: the utter impossibility of a fair trial in Sacramento: the crippling of the defense to the extent that even a witness could not be consulted without his or her testimony being

known to the prosecution long before the actual trial: the framed prosecutions and convictions of Tom Mooney, Herman Suhr and Dick Ford: the poisonous vaporings of the press, as admitted by George Creel—all these combined and many other less important facts convinced the vast majority of the defendants that a fair trial was not to be had, and that a silent defense would serve to awaken the American public to the prostitution of the courts by officials, bought body and soul by the corporate powers of the nation and reinforced by the incarnate lying of a press owned by the same powers and using the war hysteria, fed on atrocity lies and innumerable falsehoods, to entrench corporate power as it never before was entrenched in the life of the nation.

The spectacle of two score working men sitting silent and undefended in an American court, having a perfectly good defense, and yet facing prison for a score of years, perhaps, not putting in a solitary word of evidence, was one calculated to provoke serious thought. And yet they had a complete refutation of the charge, and their witness was none other than the State of California!

In the last gubernatorial election the combined candidates, especially Governor Stephens, harped upon the I. W. W. and its terrible arson campaign for years in "our great and glorious state of the golden west." It must be suppressed! It must be eliminated from our public life, etc., etc. There was not one word of censure, however, for the San Francisco merchants and shippers convicted of provisioning the German fleet in Pacific waters and thus prolonging the war and costing myriads of lives. No! They were riding on the G. O. P. band wagon!

The State of California, as we have already stated, completely refuted the charge of arson against the I. W. W. We are indebted for this information, however involuntary, to Alexander McCabe, Insurance Commissioner for the State of California, and the

Berkeley University of California, College of Agriculture.

The following figures, supplied by the stock fire insurance companies, will be taken first:

Year	Premiums Received	Losses Paid	Ratio Losses to Premiums
1907	$16,242.105.95	$7,008.035.97	43.1
1913	$15,897,255.09	$7,101,198.64	44.6
1916	$17,131,070.02	$5,758,367.17	33.6
1917	$19,556,174.84	$6,359,352.98	32.5

Next we will take the County Mutual Insurance Companies:

Year	Premiums Received	Losses Paid	Ratio Losses to Premiums
1913	$98,594.11	$71,905.04	72.9
1917	$243,878.30	$44,278.32	18.1

Here we find the premiums increasing 247% and the losses 62%.

In 1907 the I. W. W. had just come into existence. In 1913 occurred the famous Wheatland strike, which, the opposition claims, was the precursor to a campaign of arson and sabotage which was only stemmed by the Sacramento prosecution and conviction. This arson campaign was alleged to be in full play in the years 1916 and 1917.

BUT WHAT DO THESE FIGURES PROVE?

They prove that while the fire losses decreased by three-quarters of a million during the period 1913-1917, the amount of the premiums received by the incurance companies increased by $3,658,919.75!

The insurance companies, believing in the old adage of making hay while the sun shone, had skillfully capitalized the fears aroused in the farming communities of California by the insurance-affiliated politicians, parading the I. W. W. arson bogey!

"GRAIN FIRES LESS THAN 4% INCENDIARY," SAYS STATE

According to the evidence of Elbert Coutts, the bright light of the Sacramento prosecution, there hasn't been any grain to speak of in California, which has escaped the wobbly torch. For didn't the valiant Coutts hie forth innumerable nights with his trusty arson squad and burn everything in their path "till the glow hurt his eyes."

But the State College of Agriculture was not to be fooled by creatures of the Coutts type. They have investigated the matter, and FOUR MONTHS AFTER THE SACRAMENTO DEFENDANTS WERE CONVICTED, they state that the causes of 179 hay and grain fires in the year 1918 were as follows:

	Per cent.
Sparks from exhaust of tractor and auxiliary engines	38.5
Hot boxes, etc., in machinery	7.2
Sparks from auto truck exhausts	6.0
Probably machinery	6.1
Spread from adjoining field or grass	5.5
INCENDIARY; KNOWN, 4; PROBABLE, 3	3.9
Railway	2.8
Spontaneous combustion	3.3
Miscellaneous	3.3
Unknown	15.6
Total	92.2

There was inaccuracy in the state pamphlet dealing with this matter. They showed an alleged total loss of 100 per cent. On checking it, we find that the percentage was 92.2 per cent. It is interesting to note that the College of Agriculture did not confine itself to known incendiary fires. It also took into account those fires which showed the least sign of incendiary origin.

But we will not content ourselves with the 1918 figures. We will take those of 1915-1917, also compiled by the State College of Agriculture.

Causes of Grain and Hay Fires in California, 1915-1917

	Number	Percentage
Unknown	79	30.3
Harvesting Machinery	78	30.0
Railway	28	10.7
Miscellaneous	27	10.4
Carelessness	21	8.1
Smoking	20	7.7
INCENDIARY	7	2.8
		100.00

The state statisticians completely ignore the figures given on the witness stand by Coutts and Dymond.

WHY?

GOVERNOR STEPHEN'S ALLIANCE WITH THE INSURANCE COMPANIES

Governor Stephens, during his last political campaign, laid undue emphasis on the "I. W. W. destructionists, arson campaigns," etc. There was an important motive behind his haranguing. His first political meeting in San Francisco was held in the office of the Royal Insurance Company! The chairman on the occasion was Rolla V. Watt, a prominent local insurance man, and close business associate of A. W. Thornton, Chairman of the Insurance Companies' Fire Prevention Bureau, the individual who rushed the fake Hagerman confession on to the first page of the newspapers in an effort to terrify the farmers and merchants into insuring their grain and property against the "I. W. W. arsonists."

The last session of the California Legislative Assembly and Senate passed a state Two-Platoon Firemen's Law. Watt and Thornton lobbied against it in vain. Stephens vetoed the law.

His frenzied drumming up of business for his friends during his campaign: the vivid and suspicious testimony of the utterly discredited Coutts and Dymond and the lies of a hostile press, convicted the

Sacramento men of arson, which the State of California says never had been committed.

Not one of the horde of Burns detectives planted in the I. W. W. halls throughout the state whenever big fires occurred, notably in Modesto, was put on the witness stand.

ARSON AS A WEAPON IN BUSINESS QUARRELS

In the national compaign of 1908, Thomas Hisgen, who ran on the Hearst-Independent ticket, charged that the Standard Oil Company in its elimination of small competitors was suspected of arson. He mentioned instances of small oil companies whose plants, after refusal to sell out to the Rockefeller interests, were rather mysteriously burned.

The tobacco growers of Kentucky, who disagreed with the marketing system of some of their neighbors, have not hesitated at applying the torch to the recalcitrants' barns. But a few years ago these growers, attired in the recognized Klu Klux Klan costume, burned barns and tobacco houses wholesale and horsewhipped all who disagreed with them.

It is well known that business competitors have often descended to the use of this weapon to cripple their competitors. Of course, while the I. W. W. was a handy organization for both to lay the blame on, both were very well aware of the identity of the real arsonist and the motive for his dastardly action.

Farmers, with unsalable crops on hand, are not above suspicion of the use of arson. Dry goods merchants have followed the same example. Statistics shown in the appendix furnish irrefutable corroboration.

Water melons in California a few years ago were a drug on the market. The supply exceeded the demand five-fold, it was said. They did not bring in the cost of production. It was then that an I. W. W. unknown to the Turlock rancher was told, "'Tis a

pity that water melons are not inflammable. If they burned the blame could be laid on the I. W. W."

This unholy alliance of the arsonist, the insurance agent and the favor-seeking politician has done a lot to enrage an ignorant public against an organization, totally blameless, and which has made many enemies such as they by its loyalty to labor and its winning system of industrial action.

SILENT DEFENSE POLICY IMPRESSES PUBLIC

The Sacramento silent defense policy had its effect. The progressive magazines and publications of American were favorably impressed. The sacrificial action of the silent forty-three riveted the attention of the public on the courts, their prostitution in the interest of the employing class of America, and the unblushing tactics of Californian lackeys of capital in buying Oxmans, Dymonds and McDonalds to railroad innocent men to the gallows and prison.

The men are now in Leavenworth Federal Prison, Kansas. They have appealed their case. The outcome? No one knows. But they have done a good work and done it well. At the cost of their liberty, they have struck a deadly blow at the frame-up system and the corrupt influence of capital over those entrusted with the administration of the laws of the nation. Densmore has shown how Supreme Justice Henshaw of California changed his vote in a big will contest for the sum of $410,000. This is but one legal scandal come to light. This labor-hating legal prostitute is but one of hundreds of bought officials and judges who daily violate the law in the interest of men who buy immunity and crush labor through the practically unlimited use of the dollars they profiteer through the sweat of labor.

Swallowed up by ghastly gray Leavenworth, our fellow workers have lost their homes, their wives,

their children, every joy and pleasure they had in their humble lives. Instead they face the long, weary years of solitude and repression, perhaps to meet death at the end. The have made a great, huge and unlimited sacrifice.

They are truly in there for us!

Shall we forget them?

APPENDIX

I. VIOLATING THE CONSTITUTION

National Civil Liberties Bureau.

September 27, 1918.

The following open letter to the President, together with the memorandum attached, is called to your attention in the belief that you will be interested in the issue with which it deals. We desire to secure the widest possible publicity about the facts. You are at liberty to make any use of this communication you think appropriate to achieve that end.

Very truly yours,
ROGER N. BALDWIN,
Director.

"Dear Mr. President:

Even in the midst of the war, with the nation's energies so wholly directed to its prosecution, we venture to put before you a matter which seems to us of the utmost importance to the preservation of American democratic principles.

The constitutional right of a fair trial even to the most unpopular and despised citizens, is, we submit, among our most precious traditions of liberty. The guarantee of that right is today seriously threatened by the activities of subordinate officials of the Department of Justice and of the Post Office Department, especially directed against the defense committees of the Industrial Workers of the World.

By prolonged and deliberate misrepresentation in the press, the I. W. W. has come to be so outlawed by American public opinion that almost any injustice toward them can be perpetrated without protest. That doubtless is the chief explanation of the utterly illegal interference with the mail, express packages, funds, advertisements and publications of their defense committees organized after the various indictments returned in the past year against their members by federal grand juries at Chicago, Wichita, Kansas, Sacramento and Fresno, California. Of these only the Chicago case has been tried. The others will shortly come to trial. We have the facts which prove the misuse of power by federal officials during the course of the Chicago trial, and in the six months between the indictment and trial. They are set forth in the attached memorandum. We have not undertaken to secure affidavits in support of the statements, because we believe the heads of the departments at Washington will move at once to make their own investigations. We are merely calling attention by this memorandum to the kinds of interference with the rights of a defendant which we are certain the responsible officials will prevent in the three remaining I. W. W. trials.

It is for the sake of vindicating a fundamental and sacred principle of our liberties, the right of a defendant to make the fullest, ablest defense he can, unhampered by the agents of the prosecution, that we submit this protest and appeal."

Memorandum Showing Interference by Federal Agents with the Operations of the General Defense Committee of the Industrial Workers of the World, Organized in Connection with the Trial Recently Concluded at Chicago in the Case of the U. S. vs. Haywood, et al.

1. Interference by agents of the Department of Justice.

2. The original raid on general headquarters of the I. W. W. at Chicago and at local headquarters throughout the country, took place on Sept. 5th, 1917. The indictments were voted by the federal grand jury at Chicago on Sept. 28th. Great masses of evidence were then in the possession of the government. Nevertheless, agents of the Department of Justice continued to raid the general and local headquarters of the I. W. W. both with and without search warrants, in order, they stated, to secure additional evidence. In these raids were seized the apparatus and material with which the defense committee was conducting its work of preparing for the trial, which began April 1st, 1918. The raids at the Chicago office took place in December, 1917. The other raids on local headquarters are too numerous to mention. The property taken consisted of typewriters, addressographs, mimeographs, stationery, card index lists, cash and other facilities for conducting the affairs of the defense. Some of this property was returned after examination, much of it was not. The raids and the holding of the property constitute a procedure unparalleled in modern criminal prosecutions. They are obviously open to the suspicion of being conducted not so much to obtain evidence as to embarrass the defense.

3. Agents of the Department of Justice also arrested the active members of the I. W. W. defense committees at many points in the country, stopped their meetings, and seized their funds. This was done at Seattle, Wash., New York City, San Francisco, and other places. In few or none of the cases of arrest of defense committee members did any prosecution follow. The practical effort and presumptive object of their arrest and detention was to make difficult the collection of defense funds.

4. On June 22 there appeared in the "New Republic," published at New York City, an adver-

tisement asking "liberals" to subscribe to the defense fund of the I. W. W. so that they might be assured a fair trial. This advertisement was signed by Robert W. Bruere, John Dewey, John A. Fitch, Percy Stickney Grant, Carlton Parker, J. H. Hayes, Inez Haynes Irwin, Helen Keller, Jas. Harvey Robinson, Thorstein Veblen, George P. West and Walter E. Weyl. These are all well known and impartial students of industrial questions. The advertisement was an argument only for the American right of a fair trial. Yet the "New Republic" was advised by an agent of the Department of Justice not to reprint it, under threat of getting into difficulty with the law.

5. A pamphlet entitled, "The Truth About the I. W. W.," published by the National Civil Liberties Bureau for the sole purpose of presenting the facts as stated by distinguished industrial investigators during the war, was forbidden transportation by the express companies under orders of the Department of Justice and otherwise hampered in circulation, although never declared non-mailable. That it was a careful, judicial piece of work is evident from the fact that it was edited by a committee among whom were John Graham Brooks, Robert W. Bruere, Prof. Carlton H. Parker, of the University of Washington and labor representative of the War Department, George P. West, associate editor of the Public, and John A. Fitch, industrial editor of the Survey. The general defense committee at Chicago had similar difficulties with express packages containing only defense news literature. Many such packages were returned to the defense committee's headquarters by the American Express Company, acting under orders of agents of the Department of Justice. The names and addresses of the consignees and the dates of the shipments have been furnished us by the general defense committee.

6. The conduct of certain agents of the Department of Justice in intimidating witnesses for the de-

fense is a matter of public record during the trial at Chicago, and was the subject of severe censure by Judge Landis.

II. INTERFERENCE BY THE POSTOFFICE DEPT.

1. First-class mail from the general defense committee was held up in such quantities in Chicago in the months of January and February 1918 that the defense committee was obliged to resort to subterfuge to get its matter into the mails. The chief postal inspector in Chicago told Attorney George F. Vanderveer, counsel for the I. W. W., on February 27th that 300 sacks of mail, most of it I. W. W. literature, were being held up at Chicago.

2. Registered letters mailed by the general defense committee were held for months in the Chicago post office, opened, officially sealed and later delivered. Full particulars about the dates on which these letters were sent, the person to whom sent and the dates finally delivered, have been furnished. Many letters mailed in March were not delivered until July. Between 60 and 70 checks sent in registered letters had to be duplicated by the organization, because of non-delivery of the originals until months after mailing.

3. First-class mail was frequently opened, being received after delay by the person to whom sent, marked "officially sealed." There was no indication that such mail was opened upon proper search warrants as provided by law.

4. The interference with third-class mail in the early days of the defense committee's activities was so great that all third-class mail had to be abandoned, and printed matter was sent first-class.

5. In this connection, we beg to call attention to what was stated in the United States Senate as a purpose of the amendment of the Espionage Act giving the Postmaster General practically unlimited

discretion to declare mail to particular addresses undeliverable. Senator King of Utah on May 2, 1918 (Congressional Record, page 6431) said this: "Thousands of dollars are being sent to Mr. Haywood and to other leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World and to the leaders of criminal organizations not only by those who profess the same disloyal faith but by some who are ignorant of the wickedness of such an organization. The purpose of this section is to prevent those who are publishing these disloyal papers from receiving contributions."

REPORT ON THE BISBEE DEPORTATIONS

Made by the President's Mediation Commission to the President of the United States.

Bisbee, Ariz., November 6, 1917.

The President:

The deportations on the 12th of July last, from the Warren district of Arizona, as well as the practices that followed such deportations, have deeply affected the opinions of laboring men, as well as the general public, throughout the country. These events have even been made the basis of an attempt to affect adversely public opinion among some of the people of the allies. Their memory still embarrasses the establishment of industrial peace for the period of the war, and it is indispensable to obtain and maintain possible successful conclusion and if lives are not to be needlessly sacrificed. The President's Mediation Commission is charged rather with helping to secure peaceful industrial relations for the future than to sit in judgment upon the errors of the past. But it is impossible to make for peace in the future unless the recurrences of such instances as the Bisbee deportations are avoided. The future cannot be safeguarded against such recurrences unless a candid and just statement is made of the facts surrounding the Bisbee deportation and an understanding is had of

the conditions which brought it about. Such candor is also necessary for the guidance of all in their future conduct. Such candor is also necessary, because if the truth be authoritatively set forth, there will be no basis for any misrepresentation of the facts either through ignorance or design.

The President's Mediation Commission has therefore deemed it a duty which it could not avoid to undertake a thorough and impartial consideration of the facts surrounding the deportations of the 12th of July and the practices which have been pursued since the deportation by officials and citizens of Cochise County. After hearing the representatives of the different elements involved in the deportation, both official and private, the President's Mediation Commission makes these findings:

1. A strike was called in the Warren district on June 26, 1917, to be effective the following day. While undoubtedly the men sincerely felt that several grievances called for rectification by the companies, having regard to the conditions in this district and the Government's need for its copper production, the grievances were not of such a nature as to have justified the strike. Here, as elsewhere, there was, however, no machinery for the adjustment of difficulties between the companies and the men which provided for the determination of alleged grievances by some authoritative disinterested tribunal in which both the companies and the men had confidence and before which they had an equal opportunity of urging their respective claims. This is a fundamental difficulty in the settlement of grivances that may arise in this district, and here as in the other mining camps in Arizona visited by the President's Mediation Commission a plan has been worked out establishing such machinery whereby in the future, at least during the period of the war, grievance will be settled by an orderly, impartial process, and the resort to strike or lockout will be wholly without foundation.

2. Many of those who went out did not in fact believe in the justice of the strike, but supported it, as is common among workingmen, because of their general loyalty to the cause represented by the strikers and their refusal to be regarded in their own estimation, as well as in the minds of their fellow workers, as "scabs."

3. Shortly after the strike was called, the sheriff of the county, through the governor of Arizona, requested the aid of Federal troops. The request was based on the fact that the State militia had been drafted into the Federal service and the State therefore was without its normal militia protection. Gov. Campbell recommended to the Secretary of War that an immediate investigation of the situation at Bisbee be made by a Regular Army officer, in order to ascertain the need of troops. The governor's recommendation was followed, and an investigation of the situation in Bisbee was made by an experienced officer. Such investigation was made on June 30th and again on July 2, and after both investigations the officer reported that everything was peaceable and that troops were neither needed nor warranted under existing conditions.

4. That the conditions in Bisbee were in fact peaceful and free from any manifestations of disorder or violence is the testimony of reputable citizens, as well as of officials of the city and county, who are in a position to report accurately and speak without bias.

5. Early on the morning of July 12 the sheriff and a large armed force presuming to act as deputies under the sheriff's authority, comprising about 2,000 men, rounded up 1,186 men in the Warren district, put them aboard a train, and carried them to Columbus, N. Mex. The authorities at Columbus refused to permit those in charge of the deportation to leave the men there, and the train carried them back to the desert town of Hermanas, N. Mex., a

near-by station. The deportees were wholly without adequate supply of food and water and shelter for two days. At Hermanas the deported men were abandoned by the guards who had brought them, and they were left to shift for themselves. The situation was brought to the attention of the War Department, and on July 14 the deportees were escorted by troops to Columbus, N. Mex., where they were maintained by the Government until the middle of September.

6. According to an Army census of the deported men, 199 were native born Americans, 468 were citizens, 472 were registered under the selective draft law, and 433 were married. Of the foreign born, over 20 nationalities were represented, including 141 British, 82 Serbians, and 179 Slavs. Germans and Austro-Hungarians (other than Slavs) were comparatively few.

7. The deportation was carried out under the sheriff of Cochise County. It was formally decided upon at a meeting of citizens on the night of July 11 participated in by the managers and other officials of the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Co. (Phelps-Dodge Corporation, Copper Queen division) and the Calumet & Arizona Mining Co. Those who planned and directed the deportation purposely abstained from consulting about their plans either with the United States attorney in Arizona, or the law officers of the state or county, or their own legal advisers.

8. In order to carry the plans for the deportation into successful execution, the leaders in the enterprize utilized the local offices of the Bell Telephone Co., and exercised or attempted to exercise a censorship over all parts of interstate connections of both the telephone and telegraph lines in order to prevent any knowledge of the deportation reaching the outside world.

9. The plan for the deportation and its execution are attributable to the belief in the minds of those who engineered it that violence was contemplated by

the strikers and sympathizers with the strikers who had come into the district from without, that life and property would be insecure unless such deportation was undertaken, and that the State was without the necessary armed force to prevent such anticipated violence and to safeguard life and property within the district. This belief has no justification in the evidence in support of it presented by the parties who harbored it.

10. Neither such fear on the part of the leaders of the deportation as to anticipated violence nor evidence justifying such fear was ever communicated to the governor of the State of Arizona with a view of renewing the request for Federal troops, based upon changing conditions, nor were the Federal authorities in fact ever apprised that a change of conditions had taken place in the district from that found by the investigating Army officer to call for or warrant the interposition of Federal troops.

11. The deportation was wholly illegal and without authority in law, either State or Federal.

12. Following the deportation of the 12th, in the language of Governor Campbell of Arizona, "the constitutional rights of citizens and others have been ignored by processes not provided by law, viz., by deputy sheriffs, who refused persons admittance into the district and the passing of judgment by a tribunal without legal jurisdiction resulting in further deportations."

13. Immediately after the first deportation, and until late in August, the function of the local judiciary was usurped by a body which to all intents and purposes was a vigilance committee, having no authority whatever in law. It caused the deportation of large numbers of others. So far as this committee is concerned, its activities were abandoned at the request of the Governor of Arizona late in August.

14. Among those who were deported from the dis-

trict and who thereafter were arrested in seeking entrance into it were several who were registered under the selective draft law and sought to return or remain in the district in order to discharge their legal duty of reporting for physical examination under the draft.

These findings of facts make certain recommendations by the President's Mediation Commission inevitable:

1. All illegal practices and the denial of rights safeguarded by the Constitution and statutes must at once cease. The right of unimpeded admittance into the Warren district of all who seek entrance into it in a lawful and peaceful manner must be respected. The right of all persons to move freely about in the Warren district or to continue to reside within it must be scrupulously observed except in so far as such right is restricted by the orderly process of the law. To this end we have directed letters to Governor Campbell and Sheriff Wheeler of Cochise County, of which copies, together with Sheriff Wheeler's acknowledgment, are appended.

2. In so far as the deportation of July 12 and the events following constitute violations of the laws of Arizona, we join in the recommendation of Governor Campbell that the responsible law officers of the state and county pursue appropriate remedies for the vindication of such laws.

3. In so far as the evidence before the commission indicates interference with the enforcement of the selective draft law, the facts should be brought to the attention of the Attorney General of the United States. A memorandum for submission to the Attorney General is appended.

4. In so far as the evidence before the commission indicates an interference with interstate lines of communication, the facts should be submitted for appropriate attention by the Interstate Commerce Commission. A memorandum for submission to the Interstate Commerce Commission is appended.

5. In so far as deportations such as we have set forth have not yet been made a Federal cause, it is our duty to report to the President the wisdom of recommending to the Congress that such occurrences hereafter be made criminal under the Federal law to the full extent of the constitutional authority of the Federal Government.

Respectfully submitted.

THE PRESIDENT'S MEDIATION COMMISSION,
W. B. Wilson, Chairman,
E. P. Marsh,
John H. Walker,
J. L. Spangler,

Felix Frankfurter,
Counsel to the Commission.

THE FACTS REGARDING THE PERSECUTION OF THE RADICAL LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

The present situation confronting the radical labor movement in the United States is a challenge to every believer in democratic liberty, every champion of the cause of labor. The I. W. W., as the one radical labor organization of the unskilled migratory worker of the West, has been continuously attacked in a systematic campaign of violent abuse from the opening of the war. Every device known to those who strive to destroy the power of labor has been used in the fight—organized press publicity to terrorize the public, intimidation, mob violence, deportation, the employment of "agents provocateurs," and the stampeding of local and state legislative bodies into framing summary legislation to outlaw radical labor. The height of the organized violence was the lynching of Frank Little and the deportation of the Bisbee miners.

This bitter, organized persecution was not due to anti-war activities of the I. W. W. It was due to the favorable opportunity offered to business interests by

the war to crush their greatest foes at home. The only proof of this needed by reasonable men is the almost identical record of persecution of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, a radical but aggressively pro-war organization.

The I. W. W. is only now feeling the full burden of this attack. Ninety-three of its most active leaders convicted at Chicago, are now serving long terms at Leavenworth; 46 more were recently convicted at Sacramento; three federal conspiracy cases are still waiting to be tried. Scores of cases under Western state laws aimed at the I. W. W., have put practically all the strong local leaders and organizers behind the bars—with scores of new cases constantly arising. The organization's entire energies now are devoted to the defense of its organizers and members.

And all these trials have proved only one thing—namely, that the I. W. W. is a revolutionary organization of workers opposed to the capitalist control of industry; that it has sought to achieve better conditions for the workers and a larger share in the control of industry by means of organization, strikes, strikes-on-the-job, and the publication of pamphlets and propaganda. The common charge of violence to achieve the organization's purposes **has not been proved in a single trial.** Not a single fact has been proved against the organization which could not be proved with equal force against any aggressive A. F. of L. union—with the single exception of the publication of radical literature expressing revolutionary ideas of the struggle of labor.

Most of this literature was published before the war. All the activities have been the common practices of the I. W. W. for years. The Government holds that the war made criminal the continuance of these activities and the circulation of this literature.

The I. W. W. cannot be destroyed by persecution. It will exist so long as the industrial system

makes necessary a radical organization of workers in basic seasonal industries. It is the embodiment of the protest and revolutionary vision of the most exploited and driven workers of the West. The kind of persecutions to which the I. W. W. is now subjected — by government, business and press — can only add fire in the long run to their protest and revolutionary spirit. The more bitter the struggle now to get justice, the more unrestrained the reaction later. And the I. W. W. is strained to the breaking point to bear the present terrific burden imposed on it by the war prosecutions.

These prosecutions, their cost, and their present status follow. The Federal prosecutions are: (1) The great 5-months' trial at Chicago, beginning April 1, 1918, in which 93 of the original 166 defendants were sentenced to terms in Leavenworth penitentiary ranging from 1 to 20 years. They are serving sentences now, although the case is being appealed to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Bail pending the filing of the appeal was denied all the defendants. Among the prisoners in this case are Wm. D. Haywood, general organizer; Vincent St. John, former general organizer; the members of the executive board, the organizers of all the larger industrial unions of the I. W. W., the editors of "Solidarity," the official paper, and the editors of most of the I. W. W. papers—in English and foreign languages.

The Chicago trial alone has cost $108,715, without counting the expense of the appeal, estimated at $19,800. Efforts are being made to reduce this expense by getting the government to print the record on the ground that the defendants are "paupers" within the meaning of the law. The cost of printing the record alone is estimated at $10,000. Of the cost of the original trial—over $100,000—the members of the I. W. W. contributed all but about $15,000 raised by sympathizers.

The persecution of the organization throughout the whole period of this trial, from the first Department of Justice raids on September 5, 1917, to the present is incredible. The offices have been repeatedly raided, many times without even the pretense of a warrant; mail of all sorts has been arbitrarily held up for months by the postoffice; express companies have been prohibited by the Department of Justice from taking shipments to or for the I. W. W., and the federal secret service men have continuously hounded the organization in its work of conducting its legal defense. Even sympathizers, not connected in any way with the organization, have been similarly treated by the agents of the Government. All attempts to get into the public press a fair statement of the vital industrial issues involved have been met with a torrent of abuse and misrepresentation.

(2) The Sacramento (Cal.) case on federal charges similar to those at Chicago concluded January 25, 1919, forty-six defendents being convicted and sentenced to terms ranging from one to ten years. The case was distinguished by the "silent defense" of forty-three defendants, who had no counsel and offered no evidence, in order to express their utter lack of faith in the ability of the court to do them justice. No appeal is being taken for the forty-three. Three defendants employed counsel and have appealed. They are out on appeal bonds. The forty-three are scattered in various prisons. The defense fund for this case was raised chiefly from west coast I. W. W. members and sympathizers; $6,000 was contributed by the national office. Four defendants died in jail awaiting trial—and all have suffered greatly. Only three were able to secure liberty on the bail fixed, which was $10,000 each.

(3) The Wichita (Kansas) case on general federal charges similar to the Chicago cases, will go to trial

March 12, 1919, involving twelve of the Chicago and thirty-eight new defendants, some of whom have been in jail since November, 1917, without a chance to be tried. Bail is fixed at $10,000 each, which is, of course, beyond their reach. Long confinement and wretched sanitary conditions in the jails have caused serious illness among many of the defendants.

(4) The Omaha (Neb.) case, a federal indictment similar to the Chicago case, involving twenty-one of the Chicago defendants and twenty-eight others. The indictment was brought in September, 1918. The date of the trial is not yet fixed. The defendants have recently been released on reduced bail.

(5) The Spokane (Wash.) case, on federal conspiracy charge under the Espionage Act, involving twenty-eight new defendants and Wm. D. Haywood and Vincent St. John as well. The indictment was brought in September, 1918. The date of the trial has not been set. One defendant only is out on $10,000 bail. The others are held in jail in that amount.

In addition to these five big war conspiracy cases, the federal authorities have prosecuted individual I. W. W. organizers and members in many states—some thirty or forty cases all told. Practically all tried were convicted and sentenced without being able to take an appeal for lack of funds.

Other Than Federal Prosecutions

But these federal prosecutions, sweeping and burdensome as they are, do not cover by any means the whole legal attack on the organization during the war. They hit the national leaders, the heads of the industrial unions, and the editors and authors of I. W. W. papers and pamphlets. But the local leaders throughout the Northwest, the active men in the rank and file, have been attacked from another quarter—the state authorities. Under special statutes aimed at the I. W. W. (and in some states the Non-

Partisan League also) hundreds of cases have been brought in Montana, Idaho and Washington.

These statutes, making it a criminal offense to hold membership in an organization advocating "syndicalism" (which the statutes define very broadly) have succeeded in sending over 200 men to prison for terms of from one to ten years. The war was used as the occasion for vigorously enforcing these laws against radical labor propaganda. Other states in the Northwest are rapidly following with similar legislation.

Where this special legislation did not exist during the war, other state or city laws were invoked. The I. W. W. was attacked by every kind of prosecuting authority, ably encouraged by organized business, and a violent press campaign.

This combination of forces has not quit their attacks with the end of the war. They are not satisfied with locking up the leaders and active members. They will be satisfied only with the complete destruction of the entire radical movement. With them it is eternal war until that purpose is achieved. Only those who have come close to the facts of the industrial struggle in the West can appreciate to the full the violent bitterness and desperate determination of the organized employers and the public press.

Another means of attack, increasingly used by the Federal government, is the power of deportation of foreign born radicals. Scores of I. W. W. members have actually been deported or are held for deportation under the provision of the immigration law dealing with the advocacy of "anarchism." The I. W. W. advocacy of sabotage on employers (the strike-on-the-job) is frequently held to be "anarchism" and deportation ordered solely on that ground. Active membership in the I. W. W. is of itself in most cases sufficient ground for holding men for long periods at immigration stations, if not for actual de-

portation. Recent amendments to the immigration act make deportation of any foreign born radical a very simple matter.

What Is the I. W. W. Doing?

The I. W. W. is using every possible means to fight for its right to exist as a labor organization. A staff of able lawyers are handling the conspiracy cases and taking care of the enormous work of appealing the Chicago case. National and local defense committees are raising funds to hire lawyers, carry the cases and conduct publicity. The national office alone has expended over $110,000 on legal defense in the past year—and must yet spend many thousands more. The local cases are carried chiefly by local organizations.

The I. W. W. is obviously engaged in a terrific struggle for the right to exist. It is radical labor's fight in the U. S. They need now the help of all sympathizers, all believers in their right to represent the needs of a great group of unskilled workers,—their right under the guarantees of the Constitution.

Every right guaranteed by our government for the protection of freedom of opinion and utterance has been grossly violated in the case of the I. W. W. The I. W. W. literally has no rights. It is regarded as an outlaw. It can hardly get a hearing of any sort, so violent and persistent is the wholesale abuse and misrepresentation.

The I. W. W. is endeavoring to meet this whole situation by three efforts.

1. To fight the legal cases to a finish in the courts.
2. To agitate for amnesty for **industrial** and political prisoners, and for the dismissal of the pending cases.
3. To secure more and more publicity on the facts of the organized persecution against it.

The I. W. W. cannot push all their efforts to success alone, with its leaders in prison, and its organization crippled. It needs **money**—money in large

amounts—for legal defense, publicity, organization. If there was need to give during the great trial at Chicago, there is double need now when the situation is so much more desperate. It is not only desperate for the I. W. W. as an organization, it is desperate for the civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. It is desperate in the interest of an orderly solution of our industrial problems, for continued persecution of radical labor will inevitably lead to blind, violent protest.—March, 1919.

EXHIBIT IV.

Authenticated Incitements to Violence.

The following are a few of the many incitements to violence uttered by politicians and the press during the past two years. Many extracts of this nature from the Sacramento Bee will be found in the body of the pamphlet.

"We made 500 converts yesterday by beating that many people up."

(Public statement of Barney Dreyfus of New York Navy Club after May Day raids.)

"We have a way of dealing with the Bolsheviki out west. We string 'em up."—U. S. Senator George Chamberlain of Oregon.

"Do not become a Bolsheviki. If you feel like fighting, go out and smash a red. It is great sport knocking them off soap boxes. We will get you a job and perhaps tide you over financially in exchange for a Bolsheviki scalp."—Guy Empey in March number of "Treat 'Em Rough.")

"The Mooneys should be taken out and strung up without trial."

(Taken from statement made to John A. Fitch, associate editor of The Survey, by Assistant District Attorney Edward A. Cunha of San Francisco.)

"They hanged an I. W. W. leader in Butte and it had a very salutary effect. The governor of the state

has been too busy to issue the announcement of a statutory reward for the apprehension of the men who did the hanging."—Statement of Vice-President Thomas Marshall published in the New York Tribune, December 18, 1917.

"I trust Washington will clean up and buck up, and either hang or imprison for life all the anarchists in the country. If the government doesn't clean them up, I will. I'll give up my mayorship and start through the country. We will hold meetings and have hanging places."—Mayor Ole Hanson, at Topeka, Kansas, Fifth Liberty Loan rally. (The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, reactionary sponsor of Hanson's, condemned this speech.)

"Our laws are all too inadequate to deal with that public enemy, the labor agitator. We have a flabby public opinion which would wring its hands if we took the labor leader by the scruff of the neck, backed him up against the wall and filled him full of lead. Countries which consider themselves every bit as civilized as we are do not hesitate about such matters a moment."—Wall St. Journal.

"We criticised Diaz for beheading his political enemies. Perhaps he was up against an element of the I. W. W. and Bolshevists. The Diaz plan might work well in our own country now, because the talk of deportation is merely laughed at by these anarchists and mischief makers."—Danville (Illinois) Commercial News.

"The United States Government will be forced sooner or later to take up arms against the radicals in this country or adopt a more drastic policy of handling the bolsheviks, anarchists, I. W. W.'s and others whose demonstrations in the various parts of the country are becoming more and more dangerous."—Pine Bluff (Ark.) Graphic.

"Extermination is the only cure for bolshevism. The very nature of the deed (the unexploded bombs

of May Day fame.—Ed.) suggests the dark machinations of the bolsheviki, the anarchist and the I. W. W. No mercy should be shown such as these."—Alabama Decatur.

"In New York socialists demanded the release of Thomas J. Mooney in prison for murder and of Gene Debs in prison for sedition. Soldiers attempted to break up the meeting, but the boneheaded police interfered and prevented the good work."—Ironton (Ohio) Register.

"The dignity of the country has been repeatedly outraged by these loathsome groups. They ought to be killed after due trial. Let us try the policy of ruthlessness within the law for awhile."—Montgomery (Ala.) Advocate.

"A policeman's night stick, descending with right good will on a socialist's cranium, is a form of argument that even an admirer of Marx, Trotzky, Debs, et al. should be able to understand and admire."—Cleveland News.

"Mayor Hanson's lamp post method may not conform to all legal requirements, but it has an appeal in it to popular imagination."—Memphis Appeal.

"Mayor Hanson is right when he says that what is needed is more stringent action."—Wichita Beacon.

"The American Bolsheviki, otherwise the I. W. W., need the firing squad instead of the federal enquiry."—Isaac F. Marcosson, magazine writer in the New York Times.

"You cannot deal with the Bolsheviki in any other way than through their own system. Their doctrine is the kind of doctrine that brooks no answer. The only way to deal with them is to kill them off."—Ex-President William Howard Taft.

"One night six men of 'sand' called at Frank Little's hotel, took him from his bed and in the most quiet and orderly way hanged him to a railroad

bridge until he was dead."—Dr. William T. Hornaday of the American Defense Society.

"I am not prepared to say that the ultimate responsibility for the disorders to which you call attention rests with sailors and soldiers, rather than upon those incendiary publications which they resented."—Carter H. Glass, Secretary of the Treasury, approving of raid on office of New York Call on May 1st, and the consequent clubbing and mistreatment of women and little children by uniformed sailors and soldiers.

EXHIBIT V.

Light from Other Days.

(Editorial from the Rebel Worker, New York, May 15th, 1919.)

"BOMBS STORIES OF OTHER DAYS AND TODAY.

"One thing that the people have not learned yet and that may, unfortunately, take them many years to understand, is the remarkable versatility of the average metropolitan police force. Once the police have put over a so-called clever piece of detective work, they seem to feel that the same thing can be worked forever.

"Let this tell its own story. It is copied from an interview with Captain Ebersold, published in the Chicago Daily News, May 10, 1889. Ebersold was the Chief of Police of Chicago at the time of the Haymarket troubles and so he was in a position to know whereof he speaks. He says:

" 'It was my policy to quiet things down as soon as possible after the 4th of May. The general unsettled state of affairs was an injury to Chicago.

" 'On the other hand, Captain Schaak wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. I thought peo-

ple would lie down and sleep better if they were not afraid that their homes would be blown to pieces any minute. But, this man Schaak, this little boy who must have glory or his heart would be broken, wanted none of that policy. Now, here is something that the public does not know. **After we got the anarchist societies broken up Schaak wanted to send out men to again organize new ones right away. You see what this would do. He wanted to keep things boiling, keep himself prominently before the public.** Well, I sat down on that. I didn't like it.

" **'After I heard all that I began to think there was perhaps not so much to this anarchist business as they claimed and I believe I was right.** Schaak thinks he knew all about them. Why, I knew more at that time than he knows today. I was following them closely. As soon as Schaak began to get a little notoriety, he was spoiled.'

"The Schaaks are still alive 'discovering' bombs in the mail and elsewhere, so that it may be used to justify May day terrorism and slander of the I. W. W."

EXHIBIT VI.

Criminal Syndicalism Bill of California.

Amended in Assembly April 19, 1919.
Senate Bill No. 660

INTRODUCED BY SENATOR KEHOE
January 24, 1919

REFERRED TO COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND CAPITAL.

An act defining criminal syndicalism and sabotage, proscribing certain acts and methods in connection therewith and in pursuance thereof and providing penalties and punishments therefor.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

Section 1. The term "criminal syndicalism" as used in this act is hereby defined as any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching or aiding and abetting the commission of a crime,

sabotage (which word is hereby defined as meaning wilful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property), or unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change.

Section 2. Any person who:

1. By spoken or written words or personal conduct advocates, teaches or aids and abets criminal syndicalism or the duty, necessity or propriety of committing crime, sabotage, violence or any unlawful method of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change; or

2. Wilfully and deliberately by spoken or written words justifies or attempts to justify criminal syndicalism or the commission or attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to approve, advocate or further the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; or

3. Prints, publishes, edits, issues or circulates or publicly displays any book paper, pamphlet, document, poster or written or printed matter in any other form, containing, or carrying written or printed advocacy, teaching or aid and abetment of, or advising criminal syndicalism; or

4. Organizes or assists in organizing or is, or knowingly becomes a member of any organization, society, group or assemblage of persons organized or assembled to advocate, teach or aid and abet criminal syndicalism.; or

5. Wilfully by personal act or conduct, practices or commits any act advised, advocated, taught or aided and abetted by the doctrine or precept of criminal syndicalism, with intent to accomplish a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change:

Is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the state prison not less than one or more than fourteen years.

Section 3. If for any reason any section, clause or provision of this act shall by any court be held unconstitutional, then the legislature hereby declares that, irrespective of the unconstitutionality so determined of such section, clause or provision, it would have enacted and made the law of this state all other sections, clauses and provisions of this act.

Section 4. Inasmuch as this act concerns and is necessary to the immediate preservation of the public safety, for the reason that at the present time large numbers of persons are going from place to place in this state advocating, teaching and practicing criminal syndicalism, this act shall take effect upon approval by the governor.

EXHIBIT VII.

Forged Letter—The Latest Detective Outrage.

The following is a copy of a circular letter mailed from San Francisco, Oct. 1, 1918. It bears the supposed signatures of the National Defense Committee of the I. W. W., located at Chicago (with the initial of one name incorrect.)
Fellow Worker:

"The soliciting of funds for the so-called Sacramento case is something that cannot be countenanced by the organization. It has never been our policy to advocate destruction of property, and for us to come out and defend men who believe and practice arson and other forms of destruction is to play into the hands of the master.

"This would be the very thing they are looking for. Every 'Day-lie' paper in the land has stated time and again that we were an organized band of cutthroats, murderers and destructionists.

"Fellow workers, this is not so. We are organized to do away with capitalism, to replace the present system of wage slavery with a system whereby every man would get the full product of his labor. This would be attained, not by violence, but by education. If a man is educated until he is class-conscious, he knows that only the master can use violence and destruction and get away with it.

"So why waste your hard-earned dollars tearing down the organization? Do you by donating to this defense fund wish to go on record as being in favor of destruction as a means to gain your ends? We know you have never given this the proper study, or you would see the error of your ways.

"The next time you are asked to donate for Sacramento, turn it down and tell whoever has the list that

you believe in organizing and not in direct action anarchism. Tell them you don't consider this an organization case, and that you believe that men of this class have always and will always be a drawback to any organization in the world.

"Remember that by organizing industrially we are building the new society within the shell of the old and that the solidarity of labor is a million times stronger than the misguided efforts of an organized band of destructionists.

"Omaha and Wichita are organization cases!* Sacramento is not. Give this your earliest consideration.

"Yours for Industrial Freedom,
(Signed) E. S. Embree
Peter Stone
Fred Hegge
Matt K. Fox

(These men constitute the national Defense.)

* Note—These cases will come to trial after Sacramento, and can be "knocked" by spy's tricks later.

"In reply to a wire inquiring whether the Defense Committee had sent out the above circular letter, the following telegram was received:

Chicago, Ill., 3:10 P. M., Oct. 3, 1918
W. F. Little, Western Union Fresno, Calif.

No letter has been sent from this office such as you describe. Send copy of circular.

(Signed) P. Stone."

EXHIBIT VIII.

More Proof of Provocateur Work?

(From San Francisco Chronicle, June 1, 1919.)

WOMAN ACCUSED IN CAPITAL BOMB PLOT GIVES BAIL

Mrs. McGowan Surrenders to Face Indictment in Sacramento

Sacramento, May 31.—Mrs. Ethel McGowan, who was indicted here last week under the name of Ethel Loar, charged with sending a threatening letter to Governor Stephens, appeared in court here today and furnished $2500 bail for her release, pending arraignment in the Superior Court. The bail was reduced from $5000 to $2500 because Mrs. McGowan voluntarily surrendered when she learned in Cheyenne, Wyo., that an indictment had been returned against her.

She said she was in Cheyenne on business as a field representative of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board when she learned of the charges. Her headquarters are in Kansas City, according to Mrs. McGowan.

"I haven't the slightest idea why these charges have been revived against me," Mrs. McGowan said.

She was charged with threatening to blow up the Capitol if $500 were not placed under an ink pad in a local hotel. The threat, according to the indictment, was made in a letter mailed to Governor Stephens from Fresno about two weeks after the explosion that damaged the executive mansion here December 17, 1917. The letter bore the initials, "C. C. C. of C.," and the initials. "I. W. W.," were on the envelope, according to Hugh Bradford, District Attorney.

(Tickert sought to have this woman indicted by

the San Francisco Grand Jury during the Chicago trial. The Government stopped him. It was then rumored that Mrs. McGowan had gathered data for the Government to use in the Chicago and Sacramento trials and that this was the reason Fickert was blocked in his scheme to indict her. Nothing has transpired since she returned to Sacramento for trial. The outcome will be interesting.)

EXHIBIT IX

Kaiser and Capital Use Same Tools

"Fully six weeks before the rest of the world knew it was to be warred upon, German military attaches were given unlimited letters of credit, lists of special agents who were to deliver incendiary devices and explosives, and lists of persons who were to act as "agents of destruction" to wage a campaign of incited strikes and incendiary fires in the industrial plants and yet uncreated munition plants in the United States."—U. S. Official Statement, issued Sept. 20, 1918.

Copy of Fickert's Letter of Recommendation Given to Dynamiter

"City and County of San Francisco,
"District Attorney, Hall of Justice

"San Francisco, Cal., June 14, 1915.

"To the Officials and Officers throughout the United States and Canada:

"The bearer of this note, Mr. C. C. Crowley, whose signature appears hereon, is a special agent of this office and connected with the department of justice of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California. At present and for some time to come he will be especially assigned to the duty of inves-

tigating the illicit drug and poison traffic between this city, Canada and the eastern states, particularly of the shipment of such articles from Canada into the United States. A number of officials here are under investigation for their alleged connection with the illicit traffic in these drugs. As a result, Mr. Crowley will have to work secretly in his investigations, and I earnestly request that all officers to whom Mr. Crowley may present this letter will co-operate with him to the end outlined herein.

"Respectfully yours,

"C. M. FICKERT, District Attorney.

"C. C. Crowley, District Attorney, City and County "of San Francisco. C. M. F.-G."

Extract from Court Record of Trial of German Consul Fritz Von Bopp; Fickert Testifying for the Germans

Roche: I call your attention to a letter that has been introduced in evidence and marked "Defendant's Exhibit BB" merely for the purpose of refreshing your recollection as to the date, and I ask you whether you recall dictating that letter?

Fickert: I do.

Roche: And was that letter dictated by you on or about the day that it bears date?

Fickert: Yes.

Roche: Do you recall whether within a very short time after the writing of this letter Mr. Crowley left San Francisco ostensibly for the east?

Fickert: Yes, I do.

Roche: And was it for his benefit upon that trip that the letter was written?

Fickert: Yes, for his benefit.

Roche: DID HE TELL YOU AT THAT TIME, MR. FICKERT, UPON WHOSE BEHALF OR FOR WHOM HE INTENDED TO GO INTO CANADA?

Preston: He already answered that.

Roche: No, he answered as to Detroit and Buffalo, but he did not answer as to Canada.

Fickert: Yes, sir.

Roche: For whom?

Fickert: FOR THE GERMAN CONSUL, OR FOR THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, I DON'T KNOW WHICH.

EXHIBIT X

Official Statement on Sabotage Issued Before Indictments

(Note: This declaration was published before a single arrest was made of any members of the organization and before any organized attempt was made to declare the organization criminal.)

WHEREAS, The Industrial Workers of the World has heretofore published without editorial comment or adoption many works on industrial subjects in which the workers have a natural interest, including treatises on sabotage, and

WHEREAS, The industrial interests of the country, bent upon destroying any and all who oppose the wage system by which they have so long exploited the workers of the country, are attempting to make it appear that "sabotage" means the destruction of property and the commission of violence and that the Industrial Workers of the World favor and advocate such methods; now, therefore, in order that our position on such matters may be more clear and unequivocal, we, the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, do hereby declare that said organization does not now and never has believed in nor advocated either destruction or violence as a means of accomplishing industrial reform:

First, because no principle was ever settled by such methods.

Second, because industrial history has taught us that when strikers resort to violence and unlawful methods all the resources of government are immediately aligned against them and they lose their cause.

Third, because such methods destroy the constructive impulse which is the purpose of this organization to foster and develop in order that the workers may fit themselves to assume their place in the new society, and we hereby reaffirm our belief in the report of this body to the Seventh Annual Convention, extracts from which were published under the title "On the Firing Line."

FRANCIS MILLER,
RICHARD BRAZIER,
C. L. LAMBERT,
General Executive Board Members.

These facts are presented to you for your careful consideration, as the time seems to be approaching when it will be necessary for you to act. Remember that self-preservation is the first law of nature, and your destinies are in your own hands. We cannot allow the life of the Industrial Workers of the World, which has meant so much to all its members, to be crushed out.

With best wishes, I am
Yours for Industrial Freedom,
WM. D. HAYWOOD,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Data on Incendiary and Accidental Fires

"The National Board of Underwriters reports 441 convictions for incendiary fires for the year 1918. Of these 172 were attempts to defraud the insurance companies, or 39 per cent; 156 were attributed to pyromania or other forms of insanity, or 35 per cent,

leaving 26 per cent of the fires unexplained."—Daily Press of May 24, 1919.

"2,000 Acres of Wheat Destroyed by Fire"

"Chico, May 31.—Fire, due to sparks from an engine, destroyed 2,000 acres of wheat valued at $120,000 on the Stanford ranch, between Soto and Southern Pacific right-of-way last night. As the grain was insured to take effect June 1, the loss is complete.

"The grain was owned by Godholdt Brothers of Red Bluff, and J. H. Jones and W. A. Yocum of Chico, who recently purchased the land."—San Francisco Examiner, June 1, 1919.

EXHIBIT XII

Why Threshing Machines Explode

"Take also the alleged blowing up of threshing machines in the harvest fields which the capitalist papers attribute to the I. W. W. These threshing machines do explode, but they have been doing this ever since the threshing machine was built, which antedated the I. W. W. by some years.

"The bigger the crop the greater danger there is of explosions and the more frequent they are. What is the cause? Well, scientific investigation has disclosed the fact that the greater the crop the more smut is developed. When wheat or other grain goes into the machine the heat resulting from friction causes this smut to develop a combustible gas; the top of the machine is solid and will not give; the gas expands beyond the limit of confinement and must find an outlet, and it does—through the roof of the machine. It explodes. Today the roof of the modern threshing machine is so constructed as to permit of unlimited expansion on the part of gas generated from smut, and threshing machine ex-

plosions are few and far between."—I. W. W. Publication.

EXHIBIT XIII

Suppressed Letter

County Jail, Sacramento, Calif.
Nov. 7, 1918.

William C. Vanfleet, Judge,
U. S. District Court, San Francisco, Calif.

Judge Vanfleet:

I am informed by Special Agent Kelly that a letter addressed by me to E. F. Moffit, editor, 222 Kearney street, San Francisco, Calif., has been held up by Special Prosecutor Robert Duncan. I inclose to you a copy of the letter to which he objects.

It is not of importance, as I see the case, whether you agree with the propaganda of that matter or not. The question is, what right has Special Agent Kelly or Special Prosecutor Duncan to hold up my correspondence? If the matter is libelous, treasonous or rebellious, I cannot see it. I know it is distasteful to men who have held their kind for sixty-four days sleeping on a cement floor in the dead of winter to have the facts published. I realize that you may be shocked by my point of view. You may disagree with it; you may denounce it; but hitherto American jurisprudence has not clothed any individual, however authoritative, powerful, learned or illiterate, with power to censor the publication of matter which prisoners deem vital to their defense.

Consider this: Recently the San Francisco Bee published that if an I. W. W. was put in hell he would corrupt the devil. That sentiment does not disturb my dreams, but when I find that a steady campaign of abuse of my kind is poured into the public ear I become anxious to give my side. If I be intemperate, violent or false, this publication will recoil upon me. If I be true or false, no matter that I may

irritate the finer feelings of my captors, I hold that neither Special Agent Kelly nor Prosecutor Duncan is competent to censor my correspondence. You promised us a fair trial. You told us impressively that if we trusted you we would be surprised by the fairness and equity of your conduct. Here's your chance.

I submit that it contradicts the whole history of American legal practice to assert that any man in this broad land, from the President to the lowest politician, is fit to censor the correspondence of the humblest man within the United States. I ask you for an opinion on this, and I suggest that this is no time to split hairs concerning jurisdiction.

We I. W. W. prisoners here are seeking a fair trial. We protest against the delays in this case. We care not whether you have a record of our so-called legal advocates which sanctioned the delay for eleven months. They gave that consent to the acts of the courts against our wishes. Some of us were kept sixty-four days laying on a cement floor as our only bed. Five of these have died. We have lived in such environment. You and your kind may object to the publication of such facts, but they shall gain circulation. I believe, although the past otherwise advises me, that you have some spark of American humanity in your composition. My fellow defendants tell me I am wasting time and energy appealing to you. I await the result.

Remember, in this I am not asking your opinion as to the literary character or the propriety of the language or treatment of the matter in the copy herewith submitted. I claim it is part of my defense against the libels and slanders which are current. What will you now do to aid us in a fair trial?

Because of the treatment we have received at the hands of the officers of the law we have become convinced that a trial of working men in any California court is nothing better than a lynching. You do not

like that statement. We are ready to put our liberties into the scales in order that the character of California justice may become flagrant throughout the world. You cannot stop us from doing that. You cannot stop us from calm, contemptuous silence. You cannot prevent men and women wondering why fifty men sit mute during the process of what they call a legal lynching. What, then, will avail you or Prosecutor Duncan to hold up that letter to Moffitt?

Consider this: Even the Russian censorship only blacked out objectionable matter. Duncan or Kelly calmly hold up the whole copy and give no notification to the writer. Has American efficiency improved upon the tyranny of the czar? Will you be party to the bringing of prisoners before you who have had no opportunity to prepare a defense?

In this case, agents of the government have suborned arson, if I may use the term; in fact, the procedure surpasses the present nomenclature of crime. In this I mean that an agent of the government impersonated Chris. A. Luber; opened correspondence with one of these prisoners. Coolly and deliberately he enticed, suggested, implied and urged the commission of crime; and it has come to the fact that the courts and governmental agencies of the United States avail themselves of such contemptible methods.

Let us forget all this, and I now ask you, do you sanction and will you allow our prosecution to be forwarded by the suppressing of our publicity? In the Chicago case the courts seized the I. W. W. books and papers and returned the records of the meat trust. Let us see how you will act now.

Yours for Industrial Unionism,

MORTIMER DOWNING.

Note: There was no reply to this letter.

EXHIBIT XIV

Statements of Employers Regarding Defendants

JOHN J. CONNOR: Acting Adjutant General Hains of the U. S. War Department, Washington, states: "John J. Connor served thirteen years in the United States Infantry, and was honorably discharged January, 1902. His character was very good."

EDWARD ANDERSON: Mrs. E. J. Barnes, Gresham, Oregon: "Edward Anderson was a good worker, and I was perfectly satisfied."

Robert M. Buchanan, Live Oak, Calif.: "Edward Anderson did his work well, and was well behaved."

R. A. Mahan, Somis, Calif.: "Edward Anderson was a satisfactory worker."

GEORGE RYAN: Frank Sorter, Lodi, California: "George Ryan was a good, clean, reliable worker."

Joe McGivney: "George Ryan was of good character and always watched my interests."

W. O. KELLY: Dave Raft, Standard Lumber Co., Sonora, Calif.: "W. O. Kelly worked for me for five months in 1917. His work was satisfactory, but I saw his picture posted in a postoffice in connection with the I. W. W. It would be well to investigate."

Fred Green, Grafton, Calif.: "W. O. Kelly was a satisfactory worker."

FRED MEYERS: J. E. Pogue, Lemon Cove, Calif.: "No complaint could be made of Myers' work. He was a willing worker and pleased my foreman."

FRANK JOHNSON: Potter-Hoffman Land and Live Stock Co., Alturas, Calif.: "Frank Johnson was a dependable, conscientious worker. We considered him one of the best men we had here. Have often wondered where he was. There is a job waiting for him here."

JAMES PRICE: Percy Gammon, Hood, Calif.: "James Price was a very satisfactory worker and he

was discharged only because the job was completed. During the period of his employment he was one of my most willing workers."

It was impossible to obtain references regarding the other defendants. Their employers were too scared when they found that the government was prosecuting the boys even to admit that they ever had them in their employment. Mr. Gammon is an honorable exception. He knew that James Price was an I. W. W., yet he did not hesitate to say that Price was a satisfactory worker.

Coutts' Testimony at Bruce Trial

The witness on the stand at the time was Elbert Coutts who, at the age of 17, joined the I. W. W. in San Francisco, in 1913, and remained a member until November, 1917. He testified that he and three other "fellow workers," on Aug. 4 and Oct. 6, 1917, set fire to barns and haystacks near Stockton, Cal. They used a preparation of phosphorus and wet rags, which ignited as soon as they became dry, he said.

His Purpose Not Clear

He admitted, under cross-examination that he did not know whether or not the farmer, whose barns he burned, was an employer, whether or not he was struggling under a mortgage, or whether the act would have anything to do with the aims of the I. W. W. in seeking to abolish the wage system.

Pressing his examination more closely, Vanderveer drew from Coutts an admission that he was sent to the penitentiary for burglary in 1915, and at another time for larceny. In 1917, he said, he was held for conspiracy to fire haystacks and knew he was guilty, but he was approached and asked to testify against the I. W. W.

Has New "Profession"

"That is now my profession," he coolly stated and added that although he is guilty of several acts of arson committed in California, he is confident that he will not be prosecuted, as he is going around the country testifying against the I. W. W. "as a profession."

Coutts stated that Prosecuting Attorney Fred C. Brown engaged him in San Francisco to come to Seattle and testify against Bruce, although he admitted that he did not know anything about the defendant or his views.

Objects to Propaganda

The witness identified a copy of a paper containing formulas for explosives, incendiary preparations and "bad smell" concoctions that he said he had seen in the hands of an I. W. W. secretary at Stockton. Vanderveer objected to the admission of this paper as of no connection with the defendant. He said for all the court knew it might have been prepared by a stool pigeon for use as evidence against the I. W. W. —Seattle Union Record, May 7, 1919.

Captain Lanier's Open Letter to President Wilson

His open letter, in part, follows:

My Dear Mr. President: A very earnest passion for justice to all men of whatever race, color or condition of life, constrains me, after mature reflection, to write you in regard to the case of United States vs. W. D. Haywood et al., Industrial Workers of the World, with a view to giving you an unbiased opinion of the case should you be appealed to for clemency in behalf of the defendants.

This government of ours was set up, and its constitution ordained to "establish justice," among other things, and when that purpose is thwarted or be-

trayed by those charged with the administration of justice, all personal considerations are as dust in comparison with the duty to expose any and all prostitution of the agencies of justice and the law to wrongful ends. I have concluded, however, after much consideration, that the only proper and perhaps effective action for me to take is to bring the matter to your attention.

As stated, I have summarized the record of this trial, which covers between 35,000 and 40,000 typewritten pages. It has been necessary for me to read with care and thought every page. It is, of course, impossible for me to discuss in detail in this communication the law and evidence of the case as revealed in the record. I can state only my deliberate opinion and conclusions, based upon a review and careful consideration of the record as a whole, which are as follows:

Indictment Defective

1. These defendants were indicted for a conspiracy to unlawfully and feloniously, and by force, prevent, hinder and delay the execution of certain laws of the United States, set forth in the indictment, which laws concerned chiefly the government's preparation for and prosecution of the war. In the first place, the indictment is, in my judgment, fatally defective, in that it does not give or convey to the defendants sufficient information of the nature and the cause of the accusations against them, which is their right under the sixth amendment to the Federal constitution. I understand and am informed, that in a recent prosecution of certain I. W. W. in Seattle, upon an indictment modeled upon the one in this case as a precedent, three judges of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals quashed the indictment upon the ground above stated.

2. While evidence in the record discloses that several of these defendants said and did things

for which they could have been successfully prosecuted under the Espionage law, and for which they should have been prosecuted, convicted and punished, the evidence is, in my opinion, insufficient on the whole to show and establish beyond a reasonable doubt a conspiracy, as charged in the indictment. Congress never conscripted labor, as it might have done, and there is no law, of which I am aware, that prohibits working people from striking and co-operating in formulating plans for a strike and methods to make their strike a success. The strike being the exercise of a legal right, if the fundamental motive and purpose underlying it were to secure better wages, shorter hours of labor and better living conditions in industry, the mere fact that the interests of the government in its efforts to prepare for and carry on the war, were incidentally prejudiced, did not, of itself and alone, constitute a violation of the law, however reprehensible it may be regarded and condemned in other respects.

The evidence shows that these defendants and their associates had been active for years in trying to correct what they conceived to be outrageous injustices to their class in the economic and industrial conditions in this country. Their policy and activities have been consistent from the beginning, and only differed after the United States entered the war in degree and intensity, but not in methods or purpose.

A Wrongful Conviction

3. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the indictment, and the question of the sufficiency of the evidence as a whole to sustain the prosecution —and upon these matters there may be ground for debate—there can be no question, in my opinion, of the absolute innocence and wrongful conviction of Charles Ashleigh, Leo Laukie and Vincent St. John

in particular. I defy anyone to show me one scintilla of evidence in the record of this trial that proves that either of the above defendants conspired with anyone to violate any law, or that they did, in fact, violate any law, as charged and set forth in the indictment, or otherwise.

While I am of the opinion that these men were convicted contrary to the law and the evidence, solely because they were leaders of a revolutionary organization against which public sentiment was justly incensed; and that the verdict rendered was a foregone conclusion from the beginning in obedience to a public hysteria and popular demand, due to the psychology of the times, I feel that the inclusion in the verdict and sentence of the three defendants above named was a gross miscarriage of justice and an outrage that every consideration of right and the peace and good order of society demand should be corrected.

4. This case has rested very heavily upon my conscience, Mr. President, and it is quite a relief to me now that I have reached the determination to lay before you my views upon it; which I do in the confidence that it will receive from your enlightened mind and deep-rooted instincts of human sympathy and love of justice the consideration it demands, and such action, if the opportunity offers, as will fully satisfy the ends of justice and the best interests of society.

I. W. W. LITERATURE

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The Silent Defense



In what is known as the Sacramento Silent Defense five men died, ten or more are physical wrecks, forty-two are undergoing prison sentences, and these are the gleanings of about 130 arrests directly connected with the case. Nearly 1,000 men and women were arrested, held incommunicado, maltreated, threatened with lynching, and then thrust out of jail with insult and crime actually solicited or suggested by guardians of the law.

Leading up to the Sacramento Silent Defense there were scores of police raids. These may be divided into three features. In California the first legal or illegal assault on the I. W. W. was made at Fresno, on Sept. 5, 1917, the day of the nation-wide raid. Sidney J. Shannon, deputy marshal, a special employee named Freeman, and a trench dodger Hudson, since appointed special agent, not only raided I. W. W. headquarters, but concluded to arrest some 130 men found in the hall and in the nearby employment offices. They sorted over this bunch and held

some two score without warrant, charge or stated reason. Two weeks after the greater part of these were released when habeas corpus was sued out. In these proceedings twenty-five men, including all secretaries of Los Angeles, San Pedro and Sacramento, were indicted. These men were accused of (see indictment) conspiring to oppress employers of labor throughout the United States.

The charge was so flagrant an attack on unionism that it was dropped. There was a mysterious explosion in Gov. Stephens' mansion, December, 1917. Curiously it was asserted one Swanson, a public utilities detective and principal sleuth in the Mooney case, was in Sacramento the day and night of the explosion. This explosion was also so timed that Prosecuting Attorney Fickert profited in the election to recall him, which occurred the following day. Fickert and Swanson were vitally interested in this election, and Swanson's alleged presence in Sacramento the night of the explosion at the governor's mansion deserves explanation. Vainly the dynamiters were sought. By accident, William Hood, an I. W. W. member, was arrested. He had nine sticks of dynamite which he said he intended to use on a gold seeking expedition up the Feather river. By accident, George Vortter, an I. W. W., was with Hood when he went to the express office. Both are convicted of having dynamite in their possession without a license. This law was a statute just passed. A few weeks earlier and they would not have been arrested. This arrest was made the basis of a raid on the I. W. W.

Fifty-three were arrested in and around the Sac-

ramento hall. These men were thrown into a city jail cell, 21x21 feet. All of them could not lie down at once. It was winter. One cotton blanket was given each. Their food was about two ounces of mush in the morning, less than two ounces of bread, and at night three fetid little smelts and less than two ounces of potatoes, with "coffee" twice a day. In the cold they shivered. Day by day they starved. By relays they slept at night; the bedlam of a city drunk tank soothed their slumbers wooed in frost and starvation. Everyone of these men had money when arrested. They sent out and bought food for themselves. This is a general privilege in the Sacramento jails. This food was placed before their cells just outside the prisoner's reach. It rotted there. They slaved and starved. Once or twice some of the "harness bulls" of Sacramento slipped their lunches to the ravenous wretches.

Hearing of the horrors, the I. W. W. District Defense Committee got busy. They started counsel who failed to see the prisoners. They protested. They agitated. Fred Esmond brought some of these facts to the attention of Attorney-General Gregory by telegraph. He was arrested, and for eight months thereafter was held incommunicado. At that time the I. W. W. was paying Nathan C. Coghlan $1,000 per month to r-present the San Francisco prisoners. During these starving times he saw this beleaguered bunch once, and that time delayed hearing. These men suffered silently. Among themselves they said, "Our case is not so important as the I. W. W.; we'll do our bit." They waited and waited.

Fred Esmond, during a portion of his eight months

incommunicado, was thrown into "solitary." He suffered with angina pectoris. They say the damned suffer like this torture. Did it soften his jailers? For forty-two days and nights, without bed or blanket, Esmond lay on the cell floor and fought his battle. "Over There, Over There!" they sang beneath the jail windows, but Esmond met a "Hun" in the San Francisco dungeon. His telegrams to the attorney-general were introduced as riot acts of treason. Can you beat it? When the United States sent Don Rothban to investigate the Sacramento arrests, after many days he reported that there were no cases against these fifty-three men who shivered and starved and sang the songs of Labor through their bars. Later some of these were indicted because Special Agent Kelly said "they were singers." Rathbon's report was received with fury by the Sacramento parasites. They threatened lynching. One Carunicharl, the editor of the Sacramento Star, and others, assured Washington that they meant business. Meantime there is much proof that agents of the real estate sharks and the profiteers went through the slums inciting riot against the I. W. W. So the case went on and indictments were issued. Some few of the first band were so obviously innocent that they were freed; but in their places were selected the names of the most active committee members of the defense. Down in San Francisco stockyards some sheep ate tainted food and died. All I. W. W. members were accused of poisoning food. By some chance the city chemist told the truth and reluctantly the detectives, the press and the parasites lay off the poisoning charge. But now they had an indictment and after sixty-four nights on the cement floor of a

filthy jail the men were placed in regular jail cells. As they brought them over, Albert Whitehead, veteran of England on land and sea, showed his inconquerable spirit by walking on his hands twice the length of the tank. "You can't scare us," he laughed, but Whitehead is now one of the tubercular victims and he lies in San Francisco jail doing a year.

They now had an indictment and some reasonable treatment of prisoners was asked. John Grave, one of them, was released on bail to attend the outside wants of the prisoners. It was only a show. These men were accused of circulating the I. W. W. preamble and constitution and "History, Structure and Methods of the I. W. W." One prisoner asked John Grave to get him copies. He sought to deliver these openly in the courtroom during a hearing. Special Agent F. W. Kelly and his assistant seized the pernicious pamphlets, made a hue and cry, and for eight months thereafter John Grave was prohibited from seeing any of the prisoners. Every word of communication had to be in writing and pass through the prosecuting attorney's office. This was the basis on which a fair trial was built. While John Grave was excluded, the stool pigeon, Jackson Dymond, could see the prisoners readily to urge them to plead guilty.

Chris Luber, secretary in Sacramento, had been included in the Fresno indictment. In his case the prosecuting attorney declared that if bail was offered for him, Luber would be arrested on another charge and held. The same threat was made in the case of Esmond. These matters were reported to counsel, but shrugs and "it's war time, you know,"

was all the answer. In prison these men lay and rotted.

Four times the indictments were changed. Defendants were shifted and called. Accusations followed on charge. It was a wilder dream of high-handed legality. Finally all these indictments narrowed down to one which at last came to trial December 12, 1918, and dragged on until Jan. 17, 1919. In this final indictment, dynamiting, terrorism, the I. W. W. preamble, and the calculation of Mr. Dooley's "If you want a right, take it; don't let any one give it to you" was the climax. Why fifty odd persons should be accused of circulating Finley Peter Dunne's literature as a crime and Dunne let go free is a mystery which probably the lawyers who let all the above pass can explain. Law is a curious contraption.

After months of this hell, the arraignment took place on Oct. 8, 1917, before Judge Van Fleet in Sacramento. When the men were brought into court from several jails around the state they all met for the first time. Here was a conspiracy charge against 53 persons who had never assembled before. Judge Van Fleet, in one of his eloquent harangues, warned the defendants of the seriousness of the case, and after all the suffering, there in court was an office boy to defend us. He and his employers were canned right there. These Sacramento prisoners had enough. When Judge Van Fleet read a telegram asking postponement of the case until spring, he was notified that the defendants therein demanded a speedy trial and Judge Van Fleet exercised his unconstitutional power to postpone the case to a date pleasing to him

and the district attorney. This was after eight months' delay, outrage, intimidation, and acts which, when the world learns them, will stamp these legal functioners with an unenviable fame.

So the trial was postponed. Till Dec. 9 these men languished. Prosecutor Robert Duncan promised fairness in dealing with the self-defending prisoners. Judge Van Fleet stated he would set reasonably the bail for a committee to manage the defense. At Duncan's own suggestion the men elected three representatives—Phil McLaughlin, Herbert Stredwick and Mortimer Downing. He had notified the defendants that if Esmond's name was included in those elected he would arrest him until effort to release him was abandoned. When Duncan received these three names he then cut out Phil McLaughlin's name. If we couldn't have even the men of our own selection what was the use of playing that game. Duncan then called Stredwick and Downing before him and stated that it was their duty to inform the prisoners that if a plea of guilty was entered great leniency would be used to the defendants. Obediently those two laid the matter before the men. The reply was "We would not plead guilty if you had bond to turn us loose." That was all from Duncan until he got us into court. He never answered another letter. He held up appeals addressed to the presiding judge, he prevented the summoning of witnesses, etc. For instance, John Grave was the outside agent. After long protest he was allowed to talk to the men through a fine mesh screen with a guard. What a chance to summon witnesses! If we gave names of any witnesses one experience taught us they would appear on another indictment with us. It was easy

to get indictments; these men saw it done five times. So without witnesses, without counsel, with nothing but contempt, we went into court and welcomed penitentiary as a relief from their vile jails and the discipline as a happy contrast to the hypocrisy.

Before getting to court another chapter was recorded. From Oct. 8 till Dec. 9 the "flu" raged. On Dec. 10 the first victim sickened. In three tanks these men lay. U. S. Marshal Holahan was published as seeking means of protecting the men in the Sacramento jail. They lay in their tanks. Often only one could stagger around. These men sent out and hired a doctor, a nurse, and bought their own medicines. It's one more blot on Sacramento. The matron of the jail gave the men some soup and milk toast daily during the worst. That one kind act is remembered. "We never forget." These men laid there and stewed in their own effuvia. Five died. Ten or twelve are sick today.

Frank Travis was a big burly fellow with a fine voice. In October he came into Sacramento. He was a migratory worker, young and fearless. He had a nickel in his clothes. He wanted a flop. Some one said to come down to the I. W. W. hall. He followed. There the boys jollied him. He slept there and the next day went out to a job the secretary tipped him to. He worked a few days and came in and took out a card. Thirty days after he was in again with a little bigger stake. He was captured in the raid. On Oct. 22, 1918, the anniversary of his iniatiation, he died in agony in the jail. Kelley was asked why he was indicted. "He was a delegate," answered the special agent. "Delegate? Why he

wasn't thirty days in the organization." "Oh, then he was a singer; yes, he was a singer." And so a man was condemned to death by an official so dense that he thinks singing is a crime. Travis used to sing as he starved in the city jail, and none could scare him. He died because he sang the songs of labor!

During the "flu" these men were permitted a little run in the outer tank. On going into their cells one of the jailors ordered Fred Esmond to hurry. Pain racked, he told the jailor to go to Hades. For this he was ordered to the dungeon. He was protected by his fellows. There were eighteen men in the tank. Kelley herded forty or fifty policemen and specials into the tank and before he left every item of comfort for the men was confiscated, including some petrolatum which one was taking for constipation. They took away the typewriter which was being used to get some outside aid for the defense. All these men will pray for Kelley in the good days to come.

Just a brief sketch of the trial. Weakened and broken in ranks by death these men faced their fate. Suggestion after suggestion of attorneys had been turned down. These men came into court on Dec. 9, 1918. It was the day set for the nation-wide Mooney strike against justice as afforded working men. Although the general strike was called off, these struck and are still dauntless that this strike will finally win. There were then strike breakers and for obvious reasons this mention will suffice. There were also some renegades, some snitches. These men were accused of aiding the Kaiser and hindering the war against him. So that being the charge and the

war occurring in 1917, if a Swede or a Hottentot got mad with his boss in 1913 and cussed him and if it was proved the worker had an I. W. W. card or appeared at an I. W. W. meeting, it was enough to convict forty-seven persons and subject them to the penitentiary for twenty years. If in the I. W. W. files all over the land one of these defendants had a letter acknowledging receipt of a letter it was positive conspiracy. They introduced stuff about stickers in 1913 and all down to 1917, but they never showed that one of the defendants sabotaged an egg. Hay stacks burst into flames when sheriffs and deputy sheriffs were right there, but never when an Industrial Worker of the World was present. Somebody robbed a car conductor and it was said that a prisoner looked like the thief. This was evidence that the defendants stopped the manufacture of ammunition. There were six stool pigeons put on the stand. One Jackson Dymond stole $1,200 from his fellow workers, but he could connect no one with a crime. He said one defendant got phosphorus from a chemist in San Francisco. He neglected to tell why a man who had the confidence of his fellow workers so strongly that he got $1,500 in a lump could not find the name of the chemist or produce some phosphorus. One foreman identified Bob Comellan positively as the man he saw at the lumber yard at the time Bob was in San Quinten doing time because of the Stockton strike of the A. F. of L.

To corroborate the testimony of the stools and the uniforms a detective swore that he saw Mortimer Downing on the picket line every day during the Wheatland boycott and that he knew Downing was there to attend to the arson and direct the violence.

During all this time, every day of it, Downing was in the Maysville county jail. When the prosecution was informed it made no attempt to correct the error. Another stool swore that John Grave was in the Sacramento county jail and when the records were produced no step was taken to punish the manifest perjury.

When the prosecutor was summing up the case he argued before the jury concerning two of these defendants that it did not matter whether the witness lied or all of them lied. It need simply to be asked what the defendants were doing in 1916. Were they helping in the preparedness campaign; were these defendants then helping to prepare the country for war? If they were not they were guilty, and the jury should so find them. After the trial Dr. Duncan was reminded that in 1916 President Wilson was too proud to fight and he had the grace to show his confusion.

Mr. Johnson, assistant prosecutor, said it did not matter whether one of the witnesses lied or all had lied; all he need to tell the jury and prove was that each and every defendant was an I. W. W. and he was sure the jury would convict. It did. Forty-seven defendants on four counts and innumerable acts were convicted in twenty minutes. Only that time elapsed before the prisoners were called back to court, but it took one hour and ten minutes for his honor to return.

Such is a brief story of the case. The outstanding fact is the frankness of the prosecution that it only needed to show these defendants as I. W. W. to get a verdict of guilty. Judge Rudkin had ruled that it

was as legal to belong to the I. W. W. as to the Masons or Chamber of Commerce, but the jury, composed of a man wearing a star, a couple of millionaires, and a bunch of small farmers, did "their duty" as they did.

In the official record of the trial of the forty-seven I. W. W.'s in Sacramento, Cal., appears reference to correspondence between John L. Murphy and Chris. A. Luber, both defendants. Only the letter sent from Murphy to Luber was offered. Thomas Mulhall, a deputy marshal, was questioned concerning this incident and his replies were misleading.

It would be difficult to properly characterize these letters. Suffice it to say history records us other unblushing incitement and subornation of crime on the part of the U. S. government agents. John L. Murphy wrote to Luber in Sacramento asking him for information concerning the arrests. Murphy thought Luber was still in Sacramento as secretary. He inquired if he could do anything and assured Luber that he (Murphy) had straightened up and all that stuff. Luber was then a prisoner in the Fresno county jail on the Fresno indictment. This letter was seized by the prosecuting attorney, opened and read. Luber was unconvicted and in full possession of his civil rights. To purloin this letter may be excused by generous stretching of charity, but what can be said about the officials who forged Luber's name to a reply. Some official of the government replied to Luber's letter. F. W. Kelly, special agent, blushed deeply when the matter was touched.

In this letter Luber is made to tell Murphy a wierd story. He is told not to write to the I. W. W., but to a secret address. This address is the office of the

prosecuting attorney. Murphy is told that the office boy there is a bright lad and that this same underground was used by Emma Goldman and Berkman successfully as the boy always got there first and was particularly bright. Mind this is from a government agent! Murphy is told he can write as freely as he likes to their addresses. Then he begins some of the letters in which Murphy is again and again told to get busy and suggest something. He is told that Dublin Bob got $400 for pulling off a job for some German at Knight's Landing, and later by letter, Murphy is tempted to declare himself in favor of some plan of violence. Murphy hung back and, as he explains it, thought Luber either had gone crazy or crooked. At last, after being seven times tempted, Murphy suggested that if he had the means he might get into a factory as a loom fixer and then in a few days be on his way.

Remember, all this is in reply to forged letters and forged signatures of a man in jail. No sooner had Murphy yielded than he was arrested and brought to Sacramento from Washington.

Only Luber's letters were read at the trial. Judge Rudkin resisted a motion to compel all the correspondence to be read. This frameup is notorious among all connected with this case. In the beginning the newspapers attributed it to Thomas Mulhall, but he indignantly repudiated it, while F. W. Kelly cowered and blushed. If there is anything in the Mooney case worse than the Luber forgery it is unknown, and this was not the act of some desperate politician, but of a government official. Some agent of the United States is lost to all decent respect for

prisoners' rights. This same man let manifest perjury go unpunished several times in this case, as in the instances of witnesses' agent , Grave, Comellan and Downing, when the records show the physical impossibility of the witness' truth. No notice has been taken of this forgery any more than perjury.

It is the firm belief of the now imprisoned victims that one day these facts will become known. I have never heard a complaint from these men and I am proud to be among them. We are sure of a final vindication.

The Silent Defense

By Jean Sterling

"Do the defendants, not represented by attorneys, wish to interrogate the talesman?"

The court reporter held his pencil suspended. The forty-three defendants faced with mocking eyes and closed lips their jailers, prosecutors and presiding judge.

"Do they wish to exercise the right of challenge?"

For a tense second the inexorable wheels of justice stopped turning. Some one had thrown a felt slipper in the cogs. The defendants gave the prospective juror not so much as a glance. They had read and yawned and gazed vacantly out of the high windows while the attorneys for the prosecution had been probing the talesman's soul for any humane or modern ideas on the subject of labor.

Then, after a decorous silence, such as is observed in court procedures and funeral rites, the judge said quietly, "If, then, there are no objections to the talesman, he may take his seat in the jury box."

And so the juryman, an ancient rancher, the prophesy of the type to follow, took his seat.

And in this manner did the forty-three defendants, I. W. W.'s, now being tried in Sacramento, California, on charges of conspiracy, under the Espionage act, open their "silent defense."

Three of the group have employed lawyers. All three have domestic ties or dependents, which makes this separate action imperative. But the remainder, the forty-three, who are in jail during the trial be-

cause of the exorbitant bail which was demanded in each case, will maintain throughout the entire trial a defense of unbroken silence.

"We decided upon the silent defense," said Mortimer Downing, elected spokesman for the group, "because we despair of justice for the working men being achieved through the courts. The Mooney case, the Frank Little incident, the Bisbee cases, the Chicago trials, these have convinced us of the uselessness of legal defense. We are tried in a prejudiced community. Some of our men have been held incommunicado. They have been prevented by United States agents from mailing courteous appeals to the court. Some of them have been confined, untried, for a year. These conditions are intolerable, and this 'silence strike' is to preserve the self-respect of ourselves as members of organized labor."

And so they sit there in the big white court room, challenging neither talesman nor evidence nor exhibits nor witnesses. They have grown pallid from their long sojourn out of the sight of the sun. They are emaciated. They are unshaven, many of them. Their clothes are ill-fitting and thin. But their eyes smile and are unafraid. There they sit, throughout the long sessions, coughing, coughing, several of them obviously tubercular, their incessant coughing shattering into fragments the well-cemented evidence against them. Up on his bench the judge sits with his handkerchief pressed against his nose and mouth lest the contagion from the defendants spread.

As they cough the prisoners raise their hands to their mouths—the shrivelled hands of old men, of men not old, blue and cold and calloused. These are the hands that have helped to sink the shafts

and mine the gold in frozen Alaska, that have cut spruce and pine in the deep wet forests of Washington, packed salmon in Oregon, harvested the crops in the sun-scorched valleys of California. These are the hands that have worked incredible hours in steaming canneries, in shrieking saw mills, on fog-swept wharves and down in starless mines.

Unconsciously they offer these hands in evidence of service to their country, these hands with the scars and the wounds of labor upon them. And their bodies, too, they offer, illy nourished, warped and broken by toil.

True, these defendants belong to an organization which they think will eventually prevent these wounds, these trials. Even their silence does not deny this charge in the indictment. And it may be—I do not know—that some of them as individuals have struck out in retaliation against powerful and unseen forces which sapped their vigor and burned out their youth; that they pitted their own puny force against the overwhelming force of established society.

But, whatever they have done or have not done, they will not speak in their own defense. "It is useless," they say. "We despair! Look for yourself to the history of our case. Look at the powers arrayed against us!"

The hidden springs of these trials began far back, even farther back than the spring of 1916, when a coast-wide drive was started against organized labor. In the seasonal trades, which form so large a part of the work of the Pacific Coast, the I. W. W. organization was numerically strong. Among these modern nomads was fast quickening a sense of industrial sol-

idarity. Meanwhile in the cities, particularly in Seattle and San Francisco, the American Federation of Labor unions were politically powerful.

The Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco was said to have collected a fund of a million dollars with which to fight organized workers. Economic battles raged in camps, in fields and factory. Legal battles were fought in Everett, Washington. In San Francisco, the famous Mooney case began, backed by the Chamber of Commerce. America's entrance into the war did not reconcile the clashing economic interests except superficially. So that while the I. W. W.'s in Sacramento are being tried on charges growing out of war conditions, we find the same influences lined up, politically and industrially, as lined up before the war.

We find Deputy United States Marshal Mulhall, a special investigator for the Department of Justice in the Sacramento cases, in frequent discussion with Fickert over the methods to pursue and the probable outcome of the two cases. "I am going to link the Mooney case with the Sacramento case," Fickert tells his assistant. "I am going to have a meeting with Mulhall tomorrow." (Dictagraph record)

Mulhall came, and in the course of their conversation Mulhall told Fickert, "If ever you get in a hole send for me. I can take any of these witnesses and pull the friendly stuff on them and generally get what I go after." Mulhall discussed the possibility of losing out in the Sacramento cases and also in the Mooney case. Finally he said, "You know that if this thing ever breaks we will go down hill so fast that all hell won't save us."

These are the main facts in regard to the Sacramento case: During the course of this interminable Mooney trial a recall was started against Fickert. On Dec. 17, 1917, the night before the recall elections, a bomb exploded under the back steps of the governor's mansion in Sacramento. It did no harm, except to return Fickert to office.

A round-up of all I. W. W.'s followed. Their hall was raided, books, papers, properties were seized. Within ten days forty-eight men were in jail.

Federal investigators appeared in Sacramento; but the trail from the scene of the explosion, instead of inevitably dipping toward the jail, wound in a curiously opposite direction. Don Rathbun, special agent for the Department of Justice, reported that they "found nothing to warrant action." The governor's own detective was unable to connect the men in jail with the explosion. . . . But the men stayed in jail.

A demand was sent to the Department of Justice in Washington that the men be held. D. W. Marmichael, president of the Chamber of Commerce and head of the Sacramento city council, together with the editor of "The Sacramento Bee" and Ray Benjamin, Deputy Attorney General, Fickert's personal friend, the official whitewasher of Oxman whose perjured testimony sent Mooney to jail, demanded that the federal government take action.

"The Sacramento Bee" questioned the willingness of the United States government to act and called upon the "aroused citizens to take the law in their own hands." It printed a letter from the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce at Tulsa, Oklahoma, recommending that "a coat of tar and feathers be em-

bossed on the prisoners' backs through the lashing process."

The following February, after being held in jail for nearly three months on one charge, the charge was dismissed and the men were re-indicted by the federal grand jury. Others were added to the group. Theodora Pollok, the one woman indicted, was included.

Months went by without the defendants being brought to trial. I am told that for sixty days they slept on the cold cement floor in winter, with only a scant cotton blanket; that when food was brought to them from the outside it was placed before their eyes but out of their reach.

Meantime the daily papers abounded with "outrages" committed by the I. W. W's. Candidates for the governorship toured California, sowing seeds of hatred and misunderstanding. "Successful prosecution of the war for democracy" and the "extermination of the I. W. W.'s" were the two great issues common to both sides in the campaign.

In September, eight months after the original arrests, down in Fresno county another round-up of I. W. W.'s took place. Twenty men were jailed on charges of arson. "The fires in the haystacks are due to incendiary bombs," say the arresting officers. "Due to imperfectly cured hay or the 'disciplining' of refractory non-members of the Farmers' Association," say the accused men.

In October a final indictment was returned. It consolidates the Sacramento and the Fresno cases, grouping them all under the charge of conspiracy.

By this arrangement, men in jail are charged with crimes committed long after their imprisonment. This last indictment dropped a number of the lesser defendants and others took their places, more dangerous to society. Up to this day no one has been apprehended for the explosion at the governor's home a year ago.

Finally in December, a year after the original arrests, they are all brought to trial—all but five who have died in jail—brought to trial down in the rich silt valley of the Sacramento, where bitterness has grown rank, where are located the great hop ranches of Ford and Suhr fame, where "The Sacramento Bee" is to be found in every home and on every ranch—the paper that urged lynching as the solution of the labor problem. In the heart of this beautiful valley lies the city of Sacramento, gay in its Christmas greens and red street lights; and in the heart of the city stands the Federal building, a structure of enduring stone.

Walled in by the high Sierras and the Coast Range is this garden spot. Walled in by collossal prejudices and actual circumstances are the defendants. No utterances of **their** grievances, of **their** point of view, reaches the outside world. Their publicity committees are arrested. Their offices are raided. Their paraphernalia and plans of defense seized. Their Defense Bulletin is denied the mails. All incoming and outgoing mail is, of course, read by the jailers. All conversations are in the presence of detectives—as with all prisoners. Scareheads in the local papers warn the public of a possible bomb at the trial, and therefore "in the interest of the public," the spectators' door is kept locked during the

sessions. Visitors are questioned as to their interest, who they are, so that either through fear or inconvenience, no one comes to "listen" to the "silent defense." The seats for the public remain empty.

"Don't you see," they say, "the uselessless of the usual defense?"

And they continue to sit in silence. But their silence is not sullen; neither is it pert. It has back of it a conviction rather than a mood. It is intellectual rather than emotional. It is always challenging, argumentative; piquing the curiosity of the judge, of prosecutor and of jury. It is not the silence of death; not of winter, but of early spring.

Silently they sit, awaiting the inevitable sentences, so cool, so unbroken in spirit, proving that man does not live by bread alone; making strangely artificial and pompous the perfunctory decorum of the court.

In spite of the constant coughing a certain pleasantness pervades the court room. The fact that the defendants—the silent group of forty-three men—do not oppose the prosecution, or through lawyers seek to block and outwit the state, makes the prosecutor's task an easy one. He can be almost himself. And "himself" is a cheery, grandfatherly man from the littl town of Ukiah, up north, and he jogtrots along with his load of evidence, as if on a pleasant country road. He is assisted by an amiable young lawyer of the Sunday school type who "helped" in the Chicago convictions.

So far, the prosecution have only read and read and read; hour in, hour out, from "Solidarity" and from the I. W. W. Song Book. Everything they read is intended to show the attitude of the I. W. W.'s

toward grave social questions, problems which have not as yet disturbed the sweet-scented serenity of the Sacramento valley; articles which portray the class struggle in the coarse language of the "blanket stiff" as he trudges the "dirty plate route." In kindly voice the young prosecutor explains to the jury, as one would to little children, what "sabotage" and "the cat" and "one big union" mean—to him. He shows them pictures of cats and wooden shoes.

By 4 o'clock the defendants have sunk far down in their seats. Their heads rest on the back of their chairs. The coughing is more and more frequent. The judge presses his handkerchief tightly over his mouth and nose. Can it be that there is danger of infection from these ideas? The deep-set eyes that look out over his mask seem almost tender in the fast fading light. A judge should have sterner eyes!

The jury—such old, old men! look bored and helpless. What horrible ideas they have just heard! Jesus, a "blanket stiff!" "Pie in the sky!" Employers called "snakes" and "reptiles," and the word "prostitute" right out in print! For this is a country jury, good men.

At last 5 o'clock. The judge instructs the jury to "form no opinions" and they go their separate ways. The judge comes down from his bench. The prisoners are lined up by their jailers to be taken down an elevator, through a tunnel under the Federal building, back to their jail. The big white room, tomblike in its marble, is full of shadows and unsaid things.

As the elevator with its human freight drops into subterranean regions, a hollow cough echoes up into the vaulted chambers of justice.

Ol' Rags An' Bottles

by Special Correspondence

On the grounds of the Capitol at Sacramento, amid deodars and palms, is a sun-dial bearing the legend:

The shadow creeps and creeps
And is always looking over the shoulder of sunshine.

Within the marble building on a recent sunny afternoon Governor Stephens was taking the oath of office and in his inaugural address made a strong denunciation of the I. W. W. He declared: "It is important that every person should understand that neither labor, organized or unorganized, nor any honest man who works either with his hands or with his brain, has anything in common with these skulking wielders of the torch." In the legislative corridors ran hot discussion of the possibility of making membership in the I. W. W. a felony. To these men in the Capitol the I. W. W. was the shadow overcreeping their prosperity.

On the other side of town at the county court house the government was trying forty-five men and one woman under a blanket indictment charging violation of the Espionage act. The defendants are all members of the Industrial Workers of the World, some of them organizers, most of them defense secretaries who had been engaged in raising funds to provide bail or counsel for their fellows. The cir-

cumstances are involved and peculiar and it is hard to get light upon the situation. The indictment, which covers sixty-nine typewritten pages, is for conspiracy to hinder the prosecution of the war by overt acts. But it is assumed that because men are fellow members of the I. W. W. they would naturally plot together; therefore, apparently, it has not been considered necessary to prove that the defendants, many of whom were entire strangers to one another until they met in jail, had been personally associated. The overt acts charged are of a nature new to most of us; it is hard to see how the sending of telegrams protesting against jail conditions, and the receipts of letters from other I. W. W.'s in Cook County jail in Chicago, may be termed overt acts.

The occasion of the first large number of arrests was the bombing of the back steps of the mansion of Governor Stephens in Sacramento. Federal authorities, however, according to the statement of the defense, uncontradicted so far as I have been able to learn, reported that the I. W. W.'s were not involved in this explosion, and recommended their dismissal; and Governor Stephens himself concurred in this action, after an investigation made by his personal detective. According to the same authority, however, an appeal was made to the Department of Justice in Washington by the president of the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce and the editor of the Sacramento Bee, with the aid of an assistant district attorney who is contemptuously characterized as the "whitewasher of Oxman." In any case, the men were kept in jail some months. After the first arrests there broke out an epidemic of small fires in various parts of the state; numerous haystacks and

barns were wholly or partially burned. At once a lot of migratory workers were rounded up (in some districts where the local quarrels of certain farmer factions amounted almost to a feud) and added to the first group.

In the meantime the Secret Service had not been idle. The entire I. W. W. Defense Committee of California was arrested, and indicted with the first group. Bail, which had originally been fixed at $2,500, was raised to $10,000. In five months the San Francisco headquarters for defense work were raided six times and the defense secretaries, while preparing for the trials, were arrested as often. The number of defendants has increased almost automatically: When a defense secretary is arrested another member of the organization stands ready to take his place and carry on the work, knowing that in the next swath he will fall before the machine. But the defense work throughout the state goes on with a waiting list of secretaries. Pictures of the arrested men were posted all over the state, although they were safely in jail and not fugitives from justice. This, of course, facilitated the gathering of testimony and sharpened the memories of those eager to testify. By the time the trial began the indictment had been changed four times. The overt acts now charged include arson, and by the strange supposition of conspiracy, men who have been behind the bars for months are held along with newcomers for fires which they could have set only by "absent treatment." The indictment does not charge that all the defendants set all the fires. It charges that all the defendants reached an agreement to accomplish certain unlawful purposes, and that in pursuance

of that agreement some of the defendants set the fires. All the defendants therefore are deemed to have been responsible because of the supposed common agreement.

And who are these "skulking wielders of the torch?" as the chosen representative of the people of California calls his fellow citizens. Of what type are these men so ready to surrender their freedom for the welfare of others as they conceive it? They are a typical cross-section of American life, as if all the random occupants of a street car should be cast into jail together. Among them are workers with hand and brain, university men (one from Oxford), and agricultural laborers, workers at various crafts and trades, lumbermen, chemists, journalists (one the former city editor of a Los Angeles daily, one for many years Washington correspondent for well known Western papers); a court reporter of twenty years' standing; young, old and middle-aged. Two or three Frenchmen, a Canadian, and a Syrian are not citizens of the United States, but the majority are straight American—even though their names still savor of peat; Americans of the old type now rarer east of the Rockies than west. For the most part they are sturdy, though confinement has spread tuberculosis among them, influenza is supposed to have caused the death of five, and one has gone insane. On studying the faces of the group, as they sit day after day through the dreary trial, one is struck first by the absence of sullenness or defiance in their faces. There are some weak chins and some narrowed brows among them, some visionary eyes that under injustice might flame into fanaticism. But on most of the faces one reads kindliness, common-

sense, American humor. In a strange town one turns to such people to ask the way, knowing well that the man accosted will gladly turn back to set the stranger right. And among them is one woman, a high-bred daughter of our South, slender and gray haired.

So much for a first glance at the defendants. The jury, on the other hand, owing to selection, is a less diversified group—a butcher, an accountant, a retired grocer, a horse-shoer, an elevator man, an automobile salesman, and the rest ranchers. Three of them, probably, are under fifty; of the rest the average age is apparently over sixty. Eleven of them are said to be regular readers of the Sacramento Bee. Judged by their faces, their experience has not been broadening; they give the impression of men of habit rather than of intelligence. To such men, economic dissentients like the I. W. W. would naturally seem dangerous characters who should be shut away for the safety of the public.

On the bench, a forcible contrast, is United States District Judge George H. Rudkin, of Spokane, a powerful man, overtopping all others in the courtroom. Though he is past middle age, his vigor and keenness are unabated, and one feels instinctively that he will see justice done or know the reason why. The stage is set and the trial begins for the day.

Remember that the defendants have been from six months to a year in jail, only four of them having been out on bail; and that the trial has been dragging on for weeks. The defendants are shut away from their fellows, so far as one can learn,

because of their economic beliefs. Although the nominal crimes charged against them would, if true, call for only a few years of imprisonment, yet under the Espionage Law, which has been stretched its elastic utmost to cover their case, they are liable to serve twenty years.

And what are the charges preferred against them? The witnesses are called in wearisome succession—a rancher, a fire chief, an under-sheriff, more ranchers, a petty police officer, a car conductor, a relapsed I. W. W. Each man testifies to from one to three fires in his neighborhood—haystacks, barley stacks, barns, occasionally a lumber yard or a canning factory. In most cases the fire had been extinguished before doing much damage; in almost all cases the owner had been amply insured. In agricultural districts the fires had occurred in the night; in lumber yards or shops, after working hours or on Sundays; no person had suffered physical injury. What was the nature of these fires? Of supposedly incendiary origin. What evidence of this? A twist of rags the size of one's finger, about two inches long. Witness after witness testified to phosphorus-soaked rags, always of finger size, never exceeding two inches, till the defendants were in a gale of laughter. To find a needle in a haystack has always been a nine days' wonder, but how pallid an achievement compared to finding a two-inch inflammable rag in a blazing haystack! The next witness ventured from the beaten path, and his rag broadened to the size of his palm, and contained a flat cake of phosphorus with its virtue undimmed by the fire. The testifying fire chiefs were apologetic; they had been so taken up with putting out the fires

that they hadn't time to investigate sources. So much for the infamy of rags. Small bottles were next produced, said to contain poisonous or inflammatory chemicals. These were supposed to have been found near fires or on the persons of the defendants when arrested. An expert chemist—a handsome young marine—testified to the injurious character of the contents, but admitted that these preparations were frequently used for killing gophers.

The judge grew restive under the repetitions and drew the attention of the jury sharply to the fact that the testimony of the witnesses was overlapping, so that there appeared to be more fires than there actually were. Was any individual suspected of setting these fires? Apparently not, but one man was seen bicycling away from a fire at an early hour of the morning. If arson is to be proved it must be proved with rags and bottles.

One amazing manifestation common to almost all the witnesses was the photographic accuracy of their memories. A fire started, let us say, not "early in the morning," but "at 3:10 a. m., July 6, 1917." Many of us, perhaps, could remember meeting a stranger downtown late one fall afternoon; but what marvel of infallibility he must be who unhesitatingly maintains that it was at 5:25 p. m., not 5:20, on November 3, 1917, that he saw the stranger cross Main street! A young car conductor started to testify that at 12:20 on a specified night a strange man sat huddled on the front seat by the motorman—but either memory departing or conscience returning, the story became so confused that the judge dismissed the witness. Several of the wit-

nesses were afflicted with stage fright. A liberal allowance of testimony was ruled out by the judge, but, even so, perhaps it registered the desired effect on the jury. A minister of the gospel testified that a stranger, whom he now promptly identified after the lapse of over a year, as one of the defendants, stopped him at the corner of Nineteenth and C streets, at 5:20, on the evening of the explosion at the Governor's house, and inquired the way to H street. The stranger had a package under his arm —and the Governor lived on H street! The jury saw the connection at once, and no further links had to be forged in that particular chain. Two young fellows had been arrested for receiving dynamite shipped illegally by express, also near the date of the bombing, but as the nine sticks of dynamite were introduced into court in propria persona it could not be assumed that they were the actual cause of the explosion. The judge ordered the removal of the dynamite, to the evident relief of the jury—especially as the counsel for the defense had suggested that the exhibit be tested to see if it really were dynamite.

An occasional feeble effort was made by the prosecution to show that the fires under discussion hampered the Government in the conduct of the war. Wheat had been destroyed and some lumber burned. It was pointed out that a third of the output of dried peaches had been destined for army use. Witnesses were repeatedly asked if they had heard sentiments expressed by the I. W. W's that were unfavorable to the Government. This was particularly mirth-provoking to the defendants, as for some time past baiting the Government has been a fashionable

amusement of the privileged classes in California.

Perhaps more than enough instances have been cited to show the nature of the prosecution. The mere spectator, had he been allowed to be present, would at first have laughed with the defendants over the futility and absurdity of the whole attempt, over the absolute impossibility that anyone should take this seriously. But as the days wore on and the faces of the jury grew more and more set, till it seemed that the shadow of conviction creeping over their eyes had obscured the light, then a chill would have crept up the spectator's spine. Who, he would ask, is this prosecutor wearing out the days and threatening, with tragic farce, the life and liberty of almost half a hundred persons? Who is the prosecutor? The United States Government: We the people—every man and woman of us; we are accumulating crimes to fit the punishment, straining law and truth till some way be found of silencing those who do not agree with us in favoring the old order. The Espionage Law may keep a man mute for twenty years: Let a crime be found to fit it. But the psychological effect of imprisoning a man for his beliefs is notoriously bad; it begets martyrdom and disciples. Let us therefore transform these leaders of their fellows into common criminals, above all into destroyers of property. Let these outcasts, these rags and bottles of mankind, this inflammable human waste, be utterly destroyed. The shadow is creeping and creeping—this time the shadow of a blinded figure bereft of scales.

Little has been heard about the Sacramento trial. Idle spectators are not admitted. I. W. W.'s are threatened with arrest if they besiege the door of

the courtroom. Friends of the defendants must meet the challenge of the marshal. The general public stays away from choice or prudence. At the press table are a man from a local daily and two or three women writing for weeklies. A young man from the Associated Press looks in to keep track of things. But there is no "story" here; so many hundreds, nay thousands of Americans are being tried or awaiting trial, or suffering imprisonment for their convictions, that the story no longer contains an element of news. The jaded public fails to quicken with either sympathy or indignation; it is bored by the Espionage Law.

Another unusual element that has deprived this trial of the propaganda of publicity is the situation among the defendants themselves. Early in their imprisonment they retained counsel, but as the months passed and they were prevented from discussing developments with outside friends or with their fellows who were out on bail, seldom hearing from their counsel, they lost confidence in legal defense and agreed among themselves to go on a strike of silence. Meantime those who were out on bail had continued their preparation for defense and were not party to the so-called strike. The complications ensuing are unfortunate. What might perhaps have been an unassailable wall of silence has been breached by the defense of the three. On the other hand, this slender voice of protest is almost muffled by the silence of the forty odd. The puzzled jurors may be asking: "If they aren't guilty, why don't they say so?" It is easy to understand the state of mind advocating the silent defense. When one has been arrested fifteen times in four months

as a "vagrant," although actively employed and under salary all the time; when one has been repeatedly arrested, held for days and then dismissed without trial, only to be re-arrested the following day; when the crimes charged against one multiply over night, is it to be wondered at that the defendants wearily say, "What's the use?"

Yet it is a serious question if such an opportunity for public education should be thus withheld. We should be made to recognize and face our responsibility in the matter. Perhaps, as Robert Whitaker says, we need not fewer good men in jail, but more and more until we will no longer endure injustice.

Sacramento, Cal., January 13.

(According to Associated Press dispatches of January 16, all forty-six of the defendants were found guilty by the jury, which returned the verdict after being out about an hour. Judge Rudkin's charge is quoted in part as follows:

"The mere fact that these defendants are Industrial Workers of the World should not justify a verdict of guilty. The fact that they may be found to be conscientious objectors to war should not be held against them in the consideration of this case. Opinions which they hold in opposition to war and which undeniably stand alone are not an evidence of guilt."

Referring to the "silent defense" of forty-three of the defendants who have spoken no word and have been unrepresented by counsel throughout the trial, Judge Rudkin said that such silence should not be held against them.

Private telegraphic advices are as follows:

"Blanket verdict guilty; forty-six defendants in sixty-five minutes. Judge Rudkin's charge remark-

ably fair, intimating clearly that individuals under the blanket indictment had not been shown to be connected with acts of arson or sabotage and that no individual could be held under the law on account of his economic or political views or held responsible for the politics of any organization of which he might be a member. His charge was what is known as an 'acquittal charge.' "—Ed.)

Jury Disregards Judge's Instructions

Judge Frank H. Rudkin gave instructions to the Sacramento jury that would have resulted in a verdict of "Not Guilty" if the jury had followed them. Instead it went blandly out and came as blandly in again in seventy minutes with a verdict of guilty for all forty-six on all counts.

It is possible that the jury did not understand the judge. Anyone who has watched that jury through the trial can see that that is probable. Or perhaps something in the way Tombstone Duncan looked at them was interpreted to mean: "Pay no attention to the judge; he has to say fair things in his position, but you don't have to heed him. YOU know." Or perhaps the jury had become soured on the judge because of his occasional curt words to the prosecution when that august group of legal luminaries said or did something obviously improper. Anyway, they treated the judge and his instructions with sublime contempt.

Judge Rudkin first explained the four different counts: First, conspiracy to overthrow the government; second, conspiracy to intimidate, threaten and oppress certain employers; third, conspiracy to persuade 15,000 persons to evade the Selective Service

Act; and fourth, conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act.

"Gentlemen of the Jury," he said of the first count, "these men are charged with conspiring to overthrow and put down the government of the United States and prevent the carrying out of its laws. Before you can find them guilty, you must find that the authority of the government itself was opposed. If you find these men to be arrayed against a class, that is not sufficient to constitute conspiracy against the government. There must be a concrete attempt to interfere with the government and prevent or delay the carrying out of its laws."

Was There a Conspiracy?

Of the four counts in general he said:

"While there are four counts, conspiracy is charged in each. In each case there must be proved some overt act directed against the particular federal law mentioned in that count.

"The jury will be justified in bringing in a verdict of guilty of conspiracy when the government has satisfied them beyond reasonable doubt that some unlawful act against each of the federal laws has been committed by the defendants conspiring together; when the government has satisfied them beyond a reasonable doubt that everyone of the defendants was in the conspiracy; and when the government has similarly satisfied them that the conspiracy is consistent with a rational theory.

"Consider each count separately in this manner. First, ask the question: 'Was there a conspiracy?' If you are not satisfied that there was, proceed no further, but return a verdict of not guilty. If you

are satisfied that there was a conspiracy, next consider whether or not these defendants took part in such conspiracy. If you are convinced that they did so, you are justified in bringing in a verdict of guilty."

Overlook Mere "Transgressions"

Following are the chief instructions given by the judge after his general and preliminary instruction:

"The prosecution must prove to your satisfaction and beyond any reasonable doubt that a conspiracy actually existed, and not only is this necessary, but the prosecution must also prove beyond any reasonable doubt and to your entire satisfaction that a conspiracy existed having for its purpose the particular thing charged in the indictment.

"For instance, it is charged in the first count of the indictment that the defense conspired to by force prevent the execution of certain laws of the United States. If the prosecution should fail to prove against these defendants a conspiracy which had for its purpose that particular design, no matter what other conspiracies or what other transgressions of the law the prosecution might prove, it would nevertheless be your bounden duty to find these defendants not guilty under said charge.

"You are instructed to carefully distinguish and discriminate between what may appear to you to be transgressions of the law, having nothing to do with the crime of conspiracy, and what may have some bearing upon the particular conspiracy charged. No destruction of property that is not in furtherance of a conspiracy can be taken into consideration.

Conscientious Scruples No Crime

"If the proof of the prosecution merely shows that the defendants expressed a conscientious objection to the declaration of war or continuance of a state of war between the United States and Germany, then and in that event you must find them not guilty.

"None of the defendants can be found guilty by reason of the fact that they may have stated, during times of war, that they did not believe in war, or that they did not believe in the so-called Conscription Law.

"You are instructed that you are to try these defendants and to consider this case in the same manner that you would any other case.

"These defendants are on trial, not their organization.

"The indictment is not in itself evidence of guilt.

"You are instructed to give each defendant separate consideration.

Whole Chain Breaks Down

"It is the bounden duty of the prosecution to prove every material fact by more than a preponderance of evidence. These defendants are presumed to be not guilty at every stage of procedure. If any circumstance in a series of circumstances depended upon to convict any one of these defendants is wanting, or any fact in such series of acts remains unproven to your satisfaction beyond reasonable doubt, the whole series of facts or the whole chain of circumstances falls, and you cannot find such defendant guilty.

"The prosecution cannot fasten guilt upon any defendant by suspicion, or by the mere fact that

the defendant may have been a member of an organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World, nor by a mere association of parties. Neither acquaintanceship, friendship nor association with persons proven to your satisfaction to be guilty, is to be taken as conclusive proof of the guilt of any of these defendants.

"If you find the evidence to be consistent with the theory that these defendants are guilty, and also consistent with the theory that they are not guilty, it is your duty to return a verdict of 'Not Guilty.' "

Labor Has Right to Defend

It is significant that Judge Rudkin gave a special instruction to show that labor has a right to defend its accused members. That is self-evident, one would think. But Special Prosecutor Tombstone Duncan announced gravely once during the trial that he was going to prove that certain of these defendants actually attended the trials of other members, spoke and wrote in their behalf, helped to raise funds for their defense and undertook to interest others in the case. These things he was going to charge up against members of labor organizations. They had no legal right to defend fellow members, he broadly implied. (Perhaps this belief of Tombstone's accounts for the fact that so many of the forty-six are on the indictment merely because they did defense work for men on earlier indictments.) Later in the trial Tombstone Duncan denied he ever said such a thing, but it was in the record. And enough fuss was made over labor's RIGHT to defend itself in court so that the judge included the following paragraph in his instruction:

"The law guarantees every person accused of a crime the right of defense by counsel or his or her own choice; and the friends or relatives of such accused person or fellow members of the same organization have a perfect right under the law to render assistance to such person by supplying money for attorneys, by organizing for such purpose, or by any other legitimate means."

Hits Coutts and Dymond

Coutts and Dymond were mentioned, though not by name, in the following instruction given by the judge.

"If you find the prosecution has produced in this case certain witnesses who admit that they took part in the commission of the offenses charged in this indictment or from whose testimony you are satisfied of such participation, such witnesses are to be considered by you as accomplices and co-conspirators, and the evidence of any such accomplice or co-conspirator must be received by you with great caution, unless such evidence is corroborated by the evidence of other persons who are not accomplices or co-conspirators.

"You have a right to take into consideration the demeanor of a witness on the stand in considering and weighing the credit to be given to his testimony. You have the right also in considering the testimony of a witness, to take into consideration the fact, such fact be proven, that he either expects or hopes for immunity from punishment himself or that he has been granted immunity from punishment and is testifying in this case by reason of having been given immunity or freedom from punishment.

"If any witness wilfully testifies falsely on any material fact, you have the right to throw out all his testimony except such part as may be corroborated by the testimony of other witnesses."

Judge Rudkin closed with the instruction that the fact that forty-three of the defendants had conducted a "silent defense" was not to be held against them.

Then the jury went out and found the defendants guilty.

A Defendant Speaks

"We have kept silence throughout the trial; now we speak out. We do not ask for mercy, but we do intend to bring out some of the facts that have been hushed in this trial to show the mesh of error and perjury that makes up the 'evidence' against us, and—to get a few things off our chests.

"You have heard of 'direct action' and 'violence' coupled throughout the trial by Prosecutor Duncan. You will never find an instance where the two ideas are coupled in the literature of the Industrial Workers of the World. 'Direct action' has been persistently twisted out of its evident meaning and made to include ideas to which it is not remotely related.

Worker Will Tell Boss

"Shall I tell you what 'direct action' really means? Every employer claims the right to administer his business as he sees fit. He changes hours, wages, conditions of labor as he pleases. But the workman is taught that when he wants to make any such change he must go to court.

"The I. W. W. has taught and will continue to teach that the worker on the job shall tell the boss when and where he shall work, how long, for what wages and under what conditions. It will continue to teach that gradually the worker will get more and more power until finally he will take over the industries.

"We intend to go ahead with the One Big Union. We intend to bring the workers, all the workers, into one big union, and we don't seek a statute to authorize it, either. We know that no body of men, not workers, would ever make such a statute. We know that at a convention of bourgeois 'revolutionists' held in France on Sept. 28, 1792, attended by all the great figures of the French revolution, and even our own Thomas Paine, a law was passed that made it illegal for working men to organize. In the face of opposition like that the worker has gone ahead and won what he has won.

Dealing with Men.

"We intend to go on farther, to go ahead frankly, openly, forcibly.

"When counsel was talking about 'direct action' and 'violence', he left out one very important incident narrated in Vincent St. John's book. That was the incident of McKee's Rocks . . . . You are not playing with children. You are dealing with men now who thoroughly understand conditions as they are.

"Now for some of the facts about this case:

"The prosecution has stated in court that all the defendants are members of the I. W. W. That is not true. W. H. Faust has not been a member for three

and a half years. He was prospecting out here in the hills and was arrested on the testimony of people who a year ago had jumped his claim. Felix Cedno is not a member. And furthermore he never in his life wrote a letter in English for the reason that he cannot write a word of English.

"F. A. Lamar, Horst's detective, swore he heard Freddie Esmond, Scott and McGowan say I was handling the picket line at Wheatland. I was in the Marysville jail during the whole period of the picket line, and the records will prove it. And isn't it a strange thing that with Wheatland only a few miles away, not one witness was brought from there to testify? Couldn't they get one witness in the whole place instead of going afield and bringing in a detective?

"Now for Next Perjurer!"

"Now as to the other perjurers. Coutts! I hardly know what to say about that unfortunate creature. He is a product of the times. But Duncan himself admitted that Coutts might have lied. The attorney for the prosecution admits that during the trial his foremost witness may have lied on the stand! Can you expect us to come into court with any great respect for law that condones perjury?

"The lid of that bean pot there is not sealed (pointing to the earthenware retort that Coutts said he made in the Oakland hall for the manufacture of phosphorus). If phosphorus were made in that retort, the gas would have left nothing alive in the place. And the retort could not possibly have been made in the Oakland hall because strong heat is required in the making of such an earthen furnace and

we had nothing there, not even a wood stove.

"O'Connell was in a hospital, as records will show, at the time Coutts had him at Westwood. Coutts himself was ordered out of camp because he stole goods from his fellow workers.

"Dymond said I was pro-Ally and against the war! And he charges me with being against the war in 1916 when, if you remember, President Wilson was "to proud to fight'.

"I am against war, just as I am utterly and absolutely against the wage system. But I would no more make my puny effort to hamper the execution of the war than I would refuse to comply with the requirements of the wage system as long as we have it with us. If I had been called, I would have answered the call, just as I go now and find myself a master under the wage system.

Never a Good War

"There never was a good war nor a bad peace. But the war in Europe was an absolutely necessary and inevitable thing, a readjustment of outworn conditions. Germany was lapsing over into the present day of the feudal system and had to be eliminated. The Junker gang had no more conception of its place in society than if it had come down from the Middle Ages. War IS a survival of the bestial state.

"Only one generous, kindly doctrine ever came into the world, only one that will put individual responsibility where it belongs. That is the doctrine that might is right.

"In 1914 there were at all technical schools, colleges, universities and other higher educational in-

stitutions in this country, 266,000 persons. Out of 110,000,000 only 266,000 have a chance for real culture. Set against that the fact that in the same year there were in this country more than 500,000 public prostitutes, not counting the thousands of poor girls that are doubly exploited by their employers. That is what we have to show as the flower of our civilization, a civilization that could seize Freddie Esmond, a seriously sick man, and make him sleep on the jail floor without bedding for more than two months.

"I am against this, against the civilization that produces such things. I hope to see the day when there shall be a different degree of sweetness and light in this country.

I. W. W. LITERATURE

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